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# AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

(4)

- 11 **The Chaotic Society: Product of the Social Morphological Revolution**  
Philip M. Hauser
- 19 **Ideological Beliefs on the Distribution of Power in the United States**  
William H. Form and Joan Rytina
- 31 **Voluntary Association Membership: A Longitudinal Analysis**  
Nicholas Babchuk and Alan Booth
- 46 **Changes in the Form of Alienation: The 1900's vs. The 1950's**  
Irene Taviss
- 58 **Sexual Status and Psychiatric Symptoms**  
Derek L. Phillips and Bernard F. Segal
- 73 **Social Psychological Characteristics of Innovators**  
John W. Loy, Jr.
- 82 **The Educational and Early Occupational Attainment Process**  
William H. Sewell, Archibald O. Haller and Alejandro Portes
- 93 **Separating Reliability and Stability in Test-Retest Correlation**  
David R. Heise

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Davis, K.

1963a "The theory of change and response in modern demographic history." *Demographic Change and Response* 29(October):345-366.

1963b "Social demography." Pp. 204-221 in Bernard Berelson (ed.), *The Behavior of Man*. New York: Basic Books.

Goode, W. J.

1967 "The protection of the inept." *American Sociological Review* 32(February):5-19.

Moore, Wilbert E., and Arnold S. Feldman.

1960 *Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas*. New York: Social Science Research Council.

Sanford, Nevitt (ed.)

1962 *The American College*. New York: Wiley.





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# AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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## ARTICLES

|                                                                            |                                                             |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| The Chaotic Society: Product of the Social Morphological Révolution....    | PHILIP M. HAUSER                                            | 1  |
| Ideological Beliefs on the Distribution of Power in the United States..... | WILLIAM H. FORM AND JOAN RYTINA                             | 19 |
| Voluntary Association Membership: A Longitudinal Analysis.....             | NICHOLAS BABCHUK AND ALAN BOOTH                             | 31 |
| Changes in the Form of Alienation: The 1900's vs. The 1950's.....          | IRENE TAVISS                                                | 46 |
| Sexual Status and Psychiatric Symptoms.....                                | DEREK L. PHILLIPS AND BERNARD F. SEGAL                      | 58 |
| Social Psychological Characteristics of Innovators.....                    | JOHN W. LOY, JR.                                            | 73 |
| The Educational and Early Occupational Attainment Process.....             | WILLIAM H. SEWELL, ARCHIBALD O. HALLER AND ALEJANDRO PORTES | 82 |
| Separating Reliability and Stability in Test-Retest Correlation.....       | DAVID R. HEISE                                              | 93 |

## BOOK REVIEWS

|                                                                             |                  |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-----|
| Buckley: <i>Modern Systems Research for the Behavioral Scientists</i> ..... | HARRY M. JOHNSON | 102 |
| Wold: <i>Model Building in the Human Sciences</i> .....                     | HANS E. LEE      | 103 |

(Continued on following page)

4

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## BOOK REVIEWS—Continued

|                                                                                                                              |                      |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|-----|
| Stein: <i>Social Theory and Social Invention</i> .....                                                                       | EDWARD O. LAUMANN    | 103 |
| Faris: <i>Chicago Sociology 1920-1932</i> .....                                                                              | R. P. CUZZORT        | 104 |
| Etzioni: <i>Political Unification</i> .....                                                                                  | ROBERT C. ANGELL     | 105 |
| Eisenstadt: <i>Comparative Perspectives on Social Change</i> .....                                                           | RICHARD P. GALE      | 107 |
| Gallaher: <i>Perspectives in Developmental Change</i> .....                                                                  | DONALD P. WARWICK    | 108 |
| Whyte and Williams: <i>Toward an Integrated Theory of Development</i> .....                                                  | EUGENE A. WILKENING  | 109 |
| Willems: <i>Followers of the Faith</i> .....                                                                                 | CHARLES WAGLEY       | 110 |
| Beyer: <i>The Urban Explosion in Latin America</i> .....                                                                     | EVERETT D. DYER      | 110 |
| Price: <i>Organisational Effectiveness</i> .....                                                                             | RICHARD H. HALL      | 111 |
| Golembiewski: <i>Organising Men and Power</i> .....                                                                          | JAMES D. LAING       | 112 |
| Anderson and Anderson: <i>Political Institutions and Social Change in Continental Europe in the Nineteenth Century</i> ..... | HENRY J. STECK       | 114 |
| Remmling: <i>Road to Suspicion</i> .....                                                                                     | LEON H. WARSHAY      | 114 |
| Berkowitz: <i>Advances in Experimental Social Psychology</i> .....                                                           | DAVID C. GLASS       | 115 |
| Coopersmith: <i>The Antecedents of Self-Esteem</i> .....                                                                     | NORMAN GOODMAN       | 116 |
| Hyman and Singer: <i>Readings in Reference Group Theory and Research</i> .....                                               | MARC PILISUK         | 118 |
| Endleman: <i>Personality and Social Life</i> .....                                                                           | RONALD EFRON         | 119 |
| Lieberson: <i>Explorations in Sociolinguistics</i> .....                                                                     | R. BRUCE W. ANDERSON | 120 |
| Blalock: <i>Toward a Theory of Minority Group Relations</i> .....                                                            | EDGAR F. BORGATTA    | 121 |
| Kerckhoff and Back: <i>The June Bug</i> .....                                                                                | RICHARD SCHMUCK      | 121 |
| Ferman, et al: <i>Negroes and Jobs</i> .....                                                                                 | CURT TAUSKY          | 122 |
| Leggett: <i>Class, Race and Labor</i> .....                                                                                  | HERBERT J. GANS      | 123 |
| Rogin: <i>The Intellectuals and McCarthy</i> .....                                                                           | ROBERT FEINBAUM      | 124 |

(Articles in the REVIEW are indexed in the *Social Sciences and Humanities Index*, the *Public Affairs Information Service*, *Psychological Abstracts*, *Sociological Abstracts*, *Ayer's Guide*, *University Microfilms*, and *Abstracts for Social Workers*. Book reviews are indexed in the *Book Review Index* and the *Book Review Digest*.)

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# BOOK REVIEWS—Cont.

|                                                                       |                         |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----|
| Hollowell: <i>The Lorry Driver</i> .....                              | RICHARD BROWN           | 125 |
| Bouma and Hoffman: <i>The Dynamics of School Integration</i> .....    | R. DAVID CORWIN         | 126 |
| Baldwin: <i>Poverty and Politics</i> .....                            | ROBERT EYESTONE         | 126 |
| Glazer and Creedon: <i>Children and Poverty</i> .....                 | GILBERT D. NAES         | 127 |
| Freedman and Doob: <i>Deviancy</i> .....                              | JAMES K. SKIPPER, JR.   | 128 |
| Barber: <i>Drugs and Society</i> .....                                | JACKSON TOBY            | 128 |
| Nelderhoffer: <i>Behind the Shield</i> .....                          | DONALD J. NEWMAN        | 129 |
| Tobias: <i>Crime and Industrial Society in the 19th Century</i> ..... | ASA BRIGGS              | 130 |
| Gibbs: <i>Suicide</i> .....                                           | RONALD MARIS            | 131 |
| Schmecca and Damiano: <i>Crisis at St. John's</i> .....               | LEONARD D. CAIN, JR.    | 132 |
| Muir: <i>Prayer in the Public Schools</i> .....                       | KENNETH M. DOLBEARE     | 133 |
| Brothers: <i>Readings in the Sociology of Religion</i> .....          | DOROTHY (CORBETT) WERTZ | 134 |
| Scanzoni: <i>Readings in Social Problems</i> .....                    | JOHN HORTON             | 135 |
| McDavid and Harari: <i>Social Psychology</i> .....                    | CLARICE S. STOLL        | 136 |
| Weiss: <i>Statistics in Social Research</i> .....                     | JOEL I. NELSON          | 137 |

(Continued on following page)

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BOOK REVIEWS—Cont.

|                                                                       |                     |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|-----|
| Stockwell: <i>Population and People</i> .....                         | KENT P. SCHWIRIAN   | 138 |
| Young: <i>Population in Perspective</i> .....                         | DAVID PHILLIPS      | 138 |
| Shanas, et al.: <i>Old People in Three Industrial Societies</i> ..... | ELAINE CUMMING      | 139 |
| Tunstall: <i>Old and Alone</i> .....                                  | MICHAEL A. LA SORTE | 140 |
| Rosenthal: <i>The Social Programs of Sweden</i> .....                 | SAMUEL W. KAPLAN    | 141 |
| Andersen and Anderson: <i>A Decade of Health Services</i> .....       | RAY H. ELLING       | 143 |
| Raush and Raush: <i>The Halfway House Movement</i> .....              | RONALD VANDERKOOI   | 143 |
| Reader and Goss: <i>Comprehensive Medical Care and Teaching</i> ..... | RODNEY M. COE       | 145 |

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.....

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APRIL 1969

VOLUME 34 NUMBER 2

## ARTICLES

- Attitude as an Interactional Concept: Social Constraint and Social Distance as Intervening Variables Between Attitudes and Action.....LYLE G. WARNER AND MELVIN L. DEFLEUR 153
- Disruption, Social Location and Interpretive Practices: The Case of Wayne, New Jersey....MARTIN S. WEINBERG AND COLIN J. WILLIAMS 170
- The Social Structure of Religious and Ethnoreligious Groups in a Metropolitan Community...EDWARD O. LAUMANN 182
- Testing the Theory of Social Area Analysis: The Ecology of Cairo, Egypt.....JANET L. ABU-LUGHOD 198
- Parental and Peer Influences on Educational Plans of Adolescents.....DENISE B. KANDEL AND GERALD S. LESSER 212
- Laboratory Simulation of Organizational Stress.....THOMAS E. DRABEK AND J. EUGENE HAAS 222
- A Review and Comparison of Simple Statistical Tests for Scalogram Analysis.....ROLAND J. CHILTON 237
- The Reliability of Respondent-Coded Occupational Prestige.....ROBERT F. WINCH, SAMUEL A. MUELLER AND LOIS GODIKSEN 244

(Continued on following page)

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## REVIEW ESSAY

- Drescher: *Dilemmas of Democracy*.....IRVING M. ZEITLIN 252

## BOOK REVIEWS

- MacIver: *As a Tale That is Told*.....HARRIET ZUCKERMAN 255  
 Bosserman: *Dialectical Sociology*.....JOSEPH H. HUNZEL 256  
 Brown: *Explanation in Social Science*.....DAVID J. ARMOR 256  
 Klausner: *The Study of Total Societies*.....CHARLES W. WHEATLEY 257  
 Beckwith: *The Next 500 Years*.....ARTHUR I. WASKOW 258  
 Eisenstadt: *Modernization*.....PHILLIPS CUTRIGHT 259  
 Hyman, et al.: *Inducing Social Change in Developing Communities*.....IRWIN T. SANDERS 260  
 Adelman and Morris: *Society, Politics, and Economic Development*.....PAUL H. RAY 261  
 Bonilla and Michelena: *A Strategy for Research on Social Policy*.....GILBERT W. MERKX 262  
 Tremblay and Anderson: *Rural Canada in Transition*.....B. V. CARD 263  
 Kassof: *Prospects for Soviet Society*.....H. KENT GEIGER 264  
 Fried, et al.: *War*.....HERBERT S. LEWIS 266  
 Rokeach: *Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values*.....RICHARD L. GORSUCH 267  
 Sherif: *Social Interaction*.....SHALOM SCHWARTZ 268  
 Mouzelis: *Organisation and Bureaucracy*.....ANDREW EFFRAT AND GEORGE A. KOURVETARIS 269  
 Katz: *Autonomy and Organisation*.....ERWIN O. SMIGEL 271  
 Goldthorpe, et al.: *The Affluent Worker*.....CURT TAUSKY 272  
 Schur: *Law and Society*.....HUBERT J. O'GORMAN 273

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## BOOK REVIEWS—Cont.

|                                                                                                 |                     |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|-----|
| Rosenau: <i>Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy</i> .....                                        | NORTON E. LONG      | 274 |
| Nordlinger: <i>The Working-Class Tories</i> .....                                               | JORGEN S. RASMUSSEN | 275 |
| McKenzie and Silver: <i>Angels in Marble</i> .....                                              | JORGEN S. RASMUSSEN | 275 |
| Dean: <i>Five Towns</i> .....                                                                   | ISRAEL RUBIN        | 276 |
| Bloomberg and Schmandt: <i>Power, Poverty, and Urban Policy</i> .....                           | LUDWIG L. GEISMAR   | 277 |
| Waxman: <i>Poverty</i> .....                                                                    | HAROLD L. SHEPPARD  | 278 |
| Valentine: <i>Culture and Poverty</i> .....                                                     | NONA GLAZER MALBIN  | 279 |
| Hesslink: <i>Black Neighbors</i> .....                                                          | GARY T. MARX        | 280 |
| Levy: <i>Voluntary Servitude</i> .....                                                          | HOWARD ELINSON      | 280 |
| Stark and Glock: <i>Patterns of Religious Commitment</i> .....                                  | ROLAND ROBERTSON    | 281 |
| Rosenthal and Jacobson: <i>Pygmalion in the Classroom</i> .....                                 | WILBUR B. BROOKOVER | 283 |
| Hodgkinson: <i>Education, Interaction, and Social Change</i> .....                              | KENNETH A. FELDMAN  | 284 |
| Yamamoto: <i>The College Student and His Culture</i> .....                                      | JEROULD HEISS       | 285 |
| Sexton: <i>Readings on the School in Society</i> .....                                          | LOUIS H. ORZACK     | 286 |
| Greeley, et al.: <i>The Changing Catholic College</i> .....                                     | REECE MCGEE         | 286 |
| Gossman, et al.: <i>Migration of College and University Students in the United States</i> ..... | ABBOTT L. FERRISS   | 287 |
| Klein and Myerhoff: <i>Juvenile Gangs in Context</i> .....                                      | STEPHEN SCHAFER     | 288 |
| Dinitz and Reckless: <i>Critical Issues in the Study of Crime</i> .....                         | PAUL LERMAN         | 289 |
| Hoffman: <i>The Gay World</i> .....                                                             | MARTIN S. WEINBERG  | 290 |
| Oliver: <i>Sexual Deviation in American Society</i> .....                                       | EDWARD SAGARIN      | 291 |
| Youmans: <i>Older Rural Americans</i> .....                                                     | GORDON F. STREIB    | 292 |
| Lazarsfeld and Henry: <i>Latent Structure Analysis</i> .....                                    | THOMAS F. MAYER     | 293 |
| Levy: <i>Inferential Statistics in the Behavioral Sciences</i> .....                            | DONALD R. PLOCH     | 294 |
| Winter, et al.: <i>Vital Problems for American Society</i> .....                                | ROSE GIALLOMBARDO   | 294 |
| Straus and Nelson: <i>Sociological Analysis</i> .....                                           | DAVID ELESCH        | 295 |
| Stykos: <i>Human Fertility in Latin America</i> .....                                           | HARLEY L. BROWNING  | 296 |
| Rogers: <i>Matrix Analysis of Interregional Population Growth and Distribution</i> .....        | LEROY O. STONE      | 297 |
| Caldwell and Okonjo: <i>The Population of Tropical Africa</i> .....                             | PAUL DEMENY         | 298 |
| Richmond: <i>Post-War Immigrants in Canada</i> .....                                            | FRANK E. JONES      | 299 |
| PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED .....                                                                     |                     | 301 |
| ERRATA .....                                                                                    |                     | 307 |

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## ITEMS

■ Included in this number are studies on prejudice and discrimination, interpersonal relations and social areas within the city, influences in the educational plans of adolescents, laboratory simulation of organizational stress, scale analysis and alternative procedures for coding SES scores. **L. G. Warner** and **M. L. DeFleur** (Wash. State U.) argue that the degree of consistency between verbal attitude and overt behavior is contingent on the degree of social constraint and social distance. In a similar vein, **M. S. Weinberg** and **C. J. Williams** (Ind. U.) suggest that the reaction of members of a minority to public discrimination against them will vary according to their cultural background and specific social ties. Both **E. D. Laumann** (U. of Mich.) and **J. L. Abu-Lughod** (N'western U.) apply relatively complex statistical methods in studying the social behavior of persons within the city. Laumann's work provides an example of the possible utility of "smallest-space analysis" in sociological research. In their paper, **D. B. Kandel** and **G. S. Lesser** (Harvard U.) supply evidence bearing on the importance of parents relative to that of peers in the college plans of adolescents and thereby contribute to the growing literature on this subject. The possibility of studying organizational strain and stress by laboratory methods is considered by **T. E. Drabek** (U. of Denver) and **J. E. Haas** (U. of Colo.) in a continuation of their research on social disaster. **R. J. Chilton** (Fla. State U.) gives some computer-generated findings in support of the use of confidence intervals in scale analysis. **R. F. Winch**, **L. Godiksen** (N'western U.) and **S. A. Mueller** (Ind. U.) suggest that untrained college students may be used instead of expert coders to get relatively reliable Duncan SES scores.

■ **Marvin E. Olsen**, book review editor, comments (and I concur):

"Our policy will be to review all newly published books that are sociological in nature, as well as books in related fields of probable interest to many sociologists. Generally, we will not review a revision unless it contains substantial amounts of new material. Because of space limitations, it will generally be necessary to limit our reviews to English-language books.

We will continue to publish symposia on books that recommend themselves as major contributions to sociology, but there will not necessarily be a symposium in every issue. We may at times include two or more symposia in one issue if this seems justified. In addition, we will occasionally publish a review essay about a book (or set of books) that is noteworthy in some way, but which does not appear to warrant several or more separate reviews."

To the above statement may I add that Dr. Olsen is making a systematic effort to "democratize the selection of reviewers" and has written to many, many persons for names of potential reviewers.

■ **Robert Ferber**, applications editor of the *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, writes: "The *Journal of the American Statistical Association* will shortly have a new look. The articles portion of JASA will be divided into two sections, each under separate editorship: 'Theory and Methods' and 'Applications.' The change is designed to stimulate the submission of more quality manuscripts applying statistical methods to substantive problems. We are particularly anxious to have good manuscripts in social science." Authors of papers in which the sociological materials are quite incidental to the application of statistical techniques may wish to respond to Dr. Ferber's call for papers.

■ **Robert Goldstein**, Rutgers University, writes that he was mistakenly complimented by Chad Gordon for chapters actually written by **Harry Bredemeier** (ASR, April, 1968 pp. 327-328).

■ **A. H. Katz**, UCLA School of Public Health, challenges **J. F. Scott's** statement (ASR, June, 1968 pp. 453-456) that "the best examples of the Bunthorne syndrome are not in sociology but social welfare." Katz doubts that it is possible to find examples of "tergiversations" in the writings on social welfare that rival the best examples in sociological writing.

■ A special note to prospective contributors: An article should be submitted to only one journal at a time. Although the reaction of ASR to known violators has been "soft" in the past, we expect to adopt a much harder line in the future.

K.S.





# AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

Official Journal of the American Sociological Association

JUNE 1969

VOLUME 34 NUMBER 3

## ARTICLES

- The Social Organization of Legal Contacts.....LEON MAYHEW AND ALBERT J. REISS, JR. 309
- Physicians and Medicare: A Before-After Study of the Effects of Legislation on Attitudes...  
.....JOHN COLOMBOTOS 318
- Social Structure in a Group of Scientists: A Test of the "Invisible College" Hypothesis.....  
.....DIANA CRANE 335
- Status Inconsistency, Cross Pressures, and American Political Behavior.....DAVID R. SEGAL 352
- My Son the Doctor: Aspects of Mobility Among American Jews.....MARIAM K. SLATER 359
- Sociodynamics: An Integrative Theorem of Power, Authority, Interfluence and Love.....  
.....E. MICHAEL BANNERSTON 374

## REVIEW SYMPOSIUM

- J. P. Nettl and Roland Robertson, *International Systems and the Modernization of Societies:  
The Formation of National Goals* .....THEODORE CAPLOW 394  
.....ARNOLD S. FELDMAN 397  
.....DINA ZINNES 398

(Continued on following page)

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## BOOK REVIEWS

|                                                                                 |                                   |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----|
| Fallding: <i>The Sociological Task</i> .....                                    | JOHN WISON                        | 401 |
| Zeitlin: <i>Ideology and the Development of Sociological Theory</i> .....       | ROBERT BIERSTEDT                  | 402 |
| Nelson: <i>The Development of Lester Ward's World View</i> .....                | ISRAEL GERVER                     | 403 |
| Klausner: <i>Why Man Takes Chances</i> .....                                    | MARVIN B. SCOTT                   | 403 |
| Bennis and Slater: <i>The Temporary Society</i> .....                           | MARTIN L. COHNSTAEDT              | 404 |
| Phillips: <i>Human Adaptation and Its Failures</i> .....                        | S. KIRSON WEINBERG                | 405 |
| Norbeck, et al.: <i>The Study of Personality</i> .....                          | JOHN A. CLAUSEN                   | 406 |
| Cattell and Warburton: <i>Objective Personality and Motivation Tests</i> .....  | DAVID R. HEISE                    | 407 |
| Greer, et al.: <i>The New Urbanization</i> .....                                | WILLIS D. HAWLEY                  | 408 |
| Keller: <i>The Urban Neighborhood</i> .....                                     | SAMUEL E. WALLACE                 | 409 |
| Schnore: <i>Social Science and the City</i> .....                               | WILLIAM MICHELSON                 | 410 |
| Niebanck and Yessian: <i>Relocation in Urban Planning</i> .....                 | MICHAEL W. GILLESPIE              | 411 |
| Lundberg: <i>The Rich and the Super-Rich</i> .....                              | E. DIGBY BALTZELL                 | 411 |
| Parkin: <i>Middle Class Radicalism</i> .....                                    | DAVID L. WESTBY                   | 412 |
| Renshaw: <i>The Wobblies</i> .....                                              | JOHN C. LEGGETT                   | 414 |
| Bendix: <i>State and Society</i> .....                                          | CALVIN J. LARSON                  | 415 |
| Weinberg: <i>Desegregation Research</i> .....                                   | JOHN PEASE AND RICHARD A. MATHERS | 416 |
| Mack: <i>Our Children's Burden</i> .....                                        | DONALD L. NOEL                    | 416 |
| Deutsch, et al.: <i>Social Class, Race, and Psychological Development</i> ..... | CARL W. BACKMAN                   | 418 |

(Articles in the REVIEW are indexed in the *Social Sciences and Humanities Index*, the *Public Affairs Information Service*, *Psychological Abstracts*, *Sociological Abstracts*, *Eyer's Guide*, *University Microfilms*, and *Abstracts for Social Workers*. Book reviews are indexed in the *Book Review Index* and the *Book Review Digest*.)

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## BOOK REVIEWS—Cont.

|                                                                          |                        |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|-----|
| Clark: <i>Adult Education in Transition</i> .....                        | JAMES G. ANDERSON      | 419 |
| Crowther: <i>Science in Modern Society</i> .....                         | STEPHEN COLE           | 420 |
| Jessor, et al., <i>Society, Personality, and Deviant Behavior</i> .....  | EDWIN M. SCHUR         | 421 |
| Geiger: <i>Comparative Perspectives on Marriage and the Family</i> ..... | ROBERT O. BLOOD, JR.   | 422 |
| Farber: <i>Comparative Kinship Systems</i> .....                         | ELMORA M. MATTHEWS     | 422 |
| Rosengren: <i>Sociological Aspects of the Literary System</i> .....      | MILTON C. ALBRECHT     | 423 |
| Lang and Lang: <i>Politics and Television</i> .....                      | EDWARD C. McDONAGH     | 424 |
| Keyfitz and Flieger: <i>World Population</i> .....                       | CONRAD TAEUBER         | 425 |
| Keyfitz: <i>Introduction to the Mathematics of Population</i> .....      | CONRAD TAEUBER         | 425 |
| Mechanic: <i>Medical Sociology</i> .....                                 | AUGUST B. HOLLINGSHEAD | 426 |
| Duff and Hollingshead: <i>Sickness and Society</i> .....                 | OSWALD HALL            | 426 |
| Olesen and Whittaker: <i>The Silent Dialogue</i> .....                   | IDA HARPER SIMPSON     | 427 |
| Anderson: <i>The Uneasy Equilibrium</i> .....                            | ROBERT LEJEUNE         | 428 |
| Koller: <i>Social Gerontology</i> .....                                  | MARK MESSER            | 429 |
| Spitzer and Denzin: <i>The Mental Patient</i> .....                      | MILTON J. BRAWER       | 429 |
| Farber: <i>Mental Retardation</i> .....                                  | KENNETH J. DOWNEY      | 430 |
| Rushing: <i>Deviant Behavior and Social Process</i> .....                | ARTHUR LEWIS WOOD      | 431 |
| Lindenfeld: <i>Radical Perspectives on Social Problems</i> .....         | MURRAY L. WAX          | 432 |
| Cavan and Cavan: <i>Delinquency and Crime</i> .....                      | JAMES C. HACKLER       | 433 |
| Geis: <i>White-Collar Criminal</i> .....                                 | ROBERT SHERWIN         | 434 |
| Winslow: <i>Crime in a Free Society</i> .....                            | E. L. QUARANTELLI      | 435 |
| Winslow: <i>Juvenile Delinquency in a Free Society</i> .....             | E. L. QUARANTELLI      | 435 |
| Studt, et al.: <i>C-Unit</i> .....                                       | JEROME RABOW           | 436 |
| Yablonsky: <i>The Hippie Trip</i> .....                                  | JOHN H. GAGNON         | 437 |
| Ilfeld and Lauer: <i>Social Nudism in America</i> .....                  | MARTIN S. WEINBERG     | 438 |
| McNall: <i>Introductory Readings</i> .....                               | HALLOWELL POPE         | 439 |
| Truzzi: <i>Sociology and Everyday Life</i> .....                         | JOHN HORTON            | 439 |
| Manners and Kaplan: <i>Theory in Anthropology</i> .....                  | DAVID BIDNEY           | 440 |
| RECENT FOREIGN-LANGUAGE SOCIOLOGY BOOKS .....                            |                        | 442 |
| ERRATA .....                                                             |                        | 443 |
| PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED .....                                              |                        | 444 |

## MANUSCRIPTS FOR THE ASA ROSE SOCIOLOGY SERIES

Fellows and Active and Student members of the Association may submit manuscripts of 100 to 300 typed pages for publication in the *ASA Arnold and Caroline Rose Monograph Series in Sociology* to the Series Editor, Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48100.

## ITEMS

■ Included in this number are studies on the invisible college, social power, social mobility, status inconsistency, and law and society. In their study of legal contacts, **L. Mayhew** and **A. J. Reiss, Jr.** (U. of Mich.) demonstrate that the incidence of such contacts is affected by the social organization of both the legal system and the various clientele which that system serves. **J. Colomberos** (Columbia U.) presents findings in support of the idea that laws may affect attitudes before changing behavior, and that correspondingly the law itself may be an instrument of social change under specific circumstances. The hypothesis that researchers working on the same problem tend to develop a distinctive social organization is sustained by **D. Crane's** (Johns Hopkins U.) findings on rural sociologists specializing on the diffusion of agricultural innovation. In a contribution to the growing literature on status inconsistency, **D. R. Segal** (U. of Mich.) suggests that a person's political response to an inconsistency between statuses may be affected by the social visibility of the lower social status. From her materials on Jewish mobility in America, **M. K. Slater** (Queens College, CUNY) draws the conclusion the economic orientation is relatively more important than intellectual orientation in accounting for that mobility. In an unusually long article (by ASR norms) **E. M. Bannister** (London, England) formulates a conceptual framework on social power. Bannister has been engaged in the development of incipient and established organizations in numerous countries. He is presently writing on organizational theory, and a book of his is expected to appear this year. He has also lectured on his subject but is unaffiliated.

■ On behalf of the associate editors: During the month of January, which we have no reason to believe is unrepresentative, we sent 62 articles (not all different) to 17 associate editors for evaluation. (We sent several or more manuscripts to special consultants.) Individual loads ranged from 1 paper

to 7, with a mean load of 3.65 papers. We conservatively estimate that approximately 4 hours are required to process a paper, start to finish. Roughly 15 hours are required to evaluate the monthly load of 3.65 papers. Since the publication of ASR is continual and since associate editors are on call throughout the year (unless they make special arrangements), we estimate that each associate gives 180 hours during the year to ASR. Converting this annual figure of hours to days, we get 22.5 days; converting this figure of days to weeks, we get 3+ weeks—or the yearly professional time in weeks associate editors give to ASR. We mention this figure mainly to direct attention to persons whose considerable contributions to ASR may be overlooked because they are either invisible or unheralded, or both. We might also mention the numerous requests from authors to acknowledge by footnote the usefulness of critical memoranda supplied by ASR readers. Our standing policy is against such public recognition, except for a blanket note such as this.

■ Policy on Communications: Very briefly, our general policy is to publish communications which correct errors in published articles. Since not all errors are equally serious and since many are quite inconsequential, we do not publish every note calling attention to mistakes, blunders and the like. Nor do we publish suggestions for research which presumably represent a more fruitful approach than that adopted by the author of a published report. Such suggestions, together with supporting logic and facts, should be submitted as a regular article.

■ The very first issue of the *Indian Journal of Sociology* will be published in July of this year (1969). Persons interested in the specialties of this journal, together with its publication policy, should correspond with **Keshav Dev Sharma**, *Indian Journal of Sociology*, Mahalaxmi Chambers, 22 Warden Road, Bombay 26, India.

# AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

February, 1969

Volume 34, No. 1

## THE CHAOTIC SOCIETY: PRODUCT OF THE SOCIAL MORPHOLOGICAL REVOLUTION \*

PHILIP M. HAÜSER

*University of Chicago*

SOCIETY as a whole has been viewed historically from many perspectives. It has been envisaged among other ways as "the great society" (Wallas, 1916), "the acquisitive society" (Tawney, 1920), and "the affluent society" (Galbraith, 1958). Contemporary society, whether observed globally, nationally, or locally, is realistically characterized as "the chaotic society" and best understood as "the anachronistic society."

Contemporary society is realistically characterized as chaotic because of its manifest confusion and disorder—the essential elements of chaos. On the international scene, to draw upon a few examples, consider the situation in Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, the Middle East, and Nigeria. On the national level consider the United States, France, the United Kingdom, China, and almost any country in Asia, Latin America or Africa. On the local level, in the United States, consider New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Detroit, Cleveland, Memphis, Miami, and over 100 other cities which have been wracked by violence.

Contemporary society can be best understood when it is viewed as an anachronistic society. To be sure, society at any time, at least during the period of recorded history, has been an anachronistic society. For throughout the millennia of the historical era, society, at any instant in time, com-

prised layers of culture which, like geological strata, reflected the passage and deposits of time. Confusion and disorder, or chaos, may be viewed in large part as the resultant of the dissonance and discord among the various cultural strata, each of which tends to persist beyond the set of conditions, physical and social, which generated it.

In some ways chaos in contemporary society differs from that in earlier societies only in degree. But there are a number of unique factors in contemporary chaos which make it more a difference in kind. First, contemporary society, as the most recent, contains the greatest number of cultural layers, and, therefore, the greatest potential for confusion and disorder. Second, contemporary society, by reason of the social morphological revolution, possesses cultural layers much more diverse than any predecessor society and, therefore, much greater dissonance. Third, contemporary society, unlike any predecessor, contains the means of its own destruction, the ultimate weapon, the explosive power of nuclear fusion. Fourth, fortunately, contemporary society possesses the knowledge, embodied in the emerging social sciences, including sociology, that affords some hope for the dissipation of confusion and the restoration of order before the advent of collective suicide. It is a moot question, however, as to whether society yet possesses the will and the organization to utilize available knowledge to this end.

\* Prepared as Presidential Address, 63rd Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Boston, August 28, 1958.

By reason of these considerations, the theme of this annual meeting of the American Sociological Association is most appropriate—"On the Gap Between Sociology and Social Policy."<sup>1</sup> For sociology, as well as the other social sciences, provides knowledge, even though limited, permitting an understanding of society, contemporary and historical, and, in consequence, offers some hope for rational action towards the resolution of the chaos which afflicts us (Hauser, 1946).

It is my central thesis that contemporary society, the chaotic and anachronistic society, is experiencing unprecedented tensions and strains by reason of the social morphological revolution. The key to the understanding of contemporary society lies, therefore, in an understanding of the social morphological revolution. Moreover, it is a corollary thesis that comprehension of the social morphological revolution points to the directions social engineering must take for the reduction or elimination of the chaos that threatens the viability of contemporary society.

I am mindful of the fact that "the social morphological revolution" is not a familiar rubric to the sociological fraternity—nor to anyone else. It is a neologism, albeit with a legitimate and honorable ancestry, for which I must plead guilty. I offer two justifications for injecting this abominable rhetoric into the literature. First, I am convinced that it contains useful explanatory power that has not yet been fully exploited in macro-social considerations, or in empirical research, or in social engineering activities. Second, it is appropriate that the discipline of sociology possess a revolution of its own. After all, the

agronomists have the "agricultural revolution"; economists, the "commercial" and "industrial" revolutions; natural scientists, the "scientific revolution"; engineers, the "technological revolution"; and demographers, the "vital revolution." Each of these revolutions is obviously the invention of scholars seeking a short and snappy chapter for a book title to connote complex and highly significant patterns of events. Sociologists, even if they have not formally recognized it, have the "social morphological revolution," and perhaps it is in order formally to acknowledge and to christen it.

#### THE SOCIAL MORPHOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

What is this social morphological revolution and what are its antecedents?

To answer the second of these questions first, I must repeat that its ancestry is legitimate and honorable. Durkheim (1897-1898), encapsulating earlier literature, provided in a focused way insight into the implications of the most abstract way of viewing a society, namely, by size and density of its population. In his consideration of the structure of the social order Durkheim (1938:81) used the term "social morphology." Wirth (1956) in his classical article "Urbanism as a Way of Life," drawing on Aristotle, Durkheim, Tonnies, Sumner, Willcox, Park, Burgess and others, explicitly dealt with the impact of size, density and heterogeneity of population on human behavior and on the social order.

The social morphological revolution refers to the changes in the size, density and heterogeneity of population and to the impact of these changes on man and society. As far as I know, the term was first published in my Presidential Address to the American Statistical Association (Hauser, 1963). It was used in conjunction with my explication of the "size-density model." This model provides a simplistic demonstration of the multiplier effect on potential human interaction of increased population density in a fixed land area and, therefore, can appropriately be described as an index of the size and density aspects of the social morphological revolution.

<sup>1</sup> The thematic sessions and their organizers are:  
Conformity and Social Change—Stanton Wheeler,  
Organizer  
Socialization and Education—Ernest Q. Campbell,  
Organizer  
Sociology and Environmental Planning—Scott  
Greer, Organizer  
Law and the Administration of Criminal Justice—  
Lloyd E. Ohlin, Organizer  
The Polity and the Academy—Leonard S. Cottrell,  
Jr., Organizer  
Population and Population Control—Charles F.  
Westoff, Organizer  
Sociology and Social Development—Arthur L.  
Stinchcombe, Organizer  
Sociology and Socialist Countries—George Fischer,  
Organizer  
Sociology and Systems Analysis—Frederick F.  
Stephan, Organizer

The essence of the size-density model, drawing on my earlier writing, is briefly given as follows: (Hauser, 1965:11-12)

Let us consider the implications of variation in size and density of population, confining our attention to a fixed land area. For purposes of convenience, consider a circle with a radius of 10 miles. Such a circle would have a total area of approximately 314 square miles. The size of the total population in such a circle under different density conditions is shown below:

| Assumed Population<br>Density (persons<br>per square mile) | Area with<br>Approximate Density<br>Assumed          | Number of Persons<br>in Circle of 10-<br>Mile Radius |
|------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| 1                                                          | U.S. in 1500                                         | 314                                                  |
| 50                                                         | World in 1960                                        | 15,700                                               |
| 8,000                                                      | Average central city in<br>metropolitan area in U.S. | 2,512,000                                            |
| 17,000                                                     | Chicago                                              | 5,338,000                                            |
| 25,000                                                     | New York                                             | 7,850,000                                            |
| 75,000                                                     | Manhattan                                            | 23,550,000                                           |

The population densities shown are not unrealistic ones. The population density of 1 may be taken as an approximation of the density of the United States prior to European occupancy. Actually, the Indian population was approximately one-third as dense as this, but 1 is a convenient figure with which to work. The density of 50 is approximately that of the United States in 1960, and approximately the population density of the world as a whole. The density of 8000 in round numbers is not too far from the density of the average central city in metropolitan areas of the United States in 1960. The density figure 17,000 is approximately that of Chicago, the figure of 25,000 approximately the density of New York, and the figure of 75,000 approximately the density of Manhattan Island.

In aboriginal America a person moving within the ten-mile circle could potentially make only 313 different contacts with other human beings. In contrast, the density of the United States as a whole today would make possible 15,699 contacts in the same land area. The density of the average central city in the United States would permit over 2.5 million contacts, the density of Chicago over 5.3 million contacts, the density of New York City over 7.0 million contacts, and the density of Manhattan over 23.5 million contacts in the same land area. The potential number of contacts, when considered as a measure of potential human interaction, provides, in a simplistic way to be sure, a basis for understanding the difference that city living makes.

This explication is not only simplistic but greatly curtailed, for it does not consider the

effects on potential human interaction of contacts in diads, triads and other size groupings which, obviously, would generate high orders in exponentials. Nor does the size-density model encompass the impact of heterogeneity, which is affected by population size and density as well as human migration.

### *Elements*

The social morphological revolution is the product of three developments, energized by,

and in interaction with, a fourth. The three developments may be described in dramatic terms as the "population explosion," the "population implosion," and "population diversification." The fourth, and interrelated development, is the acceleration in the tempo of technological and social change.

The "population explosion" refers to the remarkable increase in the rate of world population growth, especially during the three centuries of the modern era. In the long view world population growth rates have increased from perhaps two percent per millennium during the Paleolithic Period to two percent per annum at the present time—a thousand-fold increase (Wellemeier and Lorimer, 1962).

Since mid-17th century world population has increased over six-fold, from about one-half billion to 3.4 billion at the present time. In quick summary, it took most of the two to 2½ million years man, or a close relative, has occupied the earth to generate a world population of one billion persons—a number not achieved until about 1825. It required only 105 years more to reach a population of 2 billion, by 1930; and only 30 years more to reach a total population of 3 billion, by 1960 (United Nations, 1953:11 and 1966:15).

The population explosion is still under way and, in fact, has achieved a greater magnitude since the end of World War II

with its extension to the two-thirds of mankind in the developing areas of the world—in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Despite growing efforts to dampen rates of population growth, and contrary to the wishful thinking of some family planners, the facts indicate continuing acceleration of world population. Certainly, short of the catastrophic, there is little prospect of significant reduction in world population growth between now and the end of this century. Present fertility and mortality trends would beget a world population of 7.5 billion by the year 2000, and even the relatively optimistic preferred projection of the United Nations gives a world total of 6.1 billion by the century's end (United Nations, 1966:15). Despite efforts to reduce fertility, then, the realistic prospect is that continuing mortality declines, as well as stubbornly high birth rates, will continue to produce explosive world population growth for at least the next two human generations.

The "population implosion" refers to the increasing concentration of the world's peoples on a small proportion of the earth's surface—the phenomenon of urbanization and metropolitanization. Again, in the long view, this is a relatively recent development. Permanent human settlement was not achieved until the Neolithic Period. Such permanent settlement had to await the great inventions, technological and social organizational, of the Neolithic Revolution—including domesticated plants and animals, the proliferation of the crafts, and forms of collective behavior and social organization (Turner, 1941; Childe, 1941; Braidwood and Willey, 1962; Mumford, 1961). Clumpings of population large enough to be called towns or cities did not emerge until after about 3500 B.C., and mankind did not achieve the technological and social organizational development to permit cities of 100,000 or more until as recently as Greco-Roman civilization. With the collapse of the Roman Empire, the relatively large urban agglomerations in the Roman sphere of influence diminished in size to small towns providing services to rural hinterlands together with which they constituted almost autonomous subsistence economies.

With the emergence of Europe from the Dark Ages and the series of "revolutions"

—the Agricultural Revolution, the Commercial Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, the Scientific Revolution, and the Technological Revolution—man achieved levels both of technological and social organizational development that permitted ever larger agglomerations of people and economic activities. In consequence, the proliferation of cities of 1,000,000 or more inhabitants became possible during the 19th century, and the emergence of metropolitan areas and megalopolis, the coalescence of metropolitan areas, during the second half of the 20th century. In 1800 only 2.4 percent of the world's people resided in places of 20,000 or more; and only 1.7 percent in places of 100,000 or more. By 1960, 27.1 percent were located in places of 20,000 or more, and 19.9 percent in places of 100,000 or more (Davis, 1955; Breese, 1966).

The trend towards increased urban and metropolitan concentration of population is likely to continue. The reasons for this are to be found in the advantages of clumpings of population and economic activities. As Adam Smith noted, the greater the agglomeration, the greater is the division of labor possible; and this permits increased specialization, easier application of technology and the use of non-human energy, economies of scale, external economies, and the minimization of the frictions of space and communication. In brief, the population implosion is likely to continue because clumpings of people and economic activities constitute the most efficient producer and consumer units yet devised. Moreover, such population agglomerations generate a social milieu of excitement and lure which add to the forces making for larger aggregations. Projections of world urban population indicate that by the end of the century 42 percent of the world's peoples may be resident in places of 100,000 or more, as contrasted with 20 percent in 1960, 5.5 percent in 1900, and 1.7 percent in 1800 (Davis, 1955; Breese, 1966).

"Population diversification" alludes to the increasing heterogeneity of populations not only sharing the same geographic area but also, increasingly, the same life space—economic, social and political activity. And the "same geographic area" and "the same life space," with accelerating technological and



social organizational developments, have expanded during the 20th century virtually to embrace the entire world. Population heterogeneity involves diversity in culture, language, religion, values, behavior, ethnicity and race. These characteristics are obviously not mutually exclusive categories, but they constitute foci of problems of communication, conflicts of interest, and frictions of interaction. Population diversification connotes not only the physical presence of a heterogeneous human aggregation but also social interaction among the diverse elements. It involves not only physical density but also "moral density," as used by Durkheim—social contact and social interaction (Durkheim, 1933, Book II, Ch. 2).

Finally, the accelerated tempo of technological and social change requires little elaboration. Suffice it to say that technological change has, in general, preceded and necessitated social change, and that the difference between rates of technological and social change and differential rates of social change have originated great cultural strains and dissonance (Ogburn, 1922).

The four developments discussed are, needless to say, highly interrelated and constitute the important elements of the social morphological revolution. The population explosion has fed the population implosion. Both have fed population diversification. And the accelerated tempo of technological and social change have operated as both antecedents to, and consequences of, the other three developments. Each in its own way, and all four in concert, have precipitated severe problems: chronic and acute; physical, economic, social and political; domestic and international.

The social morphological revolution incorporates the vital revolution and is closely interrelated with the other revolutions—agricultural, commercial, scientific, technological, and industrial. It is both antecedent to, and consequent of, the other revolutions and, as such, should be, on the one hand, better understood when considered in relation to them and, on the other hand, should be helpful in explaining them.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> This is a matter which cannot be elaborated in this paper but will be treated further in a subsequent publication.

#### THE SOCIAL MORPHOLOGICAL REVOLUTION IN THE UNITED STATES

The United States constitutes the world's most dramatic examples of all four of the developments described. These developments are reaching climactic proportions, have precipitated major crises, and constitute a framework for comprehending and dealing with America's urban difficulties. Virtually all of the urban problems which are increasingly and urgently requiring national attention, whether they be physical, personal, social, ethnic and racial, economic or governmental problems, may be viewed as frictions of the social morphological revolution which is still under way—frictions in the transition from an agrarian to an urban and metropolitan order.

*The Population Explosion.* In 1790, when the first Decennial Census of the United States was taken, the United States had a total population of less than 4 million persons. By 1960 the population of the nation numbered more than 180 million; during 1967 it reached 200 million.

The U.S. Bureau of the Census has from time to time made projections of U.S. population on varying assumptions about the future course of fertility and mortality. Such projections made in 1967 indicate that, despite the declining crude birth rate, the United States will continue to experience large absolute population increase in the decades which lie ahead. These projections show that by 1990, only 22 years hence, the population of the U.S. may reach a level of from 256 to 300 million. One of these projections, based on a fertility assumption that takes the current slump in the birth rate into account, would produce a population of 206 million by 1970, 232 million by 1980, and 267 million by 1990. The same projection gives a population of 308 million by the year 2000 and 374 million by 2015 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1957, 1962, 1967).<sup>3</sup>

*The Population Implosion.* In 1790, 95 percent of the population of the United States

<sup>3</sup> The statistics for the United States are drawn or calculated from publications of the U.S. Bureau of the Census. Specific sources are not shown to avoid unnecessary footnote detail. Reference is made only to general sources which contain much of the data.

lived in rural areas, on farms, or in places having fewer than 2500 persons. The 5 percent of the population which lived in cities were concentrated in 24 such places, only two of which (New York and Philadelphia) had populations of 25,000 or more. By 1850, population in urban places was still as low as 15 percent. By 1900, however, almost two-fifths of the population lived in cities. But it was not until as recently as 1920 that the U.S. became an urban nation in the sense that more than half of the population (51 percent) lived in cities. That many critical problems affect cities and urban populations should not be too surprising in light of the fact that it will not be until the next Census of Population is taken, in 1970, that the United States will have completed her first half century as an urban nation, a period shorter than a lifetime.

The speed of the population implosion becomes clear in an examination of developments since the turn of the century. In the first sixty years of this century the increase in urban population absorbed 92 percent of the total population growth in the nation. In the decade 1950 to 1960, the increase in urban population absorbed more than 100 percent of total national growth; that is, total rural population, including nonfarm as well as farm, actually diminished for the first time.

The increase in the population of metropolitan areas is equally dramatic. The increase in the population of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) absorbed 79 percent of total national growth between 1900 and 1960; and the 24 largest SMSA's, those with 1,000,000 or more, absorbed 43 percent in the first sixty years of this century.

The population implosion in this nation is still under way. Recent projections I have made with a colleague indicate that if present trends continue the metropolitan population, between 1960 and 1985, will increase by some 58 percent, while the non-metropolitan population increases by less than 12 percent (Hodge and Hauser, 1968). By 1985, then, 71 percent of the people in this nation would reside in metropolitan areas as compared with 63 percent in 1960.

*Population Diversification.* The United States has been one of history's most dra-

matic examples of population diversification as well as of the population explosion and the population implosion. Although the original European settlers were predominantly from the United Kingdom, the infusion of African Negro population began during the seventeenth century and was followed by waves of diverse European stocks during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Census of Population first counted "foreign born" whites in 1850. At that time they constituted 9.7 percent of the total population. Although successive waves of immigration were heavy, the foreign-born whites never exceeded 14.5 percent of the total, a level reached in 1890 and again in 1910; they have been a dwindling proportion of the total ever since. By reason of restrictions on immigration, the foreign-born will become a decreasing proportion of the population of the nation in the decades which lie ahead.

In 1850, native whites made up 74.6 percent of the population of the nation, and "nonwhites," mainly Negroes, 15.7 percent. By 1900, the proportion had changed little, 75.5 percent being native white and 12.1 percent nonwhite. As recently as 1900, however, little more than half the American people were native whites of native parentage. That is, about one-fifth of the population was "second generation" white, or native whites born of foreign or mixed parentage.

By 1960, native whites constituted 83 percent, foreign whites 5.2 percent, and Negroes 10.6 percent of the total. Native whites of native parentage made up 70 percent of the total, the remaining 13 percent of native whites being second generation. Thus, in 1960 "foreign white stock," foreign born plus second generation, still made up over 18 percent of the total population.

Although the foreign white stock will become a dwindling part of the population in the decades which lie ahead, the proportion of nonwhites, mainly Negroes, is likely to increase. In 1960, there were 20.7 million nonwhites in the U.S., or 11.4 percent of the total. By 1990 it is estimated by the U.S. Bureau of the Census that nonwhites will double, increasing to 41.5 million. By 1990, nonwhites may, therefore, make up some 14.5 percent of the American people.

By reason of the "Negro Revolt," the most acute present manifestation of chaos in the United States, a closer examination of Negro population trends is required. In 1790, as recorded in the first census of the United States, there were fewer than 800,000 Negroes in the nation, but they made up about 20 percent of the total population. By that date they had already been resident in the colonies for 175 years, mainly as the property or indentured servants of their white masters.

Negro Americans remained about one-fifth of the total population until 1810. From then to 1930 they were an ever declining proportion of the total, as slave traffic ceased and white immigration continued. By 1930 the proportion of Negroes had diminished to less than one-tenth of the total. Since 1940, however, the Negro growth rate has been greater than that of the white population, and their proportion had risen to 11 percent by 1967.

In 1790, 91 percent of all Negroes lived in the South. The first large migratory flow of Negroes out of the South began during World War I, prompted by the need for wartime labor and the freeing of the Negro from the soil, with the diversification of agriculture and the onset of the delayed industrial revolution in the South. This migration of Negroes from the South was greatly increased during and after World War II. As a result, the proportion of total Negroes located in the North and West almost quadrupled between 1910 and 1960, increasing from 11 to 40 percent.

The migratory movement of Negroes from the South to the North and West effected not only a regional redistribution but also, significantly, an urban-rural redistribution. In 1910, before the out-migration of the Negro from the South began, 73 percent lived in rural areas. By 1960, within fifty years, the Negro had been transformed from 73 percent rural to 73 percent urban, and had become more urbanized than the white population.

The great urban concentration of Negro Americans is also revealed by their location in metropolitan areas. By 1910, only 29 percent of Negroes lived in the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. By 1960, this concentration had increased to 65 per-

cent. By 1960, 51 percent of all Negroes lived in the central cities of the SMSA's. Moreover, the 24 SMSA's with one million or more inhabitants contained 38 percent, and their central cities 31 percent, of all Negro Americans.

Again I draw on my recent projections estimating nonwhite population in metropolitan areas (SMSA's) by residence in central city and ring (Hodge and Hauser, 1968). They show that present trends may well take the nation farther down the road toward a *de facto* "apartheid society." By 1985 the concentration of nonwhites in central cities (as defined in 1960) would increase to 58 percent from the level of 51 percent in 1960, while the concentration of white population in central cities would diminish by almost a third to 21 percent in 1985 from 30 percent in 1960. In consequence, by 1985, 75 percent of all nonwhites within metropolitan areas would be resident in central cities and only 25 percent in the suburbs. In contrast, by 1985, 70 percent of the whites would inhabit the suburbs and only 30 percent live in central cities. Thus, of the total population in SMSA's, the proportion of nonwhite would increase from 11.7 percent in 1960 to 15.1 percent by 1985. But the proportion of population in central cities which would be nonwhite would increase by about 73 percent, rising from 17.8 percent in 1960 to 30.7 percent in 1985.

Negro population changes, past and in prospect, have resulted in greatly increased sharing with whites of the same geographical local areas, accompanied by increased pressure for social contact and social interaction. The acute tensions which characterize white-black relationships in the United States today represent a compounding of the impact of the social morphological revolution. For within the framework of the general population explosion and implosion in the entire nation, there has occurred an even more dramatic population explosion and implosion among Afro-Americans. These developments have greatly exacerbated the problems of inter-group relations. The large increase in the population of Afro-Americans in urban and metropolitan areas over a relatively short period of time, and the contrast in background and

life-styles between blacks and whites by reason of the disadvantaged position of blacks over the years, have combined to produce tensions that may well constitute the most serious domestic problem in the United States for some time to come (Hauser, 1966; Hauser, 1967a; Hauser, 1968a).

#### CONSEQUENCES OF THE SOCIAL MORPHOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

The combined effects of the population explosion, the population implosion, and population diversification have produced in the realm of the social the equivalent of a mutation in the realm of the genetic. The social morphological revolution has profoundly altered human nature and the social order. In broad overview the social morphological revolution has modified the human aggregation as a physical construct and as an economic mechanism; it has transformed human behavior and social organization, including the nature of government; it has generated and aggravated a host of problems—physical, personal, social, institutional, and governmental.

Examples of the physical problems are given by the problems relating to housing supply and quality, circulation of persons and goods, solid and human waste removal, air and water pollution, recreational facilities, urban design, and the management of natural resources.

Examples of personal, social and organizational problems are given by the incidence of delinquency and crime, alcoholism, drug addiction, and mental disorder. It is evident in the current revolt of youth, which at the extremes include the "hippie," who resolves his problems by retreat, and the "activist," who resolves his problems by beating his head against the doors of the Pentagon, or police clubs at the University of California at Berkeley and at other universities. It is revealed also in unemployment, poverty, racism, bigotry, inter-group conflict, family disorganization, differential morbidity and mortality, labor-management conflict, the conservative-liberal debate, the maladministration of criminal justice; and in corruption, malapportionment and inertia in government, and the fragmentation and paralysis of local government. It is further revealed

by continuing resort to physical force as a means for the resolution of conflicts of interest. No matter how laudable the goals, when force is employed by labor and management, by students, by advocates of peace, by minority groups, or in most extreme form by nations at war, it is a mechanism incompatible with the continued viability of contemporary society. In fact, if society is to remain viable, when there is disorder, it has no alternative to the use of overwhelming collective force for restoration of order. Of course, upon the restoration of order, the causes of disorder must be investigated and removed, or tensions may mount and produce even greater disorder. The point is that contemporary society, by reason of unprecedented interdependence, is highly vulnerable and easily disrupted—a fact which is increasingly perceived and exploited by dissident persons and groups.

These types of problems may be viewed sociologically as consequences of the social morphological revolution which generated secondary group, as distinguished from primary group association; inter-personal relations based on utility from emotion and sentiment; the conjugal or nuclear, from the extended family; formal from informal social control; rational from traditional behavior; enacted from crevice institutions; and bureaucracy from small-scale and informal organization. Especially significant have been the changes in the elements and processes of the socialization of the child—the transformation of the helpless biological specimen, the infant, into a human being or member of society. In brief, the social morphological revolution transformed the "little community" (Redfield, 1955), which has characterized predecessor societies, into the "mass society" (Mannheim, 1940:61).

It is my contention that the confusion and disorder of contemporary life may be better understood and dealt with as frictions in the transition still under way from the little community to the mass society; and that the chaos of contemporary society, in large part, is the product of dissonance and conflict among the strata of culture which make up our social heritage. The problems or frictions are often visible manifestations of what my former teacher and colleague,

William Fielding Ogburn, termed "cultural lag" (Ogburn, 1922:200ff).

Permit me to provide a few concrete examples of cultural lag in contemporary society—examples of special significance and impact. I do so, as a sociologist, to illustrate the use of the analytical framework provided by the social morphological revolution in the consideration of specific social problems.

*Governance.* Focusing on the United States, consider the example of cultural lag in our system of governance. Needless to say, confusion and disorder in government has a multiplier impact on other realms of chaos.

Consider some of the elements involved in the raging "conservative-liberal" debate. In the ongoing political context, the polemic centers on the role of government in the social and economic order. It is evident in the attitudes toward "big government," and, in general, in anachronistic political ideology (Hauser, 1967c). Three illustrations of "cultural lag" in ideology help to explain the paralysis which afflicts this nation in efforts to deal with the acute problems which beset us.

One is the inherited shibboleth that "that government is best which governs least." The doctrine made considerable sense when our first census was taken in 1790. At that time, 95 percent of the American people lived on farms or in towns having fewer than 2500 persons. What was there for government to do, compared with the situation in 1960, in which 70 percent of the American people lived in urban places and about 63 percent were residents of metropolitan areas? Can you visualize a United States today without a Social Security System, without a Public Health Service, without a Federal Reserve Board, without the Interstate Commerce Commission, and without the Civil Aeronautics Administration? The slogan "that government is best which governs least" is a good example of a cultural survival which has persisted beyond its time.

Or contemplate next the shibboleth each man in pursuing his own interest, "as if guided by an invisible hand," promotes the interest of the entire society. This also made sense in the United States in 1790. Each person pursuing his own interest and sup-

porting his family on a farm or in a small town was, to be sure, automatically acting in the interest of society. But can you imagine a United States today without a Food and Drug Administration, a Securities and Exchange Commission, a Federal Trade Commission, and a Federal Communications Commission? The recent Federal intervention into automobile safety is a timely reminder of the fact that what is in the best interest of the Detroit automotive manufacturer is not necessarily in the best interest of the American people. The chasm between reality in economic behavior and extreme forms of classical and neo-classical economics grows broader and deeper with each passing year as the social morphological revolution continues in its inexorable course.

Consider, also, the shibboleths that taxes are what governments take away from the people and that government expenditures must be kept to a minimum. The Ways and Means Committee of the 90th House of Representatives and the majority in both Houses afford an excellent example of cultural lag and its consequences in their vestigial behavior in respect to the income tax surcharge. The critical question that the Congress should have asked is, "What are the essential needs of the United States to maintain this nation as a viable society?" And the next step should have been to arrange to finance the necessary programs. Taxes in a mass society are not what the government takes away from people, but rather what the people pay for essential services required for collective living in an interdependent society which, among other things, generates needs which cannot be met by the free market. Congress, exemplifying cultural lag, cut deeply into essential programs already pathetically inadequate to provide desperately needed services to many millions of Americans. Perhaps the highlight in the insensitivity and anachronistic character of the 90th House of Representatives was given by its Marie Antoinette type of performance which, in respect to the Afro-American urban slum residents, in effect said "Let them have rats."

Furthermore, apart from these examples of ideological atavisms, consider the irony in the national political situation, in which by reason of seniority provisions for com-

mittee memberships and chairmanships in the Congress and the one-party system in the post-bellum South, this most underdeveloped region of the United States, which is still in the early stages of the social morphological revolution, maintains a vise-like grip on the national legislative process—a grip bolstered by the filibuster which permits tyranny by a minority.

There are many other evidences of cultural lag in the Federal government and on the state and local levels of government. The rapidity with which this nation has become urbanized has produced serious malapportionment in the House of Representatives in the Congress, in state assemblies, and in municipal councils. For example, in 1960, there were 39 states with an urban population majority, but not a single state in the Union where the urban population controlled the state legislature (David and Eisenberg, 1961). This condition accelerated Federal interventionism. For it was the insensitivity to urban problems, the problems of the mass society, by the malapportioned rural-dominated legislatures that drew the Federal government into such realms as public housing, urban renewal, highways and expressways, civil rights, mass transportation, and education. To the addicts of the outmoded slogans discussed above, these programs are viewed as the violation of "states rights." But it is an ironic thing that the most vociferous advocates of states rights have played a major role, by their ignoring of 20th century mass society needs, in bringing about the increased centralization of governmental functions.

A final example of cultural lag in the American system of governance is given by the chaos in local government (Hauser, 1961). The framework for the structure of local government in the United States is the local governmental structure of 18th century England. The Constitutional fathers did not, and could not have been expected to, anticipate the emergence of population agglomerations of great size, density, and heterogeneity, which transcended not only municipal and township lines but also county and state boundaries. In consequence, our metropolitan clumpings of people and economic activities are characterized by governmental fragmentation which paralyzes local efforts

to deal with metropolitan area-wide problems, such as those relating to air and water pollution, traffic congestion, crime, employment, housing, and education.

By reason of its implications for the socialization of the child, the consequences of governmental fragmentation for public education at the primary and secondary levels are especially worthy of attention. It may be argued that public school education is today converting this nation into a caste society, stratified by race and by economic status. I illustrate this with another neologism for which I apologize. I refer to the "pre-conception IQ," the IQ of the child before he is conceived (Hauser, 1968a). The child with a very high pre-conception IQ, high enough to select white-skinned parents who live in the suburbs, has by this astute act guaranteed unto himself an input for public school education two to ten times that of the child with a miserably low pre-conception IQ, stupid enough to select black-skinned parents in the inner-city slums. The child with an intermediate pre-conception IQ, bright enough to select white-skinned parents but too stupid to pick parents living in the suburbs, gets an intermediate education. This is a way of saying that the child in the suburbs gets a first-class education, the white child living toward the periphery gets a second-class education, and the child in the inner city, black or white, gets a third or fourth rate education. As a result, education is no longer performing its historic mission in this nation in contributing to national unity and to the maintenance of an open society. On the contrary, the kind of education we now have in our slums and ghettos is recycling the present chaotic situation into perpetuity. Our metropolitan areas today have blacks who were born in the city, reared in the city, educated in the city, and who have not acquired the basic, the saleable or the citizenship skills prerequisite to their assuming the responsibilities and obligations as well as the rights of American citizenship. Quite apart from other factors operating, it is clear that the failure of local governmental structure to keep up with the social morphological revolution is a major element in this disastrous situation.

*Racism.* Without question, the most seri-

ous domestic problem which haunts the United States today is the Negro Revolt. There are only three considerations necessary to understand the "why" of this situation. First, the Afro-American has been on this continent for three and a half centuries. He involuntarily spent two and a half centuries in slavery; he spent a half century in the rural slum South under the unfulfilled promises of the Emancipation Proclamation; and he has spent an additional half century in the slum ghettos of metropolitan America, in the North and South.

Second, since World War II the entire world has been swept by what has felicitously been called "the revolution of rising expectations." This is the first generation in the history of man in which no peoples are left on the face of this earth who are willing to settle for second place in level of living and who do not insist on freedom and independence if not already achieved. This revolution of rising expectations has not bypassed Afro-Americans. In a fundamental sense the Negro Revolt is simply America's local manifestation of the revolution of rising expectations.

Third, there is a shorter-run and a more immediate consideration. With the Johnson administration and the success of previous Congresses in the passage of civil rights legislation, new vistas of opportunity and new expectations were aroused in the black community. It is an ironic thing that the Negro Revolt and the riots are not in spite of these advances but in a sense because of them. Blacks were led to believe that they were finally achieving full equality in the American scene. But what happened in reality? There was little to match the Federal leadership on the state front in terms of gubernatorial leadership, or on the local front in terms of mayoralty leadership, or in leadership in the private sector. Nothing substantial happened to change the reality of living in rat-infested slums and of unemployment rates two to three times that of whites. Little was done to change the character of the segregated communities in which the Negro lived, and little was done to change the character of the woefully deficient educational opportunities for the black child. As the gap between expectation and reality increased, so did frustration,

alienation, and bitterness which have led to violence.

Underlying all three of these factors which account for the present restiveness, hostility, and violence of Afro-Americans is "white racism," the major cause of the present crisis, the term appropriately designated as such by the Kerner Commission (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968:91). Although immigrant newcomers to the United States have, on the whole, also been greeted with prejudice and discriminatory practices, the Negro, since his involuntary importation as a slave, has been the victim of a much more widespread, persistent, and virulent racist theory and practice.

Racist doctrine may be understood as a negative and extreme form of ethnocentrism, the product of the isolated little community of relatively small size, density and cultural homogeneity. The persistence of racist attitudes and behavior constitutes another example of cultural lag—the survival of a little community into the mass society. A prejudicial attitude towards other human beings, whether in the positive form of ethnocentrism or its negative counterpart as hostility towards others on a categorical basis, is a cultural atavism—an anachronistic set of attitudes incompatible with the requirements of cooperative association in a mass society. In the context of large, dense and heterogeneous population agglomerations, racism necessarily spells trouble and conflict. It should not be too surprising that white racism is now breeding or exacerbating black racism, and, therefore, intensifying hostility and conflict. Furthermore, the paralysis of government in the United States, as described above, further compounds the crisis and offers little hope of any short-run resolution of tension and conflict. This nation, on its present course, may well be in for an indefinite period of guerilla warfare on the domestic as well as on the international front (Hauser, 1968a:4-10).

*Other Examples of Cultural Lag.* There are many other examples of cultural lag in American society ranging from the trivial to the significant. In the trivial category is the persistence of the string, designed before the advent of the pin and the button to keep collars closed against inclement

weather. This string has become the necktie, a relatively harmless, if not always asthetic vestige which has acquired a new function, i.e. decoration. But other vestiges are not as harmless. They include the constitutional right to bear arms—admittedly necessary in 18th century America but a dangerous anachronism in the last third of 20th century America. They include also the inalienable rights of labor to strike and of management to shut down and employ the lockout, often through trial by ordeal of the public. In twentieth century mass society, labor's right to strike and management's right to lockout may be described as the rights of labor and management to revert to the laws of the jungle—to resolve their conflicts of interest by means of brute force. The same can be said of the so-called right of the students to impose their views through the employment of force, or of any person or group who fails to resolve conflicts of interest in a mass society by an adjudicative or democratic procedure.

Cultural atavisms are replete, also, in the administration of criminal justice, for many of the governing codes and procedures are of pre-social morphological revolution origin and constitute a menace to mass society.

Finally, and by no means to exhaust the universe of cultural lags, mention should be made of organized religion as a living museum of cultural atavisms adding to the confusion and disorder of contemporary life. Sunday morning Christians have learned to honor and revere the messenger, his mother and his colleagues; they have learned to observe the ritual and practices of their churches which have endured for two millennia; but they have not received, or certainly they have not heeded, the message. For the message of the Judeo-Christian tradition is found in the concept of the Fatherhood of God—which implies the brotherhood of man. And comparable things can be said of the adherents of the other religions, the Jews, the Moslems, the Hindus, the Buddhists, etc..

Interestingly enough, the concept of the brotherhood of man, apart from its supernatural context, is an excellent example of an ancient ethical principle which has great applicability to contemporary as well as to previous societies. Although I have pointed

to cultural survivals which create confusion and disorder, this is not to be interpreted to mean that all that is the product of the past is incompatible with the present. In fact, it may be argued that the increased interdependence and vulnerability of the mass society place a greater premium on this moral principle than any earlier society ever did. This is an example of a principle of mass living that has not yet taken hold despite its longevity, yet the adoption of which in deed, as well as in word, may be prerequisite to the continued existence of mankind.

Before departing from the subject of religion, I cannot, as a demographer, refrain from calling attention to the cultural dissonance represented by Pope Paul VI's recent encyclical "Of Human Life," which ignores the findings of empirical demography (*New York Times*, 1968:20-21). This example of cultural lag closely parallels that afforded by the Roman Catholic Church during the reign of Pope Paul V, which, some three centuries ago, similarly ignored the findings of empirical astronomy and produced the Galileo incident.

Among the most serious consequences of the failure of contemporary American society to keep pace with the social morphological revolution is the deficiencies in the process of socialization. Bronfenbrenner (1968, forthcoming) illuminates this problem in his comparative study of education in the United States and the Soviet Union. In the USSR the child is so inbred with a sense of belonging and obligation to the society of which he is an infinitesimal part that he tends to lack initiative and creativity. In the United States, in contrast, the child is so little the recipient of a sense of membership in, and responsibility to, the social order that, although he develops great initiative and creativity, his attitude is essentially one of concern with how he gets his and unconcern with others. We have yet to achieve the golden mean in order to produce a harmonious mass society consisting of people with a balance of initiative, creativity and social responsibility.

On the international front, there is similar evidence of cultural lag. Most grave in its consequences, obviously, is the failure to achieve the resolution of national conflicts



of interest by means other than physical force. Vietnam, the Middle East, and Nigeria are but a few timely reminders of this fact. The social morphological revolution has generated a highly interdependent, vulnerable and shrunken world, increasing the probability and intensifying the nature of conflicts of interest. But the traditional means of resolving international tensions and hostilities, namely, war, in a society which possesses the hydrogen bomb, carries with it the threat of the ultimate disaster, even the extinction of mankind. Nevertheless, contemporary diplomatic policies and contemporary military postures are more the product of societies of the past than of the present.

To be sure, some progress has been made in the evolving of machinery for the peaceful resolution of international disputes as exemplified by the League of Nations, the World Court, the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. But it is not yet certain that the United Nations will not follow the League of Nations into oblivion as is actually desired by some of our most anachronistic organizations, such as the Daughters of the American Revolution and the John Birch Society. If the plague of deleterious cultural survivals which afflicts contemporary society cannot be effectively dealt with, it may well be that nuclear holocaust will be the means to undo both the process and the products of the social morphological revolution.

Finally, again on the international front, mention must be made of the cleavages between the have and have-not nations, between the socialist and communist nations, and between the factions within these blocs. The great disparities in levels of living among the nations of the world and the great international ideological differences, in part products of the differential impact of the social morphological revolution, constitute the most serious threats to peace and are harbingers of potential disaster. It remains to be seen whether contemporary society can muster the will to utilize available knowledge in a manner to override ideological, structural and procedural atavisms to cope with these problems. In this year, officially proclaimed by the United Nations as the International Human Rights Year,

it is a sad commentary on the role of this nation that the Congress has reduced foreign aid appropriations to an all-time low. And it is an even sadder commentary on the state of international affairs that the world spends well over 100 billion dollars annually for the military, while the developing nations, after a disastrous "Development Decade," still starve for capital and other resources to achieve their economic development goals.

#### THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES INCLUDING SOCIOLOGY

In contemporary society the approach to the solution of our problems, whether on the international or on the national front, is characteristically bifurcated, reflecting deep ideological cleavage. The approach to problem solution tends to be "conservative" or "liberal," or variations from "reactionary" to "revolutionary." It is my contention, again utilizing the social morphological framework, that the conservative and the liberal reflect the ideology of the social morphological conditions in which they were reared or to which they were exposed. It is not an accident, for example, that Barry Goldwater comes from a state which as recently as 1940 had a population density about the same as that of the United States in 1790—4.4 persons per square mile, and only 6.6 in 1950 and 11.5 in 1960. Nor is it a mere coincidence that Senator Jacob Javits, in contrast, comes from a state with population densities of 281.2 in 1940, 309.3 in 1950, and 350.1 in 1960 (Hauser, 1967c).

Needless to say, in a society such as that of the United States, in which the State of Alabama and the State of New York are simultaneously present, there is an extreme range in social morphological conditions. Furthermore, "urbanism as a way of life" is neither confined to the boundaries of a city nor ubiquitous and pervasive within it. That is, rural residents in a complex mass society may, by reason of their own life paths, take on urban patterns of thought and action and *vice versa*.

The conservative, including the reactionary, is the person socialized in a milieu, which although contemporary by the calendar, is essentially that of eighteenth and

nineteenth century America. The liberal, including the revolutionary, in contrast, is the person who has been reared in a milieu more the product of the social morphological revolution. The conservative is essentially the representative of the past in the present; the liberal is more clearly the representative of the present.

This does not necessarily mean that the liberal has the answers for the solution of contemporary problems. The liberal, who is sure that he has the right answers because they are non-traditional or different from that of the conservative, is subject to the same basic blindness as is the conservative. The basic point is that the "right" answer is neither to be found in the "old," as old, nor the "new," as new. It is to be found rather in the specific analysis of a specific problem situation to which the application of knowledge and wisdom finds possible solutions quite independently of whether they are "old" or "new," or "conservative" or "liberal," or any variation of these postures.

Both the conservative and liberal approaches *per se* are as inconsistent with the contemporary urban and metropolitan order as the horse and buggy or any other outmoded artifact. The unprecedented problems arising as frictions of social change can be resolved by neither the conservative nor the liberal approach.

If the approach to the resolution of contemporary social problems is neither to be conservative nor liberal, what is it to be? The answer is the "social engineering" approach. The social engineering position, as distinguished from the conservative or liberal one, represents an utterly new approach to contemporary problems. It is an approach born of the social morphological revolution to cope with the problems engendered by it.

It is not possible here fully to trace the emergence of the social engineering approach. It may be briefly stated that it is a recent product of the whole series of developments which distinguishes the post-Newtonian from the pre-Newtonian world. The more recent of these developments has led to the application of the method of science to social, as well as to physical and biological phenomena; and to the emergence

of social-engineering activities to parallel the engineering activities based on the physical and biological sciences. That is, the social engineer, as yet represented by a pathetically few professions—e.g., the public administrator, the city manager, the social worker, the educator, the criminologist, the planner, the professional businessman—is emerging to apply the knowledge of social-science to the solution of social problems, in the same manner as the electronics engineer applies the knowledge of physics to electronics problems, or the biological engineer, the physician, applies the knowledge of the life sciences to problems of ill health.

Only by the adoption of the social-engineering approach can we get beyond the conservative-liberal approach. Only in this manner can we avoid the blindness of both the conservative and the liberal—the one convinced that the past contains the answers to the present; the other that the past does not. That both the conservative and liberal approaches are blind may be argued on the basis of two generalizations, validated by the evidence produced by social science. The first is that if you find what is right and stick to it, you are bound to be wrong. For the world does not stay put; it changes. The second is that no degree of disillusionment with the past, no level of good intentions, and no amount of zeal by themselves necessarily provide an appropriate answer to anything.

The social-engineering approach is an approach as independent as possible of existent stereotyped postures or attitudes. It is neither conservative nor liberal, Republican nor Democratic, any more than is an electronic engineer's approach, or the approach of any expert, confronted with a problem which requires an effective and efficient solution. It is a twentieth-century approach consonant with twentieth-century metropolitan life and adapted to the resolution of twentieth-century problems.

The social-engineering approach is dependent on knowledge, drawn from social science, and wisdom, based on experience in problem solution. It is the role of the social sciences, in general, as well as sociology in particular, to provide the necessary knowledge. That is the object of research, data collection, data processing and analysis.

The practical purpose of social data is to permit social accounting (Hauser, 1967b). Accounting first was a set of principles and practices for collecting, collating, and reporting information relating to the activities of an organization, so that they could be evaluated in relation to the organization's objectives. In contemporary language, accounting is an information-control system, designed to serve the needs of administrators of an organization or a program.

Accounting procedures evolved in the development of private business and have only relatively recently been applied to the evaluation and control of an entire economy. The Employment Act of 1946 in the United States, which created the President's Council of Economic Advisors and requires an annual Economic Report to the nation, represents a major institutional invention to cope with the economic problems of the 20th century American economy.

A hopeful indication that the social morphological revolution is producing mechanisms for the resolution of the social problems it has precipitated lies in the bill introduced in the 90th Congress, calling for the establishment of a parallel Council of Social Advisors and an annual Social Report to the nation (Subcommittee on Government Research, 1968). Furthermore, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, through its Advisory Panel on Social Indicators, and upon instruction from the President of the United States, has been engaged in the preparation of a prototype Social Report.<sup>4</sup>

The unprecedented period of high level economic activity, uninterrupted by depression or recession, that this nation has recently experienced is certainly related to the existence and activities of the Council of Economic Advisors. We are now experiencing a costly inflation, and we are now threatened by a possible recession mainly because the Congress, a repository of cultural lag, has not heeded, or tardily heeded, the recommendations of the Administration based on the findings of the Council of Economic Advisors.

It is my judgment that had this nation possessed a Council of Social Advisors since 1947, along with the Council of Economic Advisors, and had the recommendations of such a Council been heeded by the Administration and the Congress, the "urban crisis" which sorely affects us would not have reached its present acute stage.

It is the role of the social sciences, including sociology, to generate the knowledge on the basis of which social policy and social action may be directed to the solution of our problems. The primary function of the social scientist is research, the production of knowledge. It is not the function of the social scientist, *qua* scientist, to be a social engineer (Hauser, 1949). To be sure, many of us social scientists have been called upon to perform both roles in the early stage of the development of the social sciences, but there can be no question about the fact that the two roles are distinct and that each, in the long run, will be better performed as separate and specialized activities.

More specifically, it is the role of the social scientist, including the sociologist, to develop and produce the "social indicators" which will permit effective social accounting. Fortunately, the social morphological revolution has generated much in the way of social statistics and other types of knowledge, which are already quite impressive even if still deficient and in relatively early stages of evolution (Raymond M. Bauer, 1967; Hauser, 1967b; Hauser, 1963).

Social accounting will become possible only after consensus is achieved on social goals. The development of social goals is neither a scientific function nor a social engineering function. It is a function that must be performed by society as a whole, acting through its political and other leaders. In a democratic society it presumably reflects the desires of the majority of the people.

Although a majority of the people must fix the goals of a society, the social scientist and the social engineer are in a strategic position to participate in goal formation. They must work closely with political and other leaders to help develop a broad spectrum of choices, which will reflect, insofar as possible, the requirements and consequences of specific goals. I have elsewhere

<sup>4</sup>This panel was appointed by Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, John W. Gardner, and has continued its activity under the incumbent Secretary Wilbur J. Cohen. Daniel Bell serves as Chairman of the panel.

proposed one set of social goals for consideration—published in a recent report of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress (Hauser, 1968b).

#### CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Man is the only significant culture-building animal on earth. He not only adapts to environment, he creates it as well. He has created a world in which mankind itself is the crucial environment—a mankind characterized by large numbers, high densities and great heterogeneity. He is still learning how to live in this new world he has created. The product of the chief components of the social morphological revolution—the population explosion, the population implosion and population diversification—together with rapid technological and social change—is contemporary society, a chaotic society, an anachronistic society. It is a society characterized by dissonant cultural strata—by confusion and disorder. It is also a society which for the first time in human history possesses the capacity to destroy itself—globally as well as nation by nation.

In addition to the acceleration in the rate of technological and social change, and partly in response to it, society has acquired a greater capacity for social change.<sup>5</sup> Virtually instantaneous world wide social interaction is possible with modern means of communication; and the mass media, bolstered by communication satellites and new educational hardware, create new opportunities for the modification and creation of attitudes and behaviorisms consistent with the realities of the contemporary world. But, although the capability for social change has undoubtedly increased, adequate and effective mechanisms for the control of social change, for accommodation and adaptation to the changing social milieu, as well as to the changing material world, have yet to be evolved. Planning as a mechanism for rational decision-making is still in its infancy and has yet to develop an integrated approach with apposite administrative, economic and social planning, along with physical planning. Progress is being made in this respect, however. In this nation, for example,

planning has become a respectable word now if modified by the term "city"; but, when modified by such terms as "metropolitan," "regional," or "national," it is still considered a dangerous thought in some quarters. But planning, in ever broader contexts, will undoubtedly be a first step in the dissipation of confusion and the restoration of order.

That we live in a chaotic world should not be too surprising in view of the perspective provided by calendar considerations. Only twelve human generations have elapsed since the "modern era" began. Only seven human generations have elapsed since this nation was founded. Only six generations have elapsed since mankind acquired the means to permit the proliferation of cities of a million or more inhabitants. Only two generations have elapsed since the onset of significant internal migratory flows of Afro-Americans. Fewer than two generations have elapsed since the United States became an urban nation. Less than one generation has elapsed since the advent of the explosive power of the atom. Little more than a decade has elapsed since the Supreme Court decision outlawing *de jure* segregation in schools—and a clear-cut judicial decision on *de facto* segregation is yet to come.

Furthermore, only two human generations have elapsed since Durkheim and Weber and, to confine my attention to my own teachers and colleagues, less than one since Burgess, Ogburn, Redfield, and Wirth. The social sciences, in general, and sociology in particular, are still emergent sciences. It was only during the century roughly from about 1750 to 1850 that the physical sciences achieved the respectability and acceptance that paved the way, through engineering, for the transformation of the physical and material world. It was only during the century roughly from 1850 to 1950 that the biomedical sciences achieved a similar status that paved the way, by means of bio-medical engineering, for the remarkable increase in longevity and health. It is to be hoped that the century from 1950 to 2050 will be the period during which the social sciences, including sociology, will achieve a level of respectability and acceptance that will pave the way for social engineering to eliminate the chaos that characterizes contemporary society. The question is whether mankind

<sup>5</sup> I am indebted to my colleague, Robert W. Hodge, for his discussion of this point.

can muddle through without collective suicide before rational decision-making overtakes the confusion and disorder of our tottering transitional society.

It is to be emphasized that a modern Armageddon is not mankind's only alternative to continuing national or international chaos. For the social morphological revolution has also produced a material world, a social milieu, and an emancipated and reflective man who has the capacity to dissipate confusion and restore order. The social morphological revolution has initiated and nurtured the social sciences, including sociology; it has required the collection and funding of social knowledge in various forms, including social statistics; it has evolved a number of social engineering professions which are still proliferating, including planning; and it has opened up the new vistas of social accounting.

With the stress I have placed on the need for the restoration of order, I should make it clear that I recognize that disorder cannot, and should not, be entirely eliminated. For disorder betokens the need for change, often desirable, as well as necessary. Order as such is not by itself a discrete goal of high priority. Hitler, for example, achieved a high degree of order in his Third Reich; and Stalin, in his version of a communist society. The task is rather to welcome disorder, both in Durkheim's sense of helping to define the limits of order and as a symptom of needed change, but to control the levels of disorder, while effecting change, so that it does not threaten the viability of society.

In the United States, at the present time, "law and order" has become a political slogan with many overtones. But the disorder which afflicts American society by reason of the Negro Revolt and that of other minority groups, including the poor, points to the inadequacies of the slogan. The slogan is but a half-truth; and as Oliver Wendell Holmes once observed, "A half-truth is like a half-brick—it can be thrown a lot farther." The entire slogan, to meet the needs of our society, should be "law, justice, and order." For until justice is achieved by our minorities, we will not have order, unless we choose to make ourselves over into a repressive society.

I am aware that I have tread perilously on the border between social science and social engineering. I may be accused of polluting the science of sociology with the stigmata of social policy and implied, if not explicit, proposals for social action. I am sensitive, as well as open, to such criticism because I firmly believe in maintaining a sharp boundary between science and engineering, as I have indicated above. But the theme of this annual meeting, I repeat, is "On the Gap Between Sociology and Social Policy," and it is in an effort to close this gap that I have chosen to take the course I have followed. I may have failed, but I have tried to diagnose rather than to prescribe, to illuminate rather than to exhort, to point to the hiatus between sociology and social policy, rather than to persuade the scientific members of this Association, as scientists, to fill the gap.

At the annual meetings of this Association in March, 1946, after the shock of the first atomic bomb and the first radar contact with the moon, I delivered a paper entitled, "Are the Social Sciences Ready?" It was a question raised by the then only prospect for the creation of a National Science Foundation, which might include provisions for the support of the social sciences as well as the natural sciences.

I stated at that time: (Hauser, 1946):

Much has been said or written by social scientists, philosophers of science and others to explain the disparities in the roles of the natural and the social sciences in human affairs. Whatever the reasons may be, we might well at this juncture be impressed with the two outstanding facts: First, that the social sciences have provided more knowledge and understanding about our social, political and economic life than society has actually used; second, that the social sciences have not produced enough. . . .

My purpose in dealing with policy matters as social facts in this paper is now, as it was 22 years ago, not to persuade sociologists or other social scientists to enter the realm of policy formation and social action *qua* scientists. It is rather my twofold purpose to stress what you already know: one, that sociology has accumulated more knowledge than is yet being utilized by society; and two, that there is a great and increasing need

for more knowledge—and for more solid knowledge of the type outlined in my 1946 paper.

I conclude with a variation on my major theme. The chaotic society when understood as an anachronistic society can be transformed into a coeval or synchronous society. The first step in this direction lies, necessarily, in the comprehension of the nature and consequences of the social morphological revolution—which will be the product of research. More knowledge than we now possess is needed. But we have sufficient knowledge, even now, to state that the remediation of our chaotic society can be accomplished by bridging the gap between the social sciences, including sociology, and social policy and action.

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## IDEOLOGICAL BELIEFS ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWER IN THE UNITED STATES \*

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*Although dominant ideologies represent a vindication of societal power arrangements, we hypothesized that specific belief systems vary by social strata. Annual family income, a major reward, was used as the chief indicator of stratal position. In a community study, we found that although the pluralistic model of power was selected most frequently as an accurate description of the way the system works, it was embraced most strongly by rich and middle-income strata. The poor and Negroes favored elitist and economic models of power more than other strata. When confronted with an interest-group model of power in Congress, all strata selected "big business and the rich" as the most powerful groups. Yet the higher the income and education of the respondents, the less they believed that all groups should have equal political power. The poor and Negroes gave most normative support to political pluralism. These findings cast doubt on current theory concerning political authoritarianism of the poor and suggest that all strata differentially select existential and normative beliefs concerning the distribution of societal power. Stratal differences in such beliefs may play an important role in class political movements.*

### INTRODUCTION

STRATIFICATION systems perpetuate inequalities which are maintained by a wide variety of mechanisms. Whatever mechanism is used, every system of stratification develops an ideology to legitimize or

justify its presence and persistence. Ideologies presumably describe the world as it

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is and as it ought to be. In stable societies, where there is little organized opposition to the system of inequalities, existential and normative statements in the ideology are similar and symmetrical, and one ideology predominates. That is, what ought to be, is, and what is, ought to be.

Obviously variations may exist in the symmetry between normative and existential beliefs about a stratification system. Members of some classes may insist that a high symmetry exists, while others may insist that asymmetry is typical. Such situations are potentially revolutionary because some classes may try to restore symmetry either by changing beliefs or conditions, so that existential and normative conceptions in the ideology will be more convergent. Longitudinal studies of ideologies may help us forecast changes which will occur in the stratification system. The present concerns with race and poverty in the United States suggest a situation where normative and existential beliefs of the ideology are in a state of asymmetry. This study explores possible asymmetry in a community situation.

Since an ideology explains and vindicates the unequal distribution of rewards in a society, it follows that those who are the most favored recipients of the rewards support the ideology most fervently and make strongest claims for the convergence of its normative and existential tenets. The "success" of an ideology is measured by the extent that the less favored, if they support the normative aspects, also agree on the convergence.

Rewards in a pecuniary-market society are best measured in monetary terms. In the long run, power and status are converted to income rewards.<sup>1</sup> Yet sociologists have shown little inclination to deal with this stratification variable, preferring less precise variables such as occupation, education, and prestige. It seems appropriate to use annual income as a chief indicator of position in a stratification system since it is the chief reward of that system in the American instance. The purpose of this study is to explore how rich, middle-income, and poor people in a

Midwestern, middle-sized city appraise the power tenets of American ideology.

The persistence of any particular allocation of rewards depends upon the distribution of power, or the political structure of the society. The power which maintains the system may be so legitimate, so authoritative, so ubiquitous, and so invisible that it may not be recognized as power. Sociologists are wont to call this type of power "social control." Such mechanisms predominate in a "traditional" stratification system. In a changing industrial society, the political mechanisms which sustain the economic and social structures of inequality become more visible. Politics becomes the means to maintain or change the allocative mechanisms of the society.

#### THE PROBLEM

Therefore what people believe about the political underpinnings of a stratification system is important especially in a relatively "open" society. The purpose of this study is to examine such beliefs from a stratification perspective. The choice of specific political beliefs for study was necessarily arbitrary. We selected beliefs related to democratic mechanisms of *political pluralism* as the major area for investigation. We define a political system as pluralistic when a variety of groups can influence policy in such a way that no single or no small number of groups can control it or, conversely, when all legitimate interest groups have an appreciable share of influence. We made three assumptions: First, people believe that political pluralism is the mechanism which *maintains* an open stratification system. Second, belief in the existence of political pluralism is essentially a belief in the viability of an open opportunity structure; and conversely, a denial of the existence of political pluralism as a system is a rejection of the belief that the ideology of an open stratification society is realized. Third, adherents of political pluralism should, logically, believe that political and governmental actions are necessary to redress any "temporary imbalances," injustices, or inequalities in the opportunity structure of the society.

Since an ideology legitimizes and vindicates a stratification system and therefore

<sup>1</sup> As Max Weber remarked, "Money increasingly buys—at least on an intergenerational basis—*everything*" (Weber, 1956: 179).



a power distribution in a given social order, we propose the following. First, since there are wide differences in distribution of rewards in American society, there will be no overriding consensus among different income strata in the belief that political pluralism accurately describes the distribution of power in the United States. Second, the higher their income, the greater the tendency for people to believe that the dominant ideology of political pluralism more or less accurately describes the way the system really works and, as a corollary, the lower their income, the less symmetry they see between normative and existential aspects of the ideology of political pluralism. Third, the lower their income, the greater the tendency for people to believe that political pluralism *should* be realized by the federal government, acting to restore inequalities produced by the system. Conversely, the higher their income the greater the insistence that government should not act to equalize opportunities. In terms of our frame of reference, higher income groups equate normative and existential statements about political pluralism, while lower income groups tend to deny their symmetry and thus support action to make them more credible. People in all income strata modify or adjust their beliefs about the operation of the political system in accord with their perceived interests.

Together, these hypotheses go beyond the observations commonly found in the literature stating that the poor, less educated and alienated masses reject democratic (pluralistic) philosophy because they do not understand it, feel politically ineffective, and have authoritarian inclinations. (See Kornhauser, 1959; Lipset, 1960; Riesman, 1953; Scheler, 1961; and Milbrath, 1965.) The position taken in this research is that although the rich and better educated express more formal allegiance to the democratic creed of pluralism, like the poor, they do not understand it, nor do they apply it consistently. The authoritarianism of the poor is matched by an authoritarianism of the rich. Both rich and poor *selectively* respond to the ideology of pluralism and adhere to different elements which give support to their situation or aspirations.

The first part of this study focuses on beliefs concerning the actual operation of the

political system, and the second part on beliefs about possible changes in the system.

#### RESEARCH SITE

The site of the study was Muskegon, Michigan, an industrial community where the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) population in 1960 was 149,943. Its economy is built principally around metals manufacturing, which is sensitive to fluctuations in economic conditions. According to the 1960 Census, about three-fifths of the labor force were manual workers and about half were employed in manufacturing. Median family income was \$6,048, compared to \$6,324 for metropolitan areas in the United States (U.S. Census: 1960). Approximately 10 per cent of the population were Negro.

The respondents interviewed in this research were heads of households or their spouses who lived in the area included in *Polk's City Directory*, 1965, roughly the Muskegon SMSA. For the larger study, of which this was a part, a systematic sample ( $N=186$ ) was drawn. Because such samples typically include few people at income extremes, we drew supplementary samples of rich and poor respondents. They were defined as "rich" if the annual family income was \$25,000 or more, which, in the 1960 Census, was the top one percent of the income distribution. "Poor" was defined in terms of a scale adjusted for the number of dependents, ranging from less than \$2,000 for any number of dependents to \$6,000 for eleven or more persons.

The data reported here are based upon an analytic sample ( $N=354$ ; the systematic sample, plus the rich and poor samples) which included 37 poor Negroes, 70 poor whites, 48 middle-income Negroes, 152 middle-income whites, and 47 rich whites. The per capita income by households for these categories formed a "scale," the Negroes having lower incomes than the whites, for both poor and middle-income categories.<sup>2</sup> The sex distribution was approximately even in each of these categories. Education was

<sup>2</sup> The per capita income for the Negro poor was \$671; for the white poor, \$907; for middle income Negroes, \$1,591; for middle income whites, \$2,310; for rich whites, over \$6,000.

associated with income: three-fifths of the respondents with 0-7 years of education were poor, and three-fifths of college graduates were rich. Although the primary independent variable of this study is income, the data will also be presented by race because recent events indicate that Negroes may have a singular view on political questions. Some responses are also shown in terms of highest grade of education completed. The research design did not justify the use of multivariate analysis; we did control for education but the small number of cases made interpretation risky.

### THREE MODES OF POWER DISTRIBUTION

The main tenet of American political ideology examined here is the idea that power at the national level is distributed pluralistically. Some students of power have concluded that "the struggle for power is largely confined to struggles between the business and government sectors" (D'Antonio and Ehrlich, 1961:147). In this study, respondents were asked to consider only interest groups, not the governmental share in the distribution of power.<sup>3</sup>

The first research problem concerned the respondent's beliefs about the distribution of political power in the country. Two different types of questions were used because of the difficulty in survey research of framing questions that do not differentially elicit a particular response. One type of question suggested implicitly that the distribution of power was in accord with the dominant political ideology of political pluralism, and another suggested implicitly that it was not. At one point in the interview the respondent was read three statements, each purportedly describing a different model of distribution of power in this country, and asked to select what in his opinion was the most accurate description, thus suggesting that one of the descriptions was realistic. At another point in the interview the respondent was given a list of twelve interest groups and asked which one had the most influence over the

way things were run in Washington, suggesting that one group was dominant. He was then asked which of these groups was least powerful, and last, which ought to be most powerful.

The three statements describing the distribution of power purportedly represent the positions of David Riesman (political pluralism), C. Wright Mills (the power elite), and the Marxists (big business control).<sup>4</sup> The order in which the three statements were read was rotated in each interview, and the respondent was not advised of their sources. The three statements were presented in this form:

(Riesman) No one group really runs the government in this country. Instead, important decisions about national policy are made by a lot of different groups such as labor, business, religious, and educational groups, and so on. These groups influence both political parties, but no single group can dictate to the others, and each group is strong enough to protect its own interests.

(Mills) A small group of men at the top really run the government in this country. These are the heads of the biggest business corporations, the highest officers in the Army, Navy, and Air Force, and a few important senators, congressmen and federal officials in Washington. These men dominate both the Republican and Democratic Parties.

(Marx) Big businessmen really run the government in this country. The heads of the large corporations dominate both the Republican and Democratic Parties. This means that things in Washington go pretty much the way big businessmen want them to.

Data in Table 1 reveal that three-fifths of the respondents selected Riesman's model of political pluralism; about one-fifth selected Marx; and one-fifth, Mills. Although pluralism is selected more frequently as the dominant model of political control, the percentage does not represent overwhelming consensus.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Abstracted from Riesman (1953); Mills (1956); Feuer (1959). Descriptions of the employee (Peter Drucker) and the managerial (James Burnham) societies were included in the pre-testing, but were later dropped because very few respondents considered them meaningful.

<sup>5</sup> We are not aware of national studies dealing with the degree of popular adherence to various models of power distribution. Community studies of

<sup>3</sup> Students of political power distinguish between "power" and "influence," but we did not expect the respondents to be aware of conceptual niceties, and, in this question, "power" and "influence" may be regarded as equivalent concepts.

TABLE 1. SELECTION OF SOCIETAL MODELS OF POWER DISTRIBUTION, BY INCOME AND RACE (PERCENTS)

| Income                     | Race  | Models of Power Distribution |                 |                       | Total |       |
|----------------------------|-------|------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-------|-------|
|                            |       | Marx (Economic Dominance)    | Mills (Elitist) | Riesman (Pluralistic) | %     | (N)   |
| Poor                       | Negro | 33                           | 6               | 61                    | 100   | (36)  |
|                            | White | 23                           | 22              | 55                    | 100   | (64)  |
| Middle                     | Negro | 40                           | 16              | 44                    | 100   | (45)  |
|                            | White | 17                           | 20              | 63                    | 100   | (143) |
| Rich                       | White | 12                           | 23              | 65                    | 100   | (43)  |
| Total, analytic sample     | %     | 22                           | 19              | 59                    | 100   |       |
|                            | (N)   | (74)                         | (62)            | (195)                 |       | (331) |
| Total, systematic sample * | %     | 18                           | 19              | 63                    | 100   |       |
|                            | (N)   | (32)                         | (33)            | (109)                 |       | (174) |

\* For poor vs. middle and rich,  $\chi^2=1.80$ , d.f.=2,  $P=<.50$ .  
For Negro vs. white,  $\chi^2=13.08$ , d.f.=2,  $P=<.01$ .

Differences in support of the pluralistic model by the income groups are relatively small, although they run in the predicted direction; i.e., the poor and Negroes see less existent pluralism. Although the Mills and the Marx descriptions were selected about equally, Negroes were much more likely to select the Marxian description, while whites were more likely to choose the Millsian position.

Perhaps beliefs about power distribution

power structure do investigate the views of special populations on elitist or pluralistic models of local decision making. See, for example, Form and Sauer, 1963; Haer, 1956; Horton and Thompson, 1962.

are more affected by years of education than by income. Data in Table 2 show that it does; clearly, in the analytic sample, the higher the education, the greater the belief in the existence of pluralist politics. Thus, almost three-quarters of the college graduates supported the Riesman statement and two-thirds of those having fewer than eight years of schooling rejected it. The Marxist description was more strongly supported than the Millsian among those with less than a high school education.

The data in Table 2 may be explained in at least two ways. First, that since schools teach a pluralistic ideology, the more educated, who also are richer, learn to prefer it.

TABLE 2. SELECTION OF SOCIETAL MODELS OF POWER DISTRIBUTION, BY YEARS OF EDUCATION (PERCENTS)

| Years of Education         |     | Models of Power Distribution |                 |                       | Total |       |
|----------------------------|-----|------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-------|-------|
|                            |     | Marx (Economic Dominance)    | Mills (Elitist) | Riesman (Pluralistic) | %     | (N)   |
| 0-7                        |     | 40                           | 26              | 33                    | 99    | (42)  |
| 8-11                       |     | 28                           | 16              | 57                    | 101   | (141) |
| 12-15                      |     | 14                           | 19              | 67                    | 100   | (108) |
| 16 or more                 |     | 8                            | 20              | 73                    | 101   | (40)  |
| Total, analytic sample     | %   | 22                           | 19              | 59                    | 100   |       |
|                            | (N) | (74)                         | (62)            | (195)                 |       | (331) |
| Total, systematic sample * | %   | 18                           | 19              | 63                    | 100   |       |
|                            | (N) | (32)                         | (33)            | (109)                 |       | (174) |

\*  $\chi^2=11.46$ , d.f.=6,  $P=.10$ , when grades 12-15 and 16 years and above are combined.

Second, that the pluralistic scheme is more difficult to understand, and that the less educated prefer the conceptually less difficult authoritarian Millsian or Marxist view of the world. Data presented later suggest that the second interpretation should be rejected.

INTEREST GROUP POWER

For the second question on power, the respondent was given a list of twelve interest groups and asked to indicate which one(s) had most influence in Washington. The interest groups listed were: Protestants, Negroes, labor unions, Jews, farmers, Catholics, big businessmen, university professors, small businessmen, rich people, poor people, and military leaders. The intent was to include a variety of interest groups that might be considered influential in order to give the respondent a wide choice. No respondent in the 119 interviews completed by the chief interviewer questioned the assumption that some one group or groups must have most influence.

"Big businessmen" and "rich people" were presented separately although it is reasonable to suppose that all big businessmen are rich. We expected that, if respondents named one of these groups, those with higher incomes would tend to choose "big businessmen," and lower income respondents, "rich people." The choice of "rich people" is less in accord with the dominant political ideol-

ogy than "big businessmen" because being rich does not imply that a man has engaged in a socially fruitful activity. The major differences among respondents occurred between whites and Negroes. Both middle-income and poor Negroes tended to choose "rich people" more often than "big businessmen." Among white respondents, the tendency to choose "big businessmen" more often than "rich people" increased with income.<sup>6</sup> In the subsequent analysis, these two categories are combined.

What is most striking about the response to this question is the high proportion who see "big businessmen and the rich" as most influential (see Table 3). About one-half of the respondents in both the analytic and systematic samples chose "big businessmen" or "rich people" as most influential and about 30 percent chose "labor unions." Less than one-tenth selected "military leaders," and the remaining eight interest groups were chosen by only ten percent of the respondents. Perhaps significant is the fact that all income strata in the analytic sample saw

<sup>6</sup> Nineteen percent of poor Negroes, 38 percent of poor whites, 21 percent of middle-income Negroes, 45 percent of middle-income whites, and 45 percent of rich whites chose "big businessmen." Twenty-two percent of poor Negroes, 9 percent of poor whites, 33 percent of middle-income Negroes, 7 percent of middle-income whites, and 4 percent of rich whites chose "the rich." Thirty-five percent of the total sample chose "big businessmen," and 12 percent chose "the rich."

TABLE 3. INTEREST GROUP SELECTED AS MOST POWERFUL, BY INCOME AND RACE (PERCENTS)

| Income                     | Race  |        |                       |          |            | Don't Know | Total |       |
|----------------------------|-------|--------|-----------------------|----------|------------|------------|-------|-------|
|                            |       | Unions | Big Business and Rich | Military | All Others |            | %     | (N)   |
| Poor                       | Negro | 32     | 41                    | 11       | 14         | 3          | 101   | (37)  |
|                            | White | 14     | 46                    | 10       | 17         | 12         | 99    | (59)  |
| Middle                     | Negro | 17     | 54                    | 13       | 8          | 8          | 100   | (48)  |
|                            | White | 33     | 52                    | 8        | 5          | 3          | 101   | (150) |
| Rich                       | White | 54     | 28                    | 4        | 13         | 0          | 99    | (46)  |
| Total, analytic sample     | %     | 30     | 47                    | 9        | 10         | 5          | 101   |       |
|                            | (N)   | (104)  | (164)                 | (31)     | (34)       | (17)       |       | (350) |
| Total, systematic sample * | %     | 26     | 52                    | 6        | 10         | 6          | 100   |       |
|                            | (N)   | (48)   | (97)                  | (13)     | (17)       | (12)       |       | (183) |

\* For unions vs. big business and rich vs. all others run against poor vs. middle and rich,  $\chi^2=8.28$ , d.f. =2,  $p<.02$ .

TABLE 4. INTEREST GROUP SELECTED AS MOST POWERFUL, BY YEARS OF EDUCATION (PERCENTS)

| Years of Education         |        |                       |          |            |            | Total  |           |
|----------------------------|--------|-----------------------|----------|------------|------------|--------|-----------|
|                            | Unions | Big Business and Rich | Military | All Others | Don't Know | %      | (N)       |
| 0-7                        | 14     | 38                    | 14       | 20         | 14         | 100    | (49)      |
| 8-11                       | 27     | 46                    | 10       | 11         | 6          | 100    | (145)     |
| 12-15                      | 33     | 52                    | 6        | 6          | 2          | 99     | (113)     |
| 16 or more                 | 53     | 37                    | 5        | 5          | 0          | 100    | (43)      |
| Total, analytical sample   | % (N)  | 30 (104)              | 47 (164) | 9 (31)     | 10 (34)    | 5 (17) | 101 (350) |
| Total, systematic sample * | % (N)  | 26 (48)               | 52 (97)  | 6 (13)     | 10 (17)    | 6 (12) | 100 (183) |

\* For unions vs. big business and rich vs. all others,  $\chi^2=15.1$ , d.f.=6,  $P<.02$ .

"the rich" and "big businessmen" as most powerful with the sole exception of the rich, who selected "labor unions" as most powerful. Equally important is the observation that there was more dispersion in the selections of the lower income groups, a situation which seems to refute the alleged categorical authoritarian thinking of the lower classes (Schatzman and Strauss, 1955:329-338). Although the greater dispersion in the lower income group could be interpreted as political fragmentation, it could also be interpreted as behaving according to the norms of political pluralism.

Again, education seems related to the choice of the most powerful group (see Table 4). While the relationship of income strata to perception of "big businessmen" and "the rich" as most powerful is curvilinear, the relationship of income strata to perception of "labor unions" as most powerful is linear. That is, a greater percentage of the middle educational strata see "big businessmen" and "the rich" as most powerful. The percentage seeing "labor unions" as most powerful increases with education to the point that a majority of college graduates take this view.

Comparing the results of Tables 1 and 3 may be fruitful. Thus, although data in Table 1 show that about 60 percent of the respondents believed that "all" interest groups share power, about 75 percent of them in Table 3 focused on just two of these interest groups. This finding does not necessarily indicate inconsistency, because respondents might have thought that "big businessmen" or "rich people" were just

*slightly* more powerful than other groups, thus "big businessmen" might not necessarily be running everything. Still another interpretation might be that if the belief in political pluralism were strong enough, the question might have been rejected with such statements as "they are all the same," "it depends on the issue," etc. Nevertheless, the results of the two responses indicate that the framing of a survey question makes considerable difference in possible interpretations of the results. Given a specific choice among interest groups, the respondents seem more likely to describe the distribution of political power in somewhat more neo-Marxist terms than in pluralist terms.

Respondents were also asked which group they thought was least powerful in Washington. The results in Table 5 show that there is less consensus on who does not have power than on who does. Interestingly enough, the rich seem to have least consensus on who has least amount of power.

In Table 5, "poor people" were identified as "least influential" oftener than any other group (36 percent). They were followed by "small businessmen" (15 percent), "farmers" (12 percent), and "Negroes" (11 percent). Poor Negroes were most likely to see "poor people" as least influential (46 percent),<sup>7</sup> and rich whites were most likely to choose "small businessmen" as least influential (26 percent); only twenty percent of

<sup>7</sup> Given the choice of indicating whether poor people or Negroes are least powerful, Negroes in the sample clearly saw poverty as being less powerfully represented than race in Washington.

TABLE 5. INTEREST GROUP SELECTED AS LEAST POWERFUL, BY INCOME AND RACE (PERCENTS)

| Income                         | Race  | Poor  | Small<br>Busi-<br>ness | Farm-<br>ers | Negroes | Jews | Uni-<br>versity<br>Pro-<br>fessors | All<br>Others | Don't<br>Know | Total |       |
|--------------------------------|-------|-------|------------------------|--------------|---------|------|------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|-------|-------|
|                                |       |       |                        |              |         |      |                                    |               |               | %     | (N)   |
| Poor                           | Negro | 46    | 11                     | 11           | 19      | 8    | 0                                  | 3             | 3             | 101   | (37)  |
|                                | White | 37    | 11                     | 13           | 6       | 11   | 1                                  | 3             | 17            | 99    | (70)  |
| Middle                         | Negro | 35    | 6                      | 19           | 23      | 4    | 0                                  | 2             | 10            | 99    | (48)  |
|                                | White | 35    | 17                     | 12           | 9       | 4    | 6                                  | 7             | 10            | 100   | (151) |
| Rich                           | White | 20    | 26                     | 7            | 9       | 4    | 11                                 | 24            | 0             | 101   | (46)  |
| Total,<br>analytic<br>sample   | %     | 35    | 15                     | 12           | 11      | 6    | 4                                  | 7             | 9             | 99    |       |
|                                | (N)   | (122) | (53)                   | (42)         | (39)    | (22) | (15)                               | (25)          | (33)          |       | (352) |
| Total,<br>systematic<br>sample | %     | 36    | 14                     | 15           | 7       | 4    | 5                                  | 6             | 13            | 100   |       |
|                                | (N)   | (67)  | (26)                   | (27)         | (13)    | (8)  | (9)                                | (11)          | (25)          |       | (186) |

rich whites chose "poor people" as least influential.

The last question on interest groups shifted to the normative area: which group *ought* to be most influential. Pre-test results had indicated that a number of persons thought that no one interest group should be dominant; so while this response was anticipated, the interviewers were instructed not to let such a response alter their presentation of the question. The responses to this question are presented in Table 6 for income and race, and Table 7 for education. The most striking finding from Table 6 is that 44 percent of the respondents refused to be bound by the question and volunteered the normative response that "all (groups) should be

equal." The rich in the sample had highest agreement on who ought to have most power, with 30 percent in the analytic sample naming "big businessmen." The effect of education, seen in Table 7, is generally to reduce variations found by race and income.

To conclude, respondents with highest income and education are most likely to think the Riesman description of the distribution of power best when they hear it, but they are least likely, left to their own devices, to think that this is the way things ought to be. Likewise, those who have the least income and education, and the least convenient skin color, are most likely to respond spontaneously that all interest groups should have equal power. This pattern contradicts some

TABLE 6. INTEREST GROUPS WHICH OUGHT TO BE MOST POWERFUL, BY INCOME AND RACE (PERCENTS)

| Income                           | Race  | All should<br>be equal | Big Busi-<br>nessmen | Labor<br>Unions | All<br>Others | Don't<br>Know | %   | Total |       |
|----------------------------------|-------|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|-----|-------|-------|
|                                  |       |                        |                      |                 |               |               |     | (N)   |       |
| Poor                             | Negro | 64                     | 0                    | 14              | 8             | 14            | 100 |       | (36)  |
|                                  | White | 43                     | 6                    | 6               | 28            | 17            | 100 |       | (65)  |
| Middle                           | Negro | 47                     | 4                    | 9               | 25            | 15            | 100 |       | (47)  |
|                                  | White | 40                     | 9                    | 13              | 29            | 9             | 100 |       | (149) |
| Rich                             | White | 39                     | 30                   | 0               | 27            | 4             | 100 |       | (46)  |
| Total,<br>analytic<br>sample     | %     | 44                     | 10                   | 9               | 26            | 11            | 100 |       |       |
|                                  | (N)   | (150)                  | (34)                 | (32)            | (88)          | (39)          |     |       | (343) |
| Total,<br>systematic<br>sample * | %     | 41                     | 8                    | 12              | 29            | 10            | 100 |       |       |
|                                  | (N)   | (76)                   | (15)                 | (22)            | (55)          | (18)          |     |       | (186) |

\* For "all should be equal" vs. all others, and poor vs. middle and rich,  $\chi^2=30.94$ , d.f.=1,  $P=<.001$ .

TABLE 7. INTEREST GROUPS WHICH OUGHT TO BE MOST POWERFUL, BY YEARS OF EDUCATION (PER CENTS)

| Years of Education         |     | All should be equal | Big Businessmen | Labor Unions | All Others | Don't Know | %   | Total (N) |
|----------------------------|-----|---------------------|-----------------|--------------|------------|------------|-----|-----------|
| 0-7 years                  |     | 52                  | 2               | 4            | 23         | 19         | 100 | (48)      |
| 8-11 years                 |     | 48                  | 4               | 13           | 22         | 13         | 100 | (141)     |
| 12-15 years                |     | 38                  | 19              | 10           | 25         | 8          | 100 | (112)     |
| 16 years or more           |     | 38                  | 14              | 0            | 41         | 7          | 100 | (42)      |
| Total, analytic sample     | %   | 44                  | 10              | 9            | 26         | 11         | 100 |           |
|                            | (N) | (150)               | (34)            | (32)         | (88)       | (39)       |     | (343)     |
| Total, systematic sample * | %   | 41                  | 8               | 12           | 29         | 10         | 100 |           |
|                            | (N) | (76)                | (15)            | (22)         | (55)       | (18)       |     | (186)     |

\* For "all should be equal" vs. all others combined and 12-15 years and 16 years or more combined,  $\chi^2=7.14$ , d.f.=2,  $P=<.05$ .

of the literature on political authoritarianism. Presumably, college graduates should be better equipped to think up a free response supporting political pluralism or democratic ideology than those with less than eight grades of education.<sup>8</sup>

#### GOVERNMENT AND OPPORTUNITY EQUALIZATION

According to the dominant ideology, if a man works hard enough, he will get ahead. Getting ahead is defined as social and income mobility. To assure everyone equal opportunity to get ahead regardless of his condition at birth, free public education is provided. Other political action may be necessary (e.g., anti-trust legislation) to prevent *discrepancies* in the American creed (normative tenets) and American practice (existential tenets) from becoming fixed or structured. That is, the government must intervene when the free market and political pluralism have failed to live up to expectations.

Recent evidence suggests that there is

<sup>8</sup> Lipset has argued that the working class is more authoritarian than other classes (Lipset, 1960). Lipsitz says that when Lipset's data are controlled for education, the greater authoritarianism disappears (Lipsitz, 1965:103-109). Lipset himself has argued that "higher education often makes for greater tolerance, greater regard for due process, and increased tolerance for ambiguity" (Lipset, 1964:399). On the other hand, Key said that "the indoctrination of a high-status, high-income, literate class of persons, seems to be far more feasible than is the mobilization of lesser peoples who are supposedly easy to manipulate" (Key, 1964:125).

some public recognition that the opportunity structure has not been operating according to the American Creed (see Miller and Rein, 1966). Specifically, poverty has become intergenerational, and this condition is more characteristic of Negroes than of whites. Therefore, federal intervention is needed. Three issues were selected which dealt with federal action to help the poor and Negroes: payment of regular wages to adult poor while they attend free schools to learn new skills at government expense, an evaluation of all current federal programs to help the poor, and an evaluation of federal roles in open occupancy.

The third hypothesis of this study was that, since an ideology is a vindication of a system of inequality which benefits those who receive most rewards of the system, there would be an inverse relationship between the amount of income of the respondent and his recognition that political intervention is necessary to help any particular stratum in the society achieve equality of opportunity. For the rich, the system is operating the way it "should," both in terms of distribution of rewards and in terms of its mechanisms (political pluralism). Thus, the political machine does not need repair unless it is operating against those who are receiving most rewards from the system.

Although both major political parties give verbal support to the aspirations of disadvantaged groups, the Democrats are generally thought to be more "liberal." Thus, findings on party preference may be of interest here. First, the analytic sample dif-

ferred little from the systematic sample. Second, there were no poor Negro Republicans and no rich white Democrats in our samples. Among poor whites, Democrats outnumbered Republicans two to one, but among middle-income whites, the proportions were closer: 34 percent Republicans, 46 percent Democrats, five percent independents, and 16 percent no preference. Most of the middle-income Negroes were Democrats.

McClosky and co-workers (1960) offer some reason to doubt that among "ordinary voters" party affiliation is associated with sharp differences concerning government action in social welfare. Thus, in a national cross-section survey the views of the Republican rank and file were found to be much closer to those of Democratic than those of Republican leaders. Differences between Republican leaders and followers are largest "on those issues which have most sharply separated New Deal-Fair Deal spokesmen from the hard core of Republican opposition—federal aid to education, redistribution of wealth through taxes on business, corporations, and the wealthy; public ownership of natural resources, public housing, regulation of business, Social Security, farm price supports, minimum wages, and trade union regulations" (McClosky, *et al.*, 1960:416).

Similar results can be inferred from a

study of an affluent, lower middle class and working class community in the Boston area. Litt (1963) found that leaders in the higher income community showed more support than leaders in the other communities for pluralist beliefs, i.e., the democratic creed, politics as a process, and politics as harmonizing group conflicts. More importantly, the type of political training which high school students received corresponded with differences in support of the creed (ideology). In the poorest community the democratic creed was taught, but no stress was placed on the importance of political participation and political conflict to resolve intergroup differences. "Only in the affluent and politically vibrant community are insights into political processes and function of politics passed on to those . . . (who) will likely man those positions that involve them in influencing or making political decisions" (Litt, 1963: 74).

When Muskegon respondents were asked whether the federal government should pay poor people to go to school and get appropriate job training, the proportion who thought that the government should not do so rose sharply with income and education (see Table 8). Such action was opposed by almost eight-tenths of the rich and three-tenths of Negro poor in the analytic sample.

TABLE 8. OPPOSITION TO FEDERAL HELP FOR DISADVANTAGED STRATA (PERCENTS)

| Income                           | Race  | Government should<br>not pay poor to<br>go to school<br>(a) | Government has done<br>too much for<br>poor<br>(b) | Government should<br>stay out of open<br>occupancy<br>(c) |
|----------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| Poor                             | Negro | 30                                                          | 8                                                  | 8                                                         |
|                                  | White | 46                                                          | 23                                                 | 62                                                        |
| Middle                           | Negro | 17                                                          | 15                                                 | 8                                                         |
|                                  | White | 64                                                          | 32                                                 | 73                                                        |
| Rich                             | White | 78                                                          | 72                                                 | 96                                                        |
| Total,<br>analytic<br>sample     | %     | 52                                                          | 31                                                 | 57                                                        |
|                                  | (N)   | (550)                                                       | (351)                                              | (344)                                                     |
| Total,<br>systematic<br>sample * | %     | 63                                                          | 29                                                 | 64                                                        |
|                                  | (N)   | (118)                                                       | (54)                                               | (119)                                                     |

\*  $\chi^2$ 's by income categories and (a), (b), and (c) and their residuals are not statistically significant. For race categories and column (a) and its residual,  $\chi^2=9.06$ , d.f.=1,  $P=<.01$ . For race categories and column (b) and its residual,  $\chi^2=4.14$ , d.f.=1,  $P=<.05$ . For race categories and column (c) and its residual,  $\chi^2=6.67$ , d.f.=1,  $P=<.01$ .



When asked whether the federal government had not done enough or had done too much for the poor, the proportion of respondents who thought that the government had done too much rose sharply with both income and education. Again, about seven-tenths of the rich and one-tenth of the Negro poor felt the federal government had done too much for the poor.

While open housing is not altogether an issue of economic mobility, it is an issue of racial stratification which has not been resolved by the politics of pluralism. On this issue, political intervention by the state is most highly rejected by rich whites, followed by middle-income whites. Almost all of the rich, 73 percent of the middle-income whites, and 62 percent of the poor whites reject federal intervention, while only eight percent of both Negro strata did so.

#### DISCUSSION

Empirical research on the belief systems which comprise an ideology is sorely needed to understand the dynamics of political change. A stratification approach to the study of political ideology is especially fruitful because it reveals how different strata view the mechanisms for distributing rewards in a society. This study probed the verbal adherence of different income strata to the ideology of political pluralism, the mechanism which allegedly maintains an open stratification system in the United States. Although the results of the study are tenuous, certain conclusions are suggested. Perhaps the most important one is that the technique of inquiry clearly affects the observations made about ideological belief systems. Thus, when asked to select one of three general descriptive models of power distribution in the United States, respondents from different income and racial strata did not exhibit overriding consensus on political pluralism, for two-fifths of them accepted an elitist or Marxian view of the political order. Here the data tended to confirm the hypothesis that those who get most rewards from the system, namely those with higher incomes, tend more to see pluralist ideology as a good description of the way the system works.

However, a shift to other techniques of inquiry revealed a different pattern leading

to the conclusion that, whatever the income or educational backgrounds of the respondents, few of them possessed a consistent or sophisticated political ideology.<sup>9</sup> Thus, when asked to select which interest group or groups were most powerful in the federal government, very few rejected the task on the grounds that it violated their pluralistic conception of politics. On the contrary, almost four-fifths of the respondents saw two coalitions, "the rich-big businessmen" and "labor unions," as the most powerful groups in federal politics, the poor and middle strata selecting "the rich-big businessmen," and the rich selecting the "labor unions." Some consistency was maintained in identifying the least powerful; a plurality of those at all income levels (the rich excluded) felt the poor were the least powerful.

Finally, the *ideal* of pluralism received least support from the most economically advantaged. In response to the question asking which group ought to be most powerful, the rich educated whites, less than any other category, spontaneously responded that "all interest groups should be equal." In fact, 30 percent felt that "the rich-big businessmen" ought to have most power. Their support of privileged position was maintained in exploring the question whether the federal government should take action to improve the position of the poor and of Negroes. The rich were much more likely than those in other categories to report that no action should be taken.

Although poorer income strata structured their beliefs in a somewhat different pattern, middle-income Negroes were least likely to see the model of political pluralism as an accurate description, and most likely to select the Marxian model, most likely to see the "rich-big businessmen" as most influential in politics, most likely to see Negroes as the least powerful interest group, and most highly supportive of federal action to equalize opportunities.<sup>10</sup> A speculative conclusion is that middle-income Negroes, with rising ex-

<sup>9</sup> Campbell and co-workers found, in a national study, that few respondents employ ideological concepts in a sophisticated way (Campbell, *et al.*, 1964: 124-144).

<sup>10</sup> See Goffman's study of the relation of status consistency to preference for change in power distribution (Goffman, 1957:275-281).

pectations, may become a new source of the kind of class conflict once associated with the American labor movement.

An overview of these findings suggests that the respondents whose political ideology is least consistent are those who receive most from the economic and political order. The richer and better educated more generally espouse political pluralism as a norm, but are more likely to see business dominance in politics as legitimate, and are least supportive of governmental action to equalize opportunity in the society. These observations support the growing evidence that the higher income groups clearly do not understand the principles of political pluralism, nor do they support them consistently (Prothro and Grigg, 1960:276-294). More than others, they have the most favorable attitude toward sources of power in the community; they have strongest feelings about their beliefs (Haer, 1956); they have the most outgroup antipathy; they are the most class conscious; and they are the most tightly organized to maintain privilege (Glantz, 1958:375-383). A case can be made that the syndrome amounts to an upper-class authoritarianism.

Unfortunately, the recent sociological literature dealing with stratification and politics has not considered ideology systematically. The findings suggest that the resentment of the poor, their feeling of political inefficacy, their low political participation, and their authoritarianism are due to their lack of knowledge and lack of faith in the democratic credo. Our data suggest that this oversimplification is perhaps due to an ideological bias on the part of the researchers and their failure to understand the functions of an ideology generally.

This research suggests that one function of a prevailing ideology, such as political pluralism, is to explain and vindicate the unequal distribution of rewards in a society for its dominant strata. These strata do not recognize conflicts or inconsistencies between their normative beliefs about the society and their view of how the society actually operates, i.e., their existential beliefs. Their collective ideas and sentiments about how power is distributed and *ought* to be distributed in a society are no more systematic, idealistic, or coherent than those of the lower income strata. Other strata, even when they

support normative statements in the ideology, are quite knowledgeable about how the society operates when they do not concur with the existential beliefs of the privileged. Students of political movements of any type cannot long ignore the differential adherence of social strata to elements in the dominant ideology. A stratification approach to national studies of political ideologies is sorely needed.

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## VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP: A LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS \*

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*Patterns of voluntary group participation of a panel of adults were studied over a four-year period. The sample was selected according to a probability design to represent the population of a Midwestern State (Nebraska). The rates of membership were high (80 percent in both 1961 and 1965); however, 65 percent of the panel added, or dropped, one or more memberships, indicating that an individual's membership profile varies considerably even in a short period of time. A majority of respondents had multiple memberships. Men and women differed in their affiliations; also, the pattern of stability and change in memberships differed between the sexes and at different stages in the life cycle. Factors which encouraged individuals to affiliate with different types of voluntary groups, to drop memberships, or to continue to participate, were considered.*

VOLUNTARY associations play a vital role in our society. Such groups are both numerous and diverse and involve large numbers of individuals (Wilensky, 1961: 215).<sup>1</sup> They provide a setting in which to

engage in expressive activities, function as vehicles to implement special personal interests, and may provide affectual support for the individual. They are important agencies supporting the normative order (though some groups are organized to change the order), help to distribute power at the grass roots level, function as service centers, and reinforce important values (Hatt and Reiss, 1951:6; Rose, 1954:50-70; Axelrod, 1956: 13-18; Maccoby, 1958:524-532; Rose, 1962:834-838; Babchuk and Edwards, 1965:149-162). Membership in groups can not only be socio-emotionally gratifying but make it possible for the individual to control

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<sup>1</sup> Wilensky (1961) notes that "sociologists and others have assembled an impressive bibliography on the number and size of organizations (the major fraternal orders—Moose, Masons, Elks, Eagles and like groups—claim 20 million members; 70 or 80,000 local trade unions claim more than 15 mil-

lion members; there are 100,000 different women's organizations, 1,500 national trade associations, 4,000 chambers of commerce and so on)."

an important part of his environment. (Erbe, 1964:198-215).

In general, agreement is substantial between local and national studies using probability samples and less sophisticated designs regarding social determinants and correlates of membership. Affiliation is directly related to social class; persons who have resided in a community for the longest period of time are more likely to be affiliated than recent migrants; married persons appear to be more likely to be members of groups than single persons; home ownership is positively associated with membership in voluntary groups; and men are more likely to be members of associations than women (Foskett, 1955:431-438; Freeman, *et al.*, 1957:528-533; Hausknecht, 1962; Komarovsky, 1946:686-698; Martin, 1952:687-694; Scott, 1957:315-326; Wright and Hyman, 1958:284-294; Zimmer, 1955:218-224; Zimmer and Hawley, 1959:196-201).

There are, however, important deficiencies in our knowledge of voluntary groups. All of the major studies have used a cross-sectional design in obtaining data; consequently, they present a static view of the range of affiliation of a population. While the cross-sectional approach may accurately portray affiliation at a given point in time, it does not necessarily reflect the extent of involvement of a population in voluntary groups as it exists over time. The study reported herein was designed to provide information dealing with this latter problem.

Previous research has been largely preoccupied with affiliation *per se* (taking, of course, into account such variables as social class, sex, religion, race, place of residence), or extent of involvement, without sufficient attention to type of association and its import. This focus results, implicitly, in equating memberships in such diverse groups as a bowling club, the League of Women Voters, a Rosary Society, or an American Legion Auxiliary. Our report will consider type of association in relation to social determinants and correlates of membership, particularly those reflecting different stages in the life cycle of the person.

And finally, while agreement between studies is substantial, differences are occasionally reported. For example, there is disagreement as to whether urban dwellers are

less likely (Wright and Hyman, 1958:289-291) or more likely (Hausknecht, 1962:18-19) to be affiliated than rural residents, and Bushee (1945:217-226) finds in contrast to most inquiries that women are more likely to belong to groups than men. Particularly ambiguous is information regarding extent of affiliation; even studies using probability samples vary considerably in their findings. Indeed, the discrepancies between studies are so great, and the techniques of obtaining data or of analyzing them so different, that Rose seriously questions whether we have reliable information (Rose, 1965:395-398). To illustrate, Wright and Hyman provide estimates of the proportion affiliated from a secondary analysis of two national probability samples and samples from several National Research Center studies conducted in Metropolitan New York City; Denver, Colorado; and even a small Midwestern city (Findley, Ohio) and surrounding county (Hancock) (Wright and Hyman, 1958:284-294; Hausknecht, 1962).<sup>2</sup> On the basis of one of the national surveys (NORC, 1955), Wright and Hyman conclude that only 36 percent of the American population belongs to voluntary groups. This conclusion hardly seems warranted, however, since the figure of 36 percent is based on answers provided by respondents to one question, namely, "Do you happen to belong to any groups or organizations in the community here?" Moreover, this question appeared second to the last on a schedule containing 136 questions. Other surveys using a probability design, and more immediately concerned with patterns of belonging to voluntary groups, show a much higher rate of affiliation. For example, the Detroit Area Survey investigators found 63 percent of the Detroit Area population held a membership in at least one organization other than a church, and Scott found that 64 percent of his sample in Bennington, Vermont, were members in associations other

<sup>2</sup> The authors underscore the serious limitations of secondary analysis when presenting their report. They note that foremost among the limitations of their report was their need to place reliance upon answers to questions which were not primarily designed for the study of voluntary association memberships. A more comprehensive analysis of some of the same data employed by Wright and Hyman is presented by Murray Hausknecht (1962).

than a church (Detroit Area Study, 1952: 13-18; Scott, 1957:315-326). Respondents in the Detroit study were provided cues as to what constitute a voluntary group.<sup>3</sup> Finally, Bell and Force, in a study of the participation pattern of men selected from four census tracts in San Francisco according to a probability design (Bell and Force, 1956: 25-34), found that from 77 to 93 percent of the men in their sample belonged, depending on the characteristics of the census tract in which these men lived.<sup>4</sup>

The differences in rates hinge on both the definition of voluntary associations used and on the methods employed to elicit information on membership. In the Detroit study, both local and non-local groups were included; the Wright and Hyman estimate of affiliation was based only on local memberships. These reports also differed in the methods employed to obtain data. In the Detroit study, voluntary association membership was a central focus and the researchers sought to get as complete an enumeration as possible using aided recall; Wright and Hyman had to rely on a secondary analysis of survey data in which associational membership was not of central concern. The study reported here attempts to incorporate the best features of previous studies in such a way as to refine, substantially, previous estimates of the extent of voluntary association membership and to throw light on other issues.

More specifically, it presents (a) longitudinal information on extent of affiliation; (b) adds additional evidence on situational determinants and correlates of membership;

(c) takes into account type of association and provides data on the nature of ties between different memberships; and (d) considers stability and change in voluntary association memberships over a four-year period among a probability sample of adults (21 through 69 inclusively), representing the population of a Midwestern state. Rural, rural non-farm, small town and urban residents are, of course, included. No previous study has dealt with a representative sample at the state level; more importantly, none has provided evidence which deals with voluntary association membership of a probability sample interviewed at more than one point in time.

#### METHOD AND DATA

The data were collected on two different occasions from a universe of adults residing in one of the Midwestern plain states. An original sample of 1,500 individuals aged 21 to 69 selected in 1961 by means of area probability techniques provided a representative cross-section of the total population of the State.<sup>5</sup> Four years after the initial survey, a one-third random sample was selected for further study. Of the 500 selected, 80 percent (402 persons) were interviewed. Although persons moving from one address to another within the State were traced, three per cent (15 persons) could not be located; five percent (24) had moved out

<sup>3</sup> The respondents were handed a list with 15 categories of voluntary groups (e.g., *Sports Teams*: like bowling or baseball teams; *Women's Clubs*; *Business or Civic Groups*: like Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions; *Professional Groups*: like the American Medical Association, or a builder's association; *Political Clubs or Organizations* and then asked whether they belonged to any groups of the type listed. The information derived was then reclassified into slightly different categories in the final report.

<sup>4</sup> Bell and Force (1956) restricted their sample to men. They, however, as in the case of studies in Detroit and Bennington, Vermont, did not consider affiliation with a church to constitute membership in a voluntary group, though they counted church-related groups as constituting a membership. This procedure was also followed in the present report.

<sup>5</sup> Paired census areas were employed to reflect regional variations in the selection of the sample. The 93 counties in the State were grouped into 16 areas having comparable populations according to sex, age, marital status, income, formal education, and occupation; and the number of respondents included in the final 21 sample counties selected was calculated on the basis of the extent to which the area the county represented contributed to the total adult population of the State. A comparison of the characteristic of the same population in the counties selected with 1960 U.S. Census data revealed no difference exceeding one-half of one percent. Two representative samples of 1,500 each were chosen from lists enumerating households in the sample counties through use of a table of random numbers. The households in one sample were contacted for interviewing; the second sample was used for replacing households in which respondents had moved, died, refused to be interviewed, or were not contacted after three call-backs. The specific adult interviewed in each household was selected randomly.

of the State; two percent (10) had died between interviews; and one percent (5) were not available for other reasons. Nine percent (44 persons) refused to be interviewed a second time. The differences between the original sample and those in the panel of 402 persons were slight and probably do not have serious consequences for the present analysis.<sup>6</sup>

In both surveys (1961 and 1965) respondents were questioned in detail about their organizational affiliations. When questioned, they were handed a card containing information about types of groups and asked "Do you belong to any organizations similar to the ones on this list?" (Detroit Area Study, 1952).<sup>7</sup> This card, in addition to probe questions, was employed to facilitate recall. Groups were categorized as follows:

CHURCH related group, such as: board or a standing committee, men's or women's groups, volunteer service.

JOB related associations, such as: farmer's organization, business or professional association, labor union.

RECREATIONAL group, such as: bowling league, women's garden club, card club.

FRATERNAL-SERVICE organizations, such as: Masons, Eastern Star, service club, hospital auxiliary.

ADULT LEADERSHIP OF YOUTH programs, such as: 4-H, YMCA, YWCA, Scouts.

OTHER: veteran's organization, board member of a community agency, co-op.

A respondent was considered to be affiliated with an organization cited only if he could state when he first became a member, the purpose of the group, and his commitment and involvement in the organization (e.g., frequency of attendance, committee memberships held, and whether he had served as an officer).

<sup>6</sup> Those whom we were unable to interview in the second survey were more likely to have (a) lived in the community five years or less, (b) resided in communities having 50,000 or more residents, (c) had some college experience.

<sup>7</sup> The basic strategy used was similar to the one employed in *A Social Profile of Detroit: 1952* but modified somewhat for the present study.

A pre-tested structured schedule was used. Items dealing with social participation were essentially the same in the two surveys but more detailed information on the dynamics of affiliation was sought from respondents who participated in the second stage of study. The interviews were from 60 to 90 minutes and administered by trained interviewers.

## THE FINDINGS

### *Extent of Affiliation*

In the 1961 survey 80 percent of the panel (322 of the 402 individuals) were affiliated with one or more associations. The proportion affiliated four years later was identical; the figures do not contradict the notion that Americans are a nation of joiners (Bell and Force, 1956:25-34).<sup>8</sup>

Additional evidence from the panel makes this view even more tenable. Sixty-four respondents in the panel of 402 remained unaffiliated over the period studied. However, 17 persons who were not members in 1961 had become affiliated by the time of the second interview; 13 joined one organization and the other four joined two voluntary associations. Thus, 84 percent of the panel were or had belonged to a voluntary association sometime during the four-year period, showing that only a very small proportion of the adult population choose to remain "isolated" from organized activities represented by formal groups and organizations.

The 338 respondents who affiliated reported 1134 memberships; almost half of the panel (46 per cent) were members of three or more groups. These data are presented in Table 1. Affiliation with Parent Teacher Associations (69 memberships), poker, bridge, and other card clubs (73), and bowling teams (73) were most common. Membership on boards (72), particularly church boards (33), were also widespread. Other associations most cited by panel members included the American Legion (35 affiliations), Altar Societies or Sodalities (24),

<sup>8</sup> Bell and Force (1956) also reported that 80 percent of their sample belonged to at least one group. However, they questioned only men, and men appear to be more likely to be members than women. Furthermore, they sampled only an urban population.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF AFFILIATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS IN THE PANEL OVER THE PERIOD OF STUDY

| Number of Affiliations | Percent | Cumulative Percent | Number of Respondents |
|------------------------|---------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| None                   | 16      | 16                 | 64                    |
| One                    | 20      | 36                 | 78                    |
| Two                    | 18      | 54                 | 72                    |
| Three                  | 15      | 69                 | 58                    |
| Four                   | 8       | 77                 | 33                    |
| Five                   | 9       | 86                 | 37                    |
| Six                    | 7       | 93                 | 29                    |
| Seven                  | 4       | 97                 | 17                    |
| Eight or more          | 3       | 100                | 14                    |
|                        |         |                    | 402                   |

Masons (23) and the Farm Bureau (23). In addition, hundreds of other voluntary groups were identified. Memberships were cited in neighborhood, city, county, state, regional, national, and international organizations and in voluntary associations organized in conjunction with a larger complex organization (e.g., the Bell Boosters, Faculty women's club).

#### *Correlates and Situational Determinants of Membership*

For the most part, the data in this study agree with most other reports. Thus, a greater proportion of men than women were affiliated with associations. The married were, more frequently, members of voluntary groups than the single, widowed, or divorced. Persons who lived in the same community for a longer period of time were more likely to be affiliated than those who had lived in the same community for a shorter period of time. And social class (measured by educational achievement and occupation) was directly related to associational membership.<sup>9</sup>

Eighty-six percent of the farm inhabitants; 83 percent of those in communities of

less than 2,500; 82 percent of the respondents in communities ranging in size from 2,500 to less than 5,000; and 85 percent of the individuals in cities of 50,000 or more were members of groups. Apparently community size was not related to rate of affiliation; this finding contradicts two others reported in the literature. From a 1953 NORC national survey, Wright and Hyman conclude that persons living in more highly urban counties in the United States are more likely to be members than those residing in rural counties (Wright and Hyman, 1958: 284-294). Hausknecht, also analyzing national data, suggests, however, that inhabitants of smaller communities are more likely to be members (Hausknecht, 1962). Possibly, community size no longer affects the rate of affiliation as suggested by the findings of the present study. A more plausible explanation is that the reported difference between studies is a function of the number and kinds of questions that were asked in the three surveys.

There is some ambiguity in the literature with respect to pattern of participation and age. Freedman and Axelrod, for example, found that participation increased gradually, dropped when a person was in his fifties, and an even sharper drop occurred at about sixty (Freedman and Axelrod, 1952:6-9). Bell and Force, on the other hand, noted that participation continued to increase with age, especially for men ranking high in socioeconomic status (Bell and Force, 1956:25-34). The peak membership years in Scott's report occurred between the years of 45 and 54 (Scott, 1957:315-326). And Foskett's figures for one of two communities he studied were comparable to those of Scott (Foskett, 1955:431-438).

In the present investigation, individuals in the middle years (40 to 59) were more likely to be affiliated (89 percent) than those who were younger (85 percent were members) or older (74 percent were affiliated). Thus, the same general pattern emerged in the present study as that suggested by Freedman and Axelrod. But when rate of affiliation was considered in relation to both age and sex, it became clear that much of the fluctuation in the rate of affiliation was attributable to sex rather than age. Men were far more variable in their pattern of affilia-

<sup>9</sup> Respondents totally isolated from voluntary groups during the time under study more usually were women (18 percent) than men (12 percent); about half of these persons had eight or less years of formal schooling. A disproportionate number were older than 60. On the other hand, respondents who were or had been members of six or more groups were almost all between 35 and 59 years of age and practically all had graduated from high school. Many were college graduates or had some college training.

tion than women. Ninety-four percent of the middle-aged men were members, while 87 percent of those who were younger and 72 percent of those who were older were affiliated. The percentages for the women in the same categories were 83, 83, and 76 respectively ( $\chi^2=15.371$   $df=5$   $p<.01$ ).

A greater proportion of men (83 percent) than women (78 per cent) were affiliated at the onset of the study; this edge was maintained throughout the period considered. Only 13 percent of the males and 19 percent of the females remained unaffiliated with any voluntary groups in four years ( $\chi^2=2.334$   $df=1$   $p<.20$ ). Men also held more multiple memberships than women.

*Stability and Change in Membership*

The proportion of the sample who held memberships and the number with multiple memberships were comparable in both 1961 and 1965; this comparability masks the extensive changes which characterized individuals in the panel. There were 217 memberships that were added and 200 that were dropped over the period of study. Changes in affiliation were especially characteristic of those with multiple memberships. Sixty-five percent of the panel changed their membership profile in one way or another; 25 percent experienced an increase in number of affiliations and 28 percent an over-all loss. The remaining 12 percent added and dropped memberships without changing the number of organizations to which they belonged.

Seventeen persons who had been members at the time of the initial survey had dropped

all affiliations with groups (14 of these persons had only one membership, two had belonged to two groups, and one person to more than two groups) at the time of the second interview. But a substantial majority (76 percent) maintained at least one continuous membership. In fact, 56 percent of the panel were continuous members of at least two associations, and 27 percent of three or more groups over the four-year period.<sup>10</sup>

Respondents not initially affiliated but who joined a group in the four-year span were mostly women between ages 20 to 29. Young women were not only more likely to become members, but also to add, drop, or change memberships. However, in the middle and older age ranges, women showed greater stability in their memberships than men.

A detailed analysis of patterns of affiliation according to age is presented in Table 2. A higher percentage of those under 30 and those 60 and older remained unaffiliated; as noted, the peak years for affiliating were 30 to 60 with most respondents in this range holding multiple memberships. Stability in the pattern of memberships was characteristic of one of every three respondents 40 and older. Another three out

<sup>10</sup> As Table 1 shows, 65 percent of the sample belonged to two or more different organizations during the four years. This figure, together with the proportion who were continuous members of two or more groups, is much higher than is reported in most studies using a probability sample with the exception of the one by Bell and Force. For example, in the Detroit report, only 32 percent were found to belong to more than one group and the proportion was much lower (22 percent) in the study by Wright and Hyman (1958).

TABLE 2. AGE AND PATTERNS OF AFFILIATION

| Age          | Unaffiliated | Stable Memberships | Maintained Same Number of Memberships but Added and Dropped Affiliations | Gained One or More Memberships | Dropped One or More Memberships (Net Loss) | Total     |
|--------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Under 30     | 25 (5)       | 15 (3)             | 0                                                                        | 45 (9)                         | 15 (3)                                     | 100 (20)  |
| 30-39        | 13 (12)      | 16 (14)            | 12 (11)                                                                  | 37 (33)                        | 22 (20)                                    | 100 (90)  |
| 40-49        | 11 (12)      | 31 (35)            | 8 (9)                                                                    | 22 (25)                        | 28 (31)                                    | 100 (112) |
| 50-59        | 11 (10)      | 42 (37)            | 6 (5)                                                                    | 14 (12)                        | 27 (24)                                    | 100 (88)  |
| 60-69        | 27 (20)      | 36 (26)            | 6 (4)                                                                    | 12 (9)                         | 19 (14)                                    | 100 (73)  |
| 70 and older | 26 (5)       | 32 (6)             | 5 (1)                                                                    | 5 (1)                          | 32 (6)                                     | 100 (19)  |
|              |              |                    |                                                                          |                                |                                            | 402       |

$\chi^2=47.794$ ,  $df=25$ ,  $p<.01$ .



TABLE 3. PATTERN OF AFFILIATION DURING FOUR-YEAR PERIOD IN SEVEN CATEGORIES OF VOLUNTARY GROUPS

| Type of Voluntary Group           | Maintained Affiliation over 4 Years | Became Member During 4 Years | Dropped Membership During 4 Years | Total Proportion of 402 Respondents Who Were Members at any Time During 4 Years |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Recreational                      | 53% (116)                           | 25% (54)                     | 22% (48)                          | 54% (218)                                                                       |
| Church-related                    | 58% (105)                           | 17% (31)                     | 25% (46)                          | 45% (182)                                                                       |
| Job-related                       | 62% (102)                           | 19% (29)                     | 19% (31)                          | 40% (164)                                                                       |
| Fraternal-service                 | 74% (72)                            | 17% (17)                     | 9% (9)                            | 24% (98)                                                                        |
| Civic-Political                   | 55% (52)                            | 25% (24)                     | 20% (19)                          | 23% (95)                                                                        |
| Adult leadership or youth-serving | 22% (9)                             | 37% (15)                     | 44% (17)                          | 10% (41)                                                                        |
| Other                             | 64% (95)                            | 23% (34)                     | 13% (20)                          | 37% (149)                                                                       |

of ten respondents, 40 and older, showed a net loss in the total number of affiliations; nonetheless, a majority of these latter individuals continued to be affiliated with more than one group. Finally, respondents became less disposed to increase the number of memberships as they became older.

Most respondents in their upper sixties, and even those in their seventies (70% of their own age group), continue to belong to one or more groups. In the present study, the subjects' pattern of disengagement from formal groups occurred at a somewhat later age, as compared to the pattern reported in several earlier inquiries.<sup>11</sup>

#### *Types of Associations and Participation*

At one time or another over the four-year period, 218 individuals (54 percent of the panel) held a membership in recreational associations. Church and job related affiliations (182 persons, 45 percent; 164 persons, 40 percent; respectively) were next in importance. Only 41 individuals (10 percent) were involved in youth-serving organizations. Table 3 indicates the number of individuals in the panel who maintained at least one membership in each of the seven categories of groups over the four years, and the number who added or dropped memberships in each category. Individuals were especially faithful to fraternal-service associations. They also continued to stay in veteran or-

ganizations, co-ops, and groups classified as "other" in the scheme we used. Those in youth-serving groups were least stable in their memberships.

As noted earlier, the pattern of affiliation differed according to sex and age; moreover, the types of associations and pattern of participation in them also differed according to these two attributes. Marital status, education, occupation, and place of residence were also analyzed in relation to type of affiliation and participation. In some instances the small number of cases that resulted after cross tabulation did not permit statistical comparison.

A quite different picture from the one suggested by Table 3 became apparent when affiliation was considered controlling for these variables. Age and sex proved to be more significantly related to patterns of participation than any of the variables considered. Table 4 provides a detailed picture of respondents who remained affiliated over the four years, and the number who added and dropped affiliation with each type of group according to age and sex.<sup>12</sup>

#### *Church-related groups.* A significantly

<sup>11</sup> Lowenthal and Haven (Lowenthal and Haven, 1968:20-30) suggest that isolation increases sharply at the age of 75. The data in our study suggests that this age may be closer to the time when the individual withdraws from voluntary associations than the age reported in other inquiries.

<sup>12</sup> In Table 4 and in the discussion that follows, the focus is on the individual, on whether or not he categorically belonged to a voluntary group of a given type over the four years. Thus, 162 of the 402 respondents in the panel belonged to *at least* one job-related voluntary group, 182 belonged to *at least* one church-related association, and so forth. A person could belong to more than one voluntary group within a category and to associations in two or more categories (e.g., a recreational group and a job-related association); indeed, many held multiple memberships. However, individuals were only counted once in each of the seven cate-

TABLE 4. PATTERN OF AFFILIATION DURING THE FOUR-YEAR PERIOD IN EACH OF THE SEVEN CATEGORIES OF VOLUNTARY GROUPS BY AGE AND SEX

| Age and sex       | Job-related |       |         | Church-Related |       |         | Recreational |       |         | Fraternal-Services |       |         | Civic-Political |       |         | Youth-Serving |       |         | Other  |       |         |
|-------------------|-------------|-------|---------|----------------|-------|---------|--------------|-------|---------|--------------------|-------|---------|-----------------|-------|---------|---------------|-------|---------|--------|-------|---------|
|                   | Stable      | Added | Dropped | Stable         | Added | Dropped | Stable       | Added | Dropped | Stable             | Added | Dropped | Stable          | Added | Dropped | Stable        | Added | Dropped | Stable | Added | Dropped |
| Males             |             |       |         |                |       |         |              |       |         |                    |       |         |                 |       |         |               |       |         |        |       |         |
| 21-39             | 10          | 5     | 1       | 4              | 0     | 3       | 10           | 8     | 6       | 3                  | 2     | 2       | 3               | 3     | 2       | 1             | 0     | 1       | 7      | 3     | 4       |
| 40-59             | 46          | 12    | 16      | 30             | 6     | 16      | 24           | 15    | 12      | 29                 | 6     | 4       | 19              | 7     | 7       | 2             | 6     | 5       | 38     | 11    | 9       |
| 60+               | 16          | 1     | 6       | 7              | 3     | 9       | 8            | 3     | 4       | 18                 | 1     | 2       | 3               | 2     | 1       | 0             | 0     | 0       | 10     | 1     | 2       |
| Total             | 72          | 18    | 23      | 41             | 9     | 28      | 42           | 26    | 22      | 50                 | 9     | 8       | 25              | 12    | 10      | 3             | 6     | 6       | 55     | 15    | 15      |
| Females           |             |       |         |                |       |         |              |       |         |                    |       |         |                 |       |         |               |       |         |        |       |         |
| 21-39             | 5           | 4     | 1       | 18             | 10    | 7       | 13           | 18    | 11      | 2                  | 0     | 0       | 8               | 9     | 1       | 1             | 5     | 4       | 9      | 7     | 1       |
| 40-59             | 14          | 6     | 2       | 27             | 7     | 7       | 38           | 8     | 9       | 9                  | 6     | 1       | 17              | 2     | 8       | 4             | 4     | 7       | 20     | 7     | 3       |
| 60+               | 11          | 1     | 5       | 19             | 5     | 4       | 23           | 2     | 6       | 11                 | 2     | 0       | 2               | 1     | 0       | 1             | 0     | 0       | 11     | 5     | 1       |
| Total             | 30          | 11    | 8       | 64             | 22    | 18      | 74           | 28    | 26      | 22                 | 8     | 1       | 27              | 12    | 9       | 6             | 9     | 11      | 40     | 19    | 5       |
| Combined Total    |             |       |         |                |       |         |              |       |         |                    |       |         |                 |       |         |               |       |         |        |       |         |
| (Male and Female) | 102         | 29    | 31      | 105            | 31    | 46      | 116          | 54    | 48      | 72                 | 17    | 9       | 52              | 24    | 19      | 9             | 15    | 17      | 95     | 34    | 20      |

greater proportion of women than men belonged to church-related groups ( $\chi^2=4.256$   $df=1$   $p<.05$ ). Women not only become members of such groups at an earlier age than men, but once having become members, they were far less likely to drop membership. Few men between ages 21 through 39 (see Table 4) belonged to church groups; not one male who was not already a member joined this type of group over the four years. Moreover, men at every age level who were members more often showed a less stable pattern affiliation with such groups. This difference between the sexes in dropping and retaining memberships in church-related groups was pronounced ( $\chi^2=9.141$   $df=2$   $p<.02$ ).

Part of the difference in the affiliation rates was a function of the type of church organizations which recruited men rather than women. Men were disproportionately represented in instrumental church groups of limited tenure provisions, a circumstance resulting in membership turnover. This was especially true of memberships on church boards. As noted earlier, 33 respondents were or had been affiliated with church boards (instrumental); 28 of these 33 were men. After serving their terms of office on boards, many men retired from further participation in church-related groups. Women also retired from church boards after their term of office. But women were not often members of boards; they were more likely to belong to a Woman's Club, Altar Society, Church Circle and other similar church groups which were mainly expressive in nature and which encouraged continued participation. This resulted, then, in different rates of affiliation for men and women and in different turnover rates.

Persons who were single, widowed, or divorced showed a tendency toward more

gories. The figures in the "added" column indicate the number of individuals in the panel who did not belong to any voluntary groups within a category in the first survey but who joined at least one such group over the four years. Similarly, the figures in the "dropped" column indicate those who belonged to one or more voluntary groups within a category in the original survey but who no longer were affiliated with any associations of this type four years later. Other strategies could have been employed in presenting the data; the one adopted presents the data in a relatively uncomplicated manner in order not to distort the data.

stable affiliation in church-related groups than the married. And blue-collar city residents often added memberships in church-related organizations and dropped fewer of them. Those in white-collar occupations, on the other hand, dropped affiliations with church-linked groups more readily and added fewer memberships in these groups over the four-year period ( $\chi^2=7.498$   $df=2$   $p<.05$ ).

*Job-related groups.* More than half of the men (113 of 195; 58 percent) but only a fourth of the women (49 of 207; 24 percent) in the panel were affiliated with job-related groups. Fewer women than men held memberships in this category of voluntary associations at every age level. This difference was statistically significant ( $\chi^2=49.041$   $df=2$   $p<.001$ ).

Those who were younger (21 to 39) rarely dropped affiliations with a work-related organization; in fact, they often became members of such groups in this period of life. Those who were older (60 and over) rarely joined this type of organization and more often disengaged from such groups ( $\chi^2=5.820$   $df=4$   $p<.30$ ). The years of peak involvement for men were 40 to 59; 72 percent in this age range were or had been in one or more job-related voluntary associations. Only 37 percent of those between ages 20 through 39, and 49 percent of the men 60 and older were similarly involved. On the other hand, women 60 and older were, proportionately, more heavily represented in job-related voluntary associations than those in the middle and younger age range. The percentages for women in the three age categories (oldest to youngest) were, respectively, 37, 23, and 14. Women, then, who became members of job-related voluntary associations did so at a much later age than men.

Rural and small town residents were as involved and as stable in their memberships in job-related organizations as urban dwellers. Affiliation with the Farm Bureau, National Farmers Organization, and Farmers Union were particularly common for rural residents.

*Recreational groups.* Younger individuals were more variable than the older ones in their memberships in recreational groups. There was a net over-all gain for memberships in the age range of 20 through 39, and fewer of the young stayed in the same or-

ganizations over the four years. In the middle age range, stability of membership was the dominant mode of affiliation. Those 60 and older who were already in recreational groups remained in them but not many were inclined to join new groups. These differences were statistically significant ( $\chi^2=16.826$   $df=4$   $p<.01$ ). The married respondents were somewhat less stable in their memberships than the single, widowed, or divorced ( $\chi^2=3.069$   $df=2$   $p<.30$ ) but not significantly so. Size of community, educational achievement, and the other variables we considered did not appear to be related to affiliation with this category of associations.

Card clubs and bowling groups accounted for more than two thirds of the affiliations in recreational organizations. Continuous affiliation with card clubs was high (two of three over the four years) as compared with memberships in other recreational groups. Furthermore, as many respondents added such memberships as dropped them. Stable membership was also high in women's clubs. On the other hand, while numerous respondents belonged to bowling groups, the combined proportion who added or dropped such memberships exceeded the proportion maintaining stable memberships.

*Fraternal-service groups.* A significantly greater number of men (67 of 195; 34 percent) than women (31 of 207; 15 percent) in the panel were involved with fraternal-service organizations ( $\chi^2=20.468$   $df=1$   $p<.001$ ). This difference was probably not due to a greater availability of voluntary groups of this type to men, since many comparable groups were available to women.

Membership in fraternal-service groups was more stable, for both men and women, than in any other type of voluntary association. Seven out of every ten who were members in 1961 were members in 1965. Those who were older were more likely to be members. Thus, 16 percent of the younger men (20 through 39), 38 percent of those in the middle-age range (40 through 59), and 43 percent of those 60 and older in the panel were members. The comparable figures for women were respectively 3, 17, and 28 percent.

*Civic-political groups.* Memberships in these groups were more characteristic of panel individuals who were middle aged and

younger, less characteristic of the aged. In fact, very few of the aged maintained ties with such organizations. Thirty percent of the panel 40 through 59, and 24 percent of those under 40 were active at one time or another in civic-political groups; less than ten percent of those 60 and older were similarly involved. Younger individuals who were not affiliated with such groups at the inception of the study were somewhat inclined to join civic-political groups and middle-aged individuals more inclined to drop membership in the period between interviews. The pattern of behavior was comparable between the sexes.

Persons who reside in the larger communities (50,000 and more) were more likely to become members of civic-political organizations than those who resided in smaller communities. Urban residents were also less inclined to drop memberships in such groups ( $\chi^2=4.664$   $df=2$   $p<.10$ ).

*Youth-serving groups.* Few individuals in the panel became involved in youth-serving groups and those who did, often did so for relatively short periods of time. Most of these persons were married; many of them evidently were influenced to participate by their children. Men were as likely as women to be adult leaders of youth programs. All but two of the panel who took responsibilities in youth-serving groups resided in communities below 50,000. Finally, only one woman, and none of the men, beyond the age of 60 was involved in such groups.

*Other organizations.* Men, irrespective of age and family status, were four times as likely as women to belong to voluntary school boards, election boards, planning boards and comparable instrumental groups. Such membership in instrumental groups were, of course, consistent with the instrumental role characteristically played by men in American society. One out of every four men belonged to a veteran's organization. In contrast, only 14 women (7 percent) belonged to veteran auxilliary groups.

In summary, card, bowling, and PTA groups were mentioned more frequently than any other associations. But most of the members of card clubs (72 of 73), bowling groups (70 of 73), and those affiliated with PTA organizations (59 of 69) *also belonged to other voluntary groups*. This was true, as

well, of a vast majority of those affiliated with church-linked associations. Memberships were not concentrated in any one type of organization but widely diffused among several types.

Many of the respondents were members of more than one group of the same type. To illustrate, an American Legionnaire might also be affiliated with the Veterans of Foreign Wars, a Mason with a Lion's Club, and a person belonging to the National Education Association also be active in the State Educational Association. The tendency for respondents toward affiliation with more than one group of the same type contributed in expanding the proportion of the sample found to have multiple memberships.

#### DISCUSSION

This study suggests that a greater proportion of adults belong to voluntary groups than is often reported in the literature. Tocqueville, Bryce, Wirth, and Myrdal may have been accurate, after all, in their estimates of affiliation in the United States.

It is doubtful that the high rate of membership could be accounted for by the fact that the North-Central State (Nebraska), from which the sample was drawn, is different in significant respects from a state in another region of the country. Respondents residing in rural, rural non-farm, or in metropolitan areas did not differ essentially from each other in their memberships. Also, the membership rates for the samples as a whole, in both 1961 and 1965, closely parallel each other.

The use of aided recall undoubtedly helped the respondent to provide a more complete and accurate profile of his membership than he would otherwise have. Many persons gave detailed information on five or six memberships and one of four in the sample belonged to four or more groups.<sup>18</sup>

Although a substantial majority maintained at least one continuous membership, the number of changes during the four-year period was surprisingly high. Sixty-five percent of the panel added or dropped one or more affiliations. Why?

Many voluntary associations come into being to meet limited objectives and go out of existence once these objectives are realized. Such associations, although ephemeral, involve many people and are basic to the fabric of society; they account for part of the membership turnover reported by a number of respondents. Political groups designed to elect a candidate or to support or oppose an issue on the ballot are good examples of such associations. Other groups in this category include associations and voluntary committees organized annually to enlist funds for community health, social welfare, education, or recreation and groups to implement an occasional community project or to celebrate a special event. These types of groups with limited objectives and with relatively short life histories are highly recurrent and an enduring part of society. They often have a cyclical quality (especially political groups). Middle-aged individuals in the panel were especially likely to become involved and to give viability to such associations.

Similarly, parents of the young were "elected" to act as leaders in youth-serving organizations (scouts, Sunday school teachers, campfire girls, etc.). The changing pattern of affiliation of a number of respondents was a function of periodic involvement in youth socialization groups. Adults who were so affiliated saw themselves as committed for only a limited time; many both added and dropped their ties with these groups in the four-year interval studied.

The greater number of reported memberships among the married is partly explained by the intrafamilial pressures of the type noted above; the influence of one spouse on the other might also contribute to the higher rate of affiliation of the married compared to the single, widowed, divorced, and separated.

Bowling teams, square dance associations, and other expressive groups with high turnover in memberships contributed to the high rate of change in the affiliations of persons in the panel to nearly the same degree as short-lived instrumental groups. Groups organized from season to season apparently were structured to accommodate problems of turnover.

Organizations with limited tenure provi-

<sup>18</sup> This ratio is much higher than those reported in other studies using a probability sample.

sions contributed to membership turnover. Board memberships and similar affiliations were in this category.

Many organizations in which membership turnover was low had a number of characteristics in common. First, they were groups that had sizeable memberships and could accommodate a variable amount of participation. Extent of member involvement could be nominal or active. Moreover, the individual could readily change his level of participation over time. He could choose to be active for a short period and then be inactive, or be a nominal member over a long period. Second, the groups often had multiple objectives so that the members could choose among a wide range of activities. Third, the multiplicity of objectives could also accommodate a wide range of individual motivations to join. Under most circumstances members continued to retain the same reasons or rationale that prompted them to affiliate initially. However, the organization could accommodate shifts in objectives for a member as he aged or changed his life circumstances. Fourth, the organization could be expected to remain solvent for a long period of time. Many organizations had stable histories going back 50 years or more, and some had been organized before the turn of the century. Fraternal-service organizations (such as the Elks, Shriners, Masons, Eagles, Rebeccas) and military-patriotic groups (such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars, an auxiliary of the American Legion, Daughters of the American Revolution) especially had the characteristics outlined above. When a person joined the Elks, or a post of the American Legion, he was entering an established group with a long history. He could accurately judge what the organization stood for, what it might demand of him and what it could offer. The activities he engaged in and his level of involvement would be self-determined and the organization could easily adjust to changes in his level of participation. The aged often remained in groups such as those above; it was not difficult for them to remain members even when the infirmities of age forced modification in levels of participation.

Affiliation also varied by different stages of the life cycle. In the initial interview a greater proportion of the young (though this

number was not large) were unaffiliated; proportionately more of these had become affiliated for the first time when interviewed in the second survey. By middle age, a substantial majority maintained continuous membership in one or more groups. In the older age category, disengagement from many associations did not take place until the individuals were near seventy. And even then, many continued to be quite actively involved.

Newcomers, understandably, were less often affiliated with groups than those who had resided in the community for any length of time (Litwak, 1961:266-271).<sup>14</sup> However, the newcomer was likely to join a group after becoming established. Those who had resided in the community for an intermediate period of time did not differ in their membership rates, particularly, from those who had lived in the community for a long time. Nor were there any marked differences in membership rates for those living in different sized communities. (Anderson, 1943:402-424; Anderson and Plambeck, 1943; Laskin, 1962:15).<sup>15</sup>

Job-related voluntary associations were, numerically, of major significance to men; 58 percent were affiliated with such groups in the four years. This high rate was not attributable to union membership nor to social class. Men in non-unionized occupations belonged as often as those who were employed in unionized industry. Differences were also negligible between blue and white-collar workers.

Evidently, considerable pressure is brought to bear on individuals who are occupied full time and in the labor force by colleagues (directly and through example) to join a trade organization, a union, a professional association, or other job-related groups. Membership reflects the great value and importance that is assigned to the world of work

<sup>14</sup> Litwak (1961) contends that affiliation is most characteristic of persons moderately settled in a neighborhood who have a positive neighborhood orientation. (His sample was limited to women).

<sup>15</sup> Anderson's (1943) studies of farm families support this position. He found that participation was not so much a matter of farm residency as it was of social class, stage in the family cycle, or the degree to which various members of the same nuclear family were involved in groups.

in our society. Many individuals internalize the value of belonging to professional and semi-professional organizations, to trade associations and the like as part of their training and this fact predisposes them to join.

One of every four women became a member of a job-related group. Both sexes maintained stable ties with such groups once they joined them. Apparently, women who are employed full time and committed to a job are as inclined to join work-related voluntary groups and to remain in them as their male counterparts and probably for the same reasons.

The reason for later involvement of women in job-related groups is probably linked to the family life cycle. After marriage most women remain out of the job market until their children are grown. It is at this point in the family life cycle that many married women enter the labor market (or re-enter after long absence) and can pursue a job away from the home on a full-time basis; they also become involved in voluntary groups relating to their job.

A greater number of women (61 percent) belonged to recreational groups than to any other type of association; many men (46 percent) also belonged to organizations in this category. Turnover in memberships were high for women who were young and for men at every age level. There are numerous recreational associations in our society; often they have highly limited objectives and are short lived. Indeed, maybe recreational organizations are not only more ubiquitous but also have a shorter history as a category of voluntary groups than other organizations. Consequently considerable variability in affiliation with them can be expected. The high rate of affiliation for women in such groups is linked perhaps to their having a more flexible time schedule than men, particularly women who are not in the labor force and not too occupied by demands in the home (DeGrazia, 1964:Ch. IV).

Women in the panel were more involved in church-related groups than men. They not only joined at a younger age but remained members after joining. Few of the young men in the panel were members; and the men, at every age level, who joined church groups often did not continue to be members.

Generally women show a higher degree of religiosity (through church membership, church attendance, having responsibility for religious up-bringing of the young, and so on) than men. This religiosity is apparently also reflected in voluntary group membership. It is possible that many more church-related groups are organized for women than men, and that involvement by women reflects this structural circumstance. But it is equally possible that the societal expectation that women show a greater concern with religion, that the greater internalization of religious values by women, because of selective socialization practices, makes them more receptive to organize and participate in church-related groups. Finally, men, as noted earlier, belonged to categorically different church associations than women.

Fraternal-service groups were more important to a greater number of men than women. But those who affiliated with such groups remained loyal to them irrespective of sex. Membership was positively related to age. The aged who had been members at a younger age continued to be affiliated.

Men and women were equally represented in civic-political groups. This was the only category of voluntary associations where this was the case. The data contradict the notion that men are more involved in this sphere than women. Men undoubtedly belong to civic-political associations that are more prestigious and rank higher, and they exercise considerably greater power through such groups than women, but the rate of affiliation is comparable between the sexes (Babchuk *et al.*, 1960:399-403).

Women became members of civic-political groups at a somewhat younger age than men. Involvement for both sexes, however, was most characteristic in middle age. Very few of the respondents continued to be members of civic-political groups past the age of 60. Women are beginning to play a more active role in the civic-political arena than they did in an earlier period in our history. This may reflect the emerging social equality between men and women. Memberships were more characteristic (for both men and women) in larger communities, communities in which sex roles are less sharply defined; this datum is consistent with the thesis suggested above.

## CONCLUSION

The hundreds of different memberships held by the respondents show how prevalent voluntary associations are in our society. A wide range of instrumental and expressive groups organized locally and nationally and representing narrow parochial and broad cosmopolitan interests was represented. These groups intersect with all of the major institutions—the family, education, the economy, religion, and government; they are a vital part of the fabric of society and play a crucial mediating role in the relations between the institutions of the society as well as providing a link between the individual and institutions.

Our inquiry underscores the importance of structure and function of the association itself as well as such factors as family status, age, sex, work status, and stage in the family and life cycle to the incidence of membership in voluntary groups and to the pattern of affiliation and membership turnover. The major findings are that:

- (1) Voluntary association membership is characteristic of a majority of adult Americans. Eighty-four percent in the panel belonged to one or more associations.
- (2) Membership remains stable over time; indeed, membership in more than one group is common. Seventy-six percent of the respondents maintained at least one of the same memberships continuously and more than half of the panel (56 percent) two or more memberships over the four years studied. Multiple membership in categorically similar groups is common.
- (3) A majority of the population add and drop affiliations in groups even within a short period of time, although, as noted above, most also continue to maintain at least one membership continuously.
- (4) Membership is equally characteristic of urban and rural residents. The rate of membership for urban, small town, rural non-farm, and farm residents were within a five percent range of each other.
- (5) The structure and function of associations bear on the rates and changes in affiliation. Membership tenure is often greater, and turnover lower, in groups having multiple objectives, a large membership, and a long history.
- (6) Men and women differ considerably in pattern of affiliation. Men are more likely to be affiliated with groups than women, have more multiple memberships as a rule, are more variable and less stable in their memberships, and belong to categorically different types of associations.
- (7) Affiliation and pattern of memberships is linked to family status and life cycle. The married, as compared to those who are not, are more often affiliated. Affiliation is most characteristic in the middle years. Parents predominate in youth serving groups. Finally, the aged do not become disengaged from voluntary associations until they approach the age of 70 and, even after this age, many continue to remain affiliated.

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## CHANGES IN THE FORM OF ALIENATION: THE 1900's VS. THE 1950's<sup>1</sup>

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*Social alienation and self-alienation resulting from disjunctions between social demands and values and individual needs and inclinations are postulated. To test the hypothesis that social alienation has been decreasing in middle class American society, while self-alienation has been increasing, a content analysis of popular magazine fiction in the 1900's and the 1950's was undertaken. Results indicated an over-all rise in the appearance of alienation themes, a slight decrease in social alienation, and a large increase in self-alienation. Additionally, both types of alienation assumed somewhat different forms in each period. Composite pictures of the nature of self- and social alienation in each period are drawn, and an attempt is then made to explain these differences in terms of the social structure and value changes which have occurred in American society since 1900. These changes are seen as having produced a greater flexibility or fluidity in the society of the 1950's. With society providing less rigid guidelines to behavior, the form of social alienation involving rejection of society becomes infrequent but the greater degree of behavioral flexibility becomes a new kind of burden, which often leads to self-alienation.*

“**A**LIENATION” has become the catchword for a vast multitude of twentieth century discontentments. Yet despite the frequency with which the concept is invoked, little systematic work has been done to study the extent or nature of alienation within a society. The assumption that alienation has become more pervasive in modern industrial society has not been tested; and consensus on a definition of what constitutes alienation remains lacking.

### DEFINITION AND MEASUREMENT OF ALIENATION

In the various attempts that have been made to define alienation, little attention has been given to the distinction between alienation from self and alienation from society (see Srole, 1956; Nettler, 1957; Dean, 1961; Hajda, 1961). Because of the failure to make this distinction, the characteristics that define alienation for one theorist may be precisely those which distinguish the non-alienated man in the eyes of another theorist. Thus, among the non-alienated men that Hajda postulates, there appears the following type: “a graduate of a nationally known business school, who becomes an executive of

a national firm, is an incarnation of the organization man, moves from suburb to suburb but always the ‘same kind’ of executives’ suburb, never misses an opportunity to cultivate useful business contacts (in which his wife gladly lends a hand), and supports a conservative government” (1961:760). But this *non-alienated* man is almost an exact reproduction of the *alienated* man of Fromm and Mills! (see Fromm, 1947; Fromm, 1955; Mills, 1956). Similarly, though Seeman’s variants of alienation (1959) include conceptions of self- and social alienation, an attempt to overcome the *ad hoc* nature of Seeman’s presentation eliminates the self-estrangement component (Browning, *et al.*, 1961).

To make the distinction between self- and social alienation is, however, more than an exercise in conceptual clarity. For the very phenomenon of alienation may be seen as having its origin in the self-society interaction. That is to say, alienation results from disjunctions between social demands and values and individual needs and inclinations. Given tension between self and society, two ideal-type extreme forms of resolution are possible: (1) social alienation—in which individual selves may find the social system in which they live to be oppressive or incompatible with some of their own desires and feel estranged from it; and (2) self-alienation.

<sup>1</sup> This article is based on the writer’s “Alienation: An Exploration Into Its Changing Forms,” Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1966.

tion—in which individual selves may lose contact with any inclinations or desires that are not in agreement with prevailing social patterns, manipulate their selves in accordance with apparent social demands, and/or feel incapable of controlling their own actions.<sup>2</sup> The socially alienated maintain distance from society, while the self-alienated engage in self-manipulatory behavior so as to eliminate this distance. Although both types of alienation are indicative of tension in the self-society relationship, in the case of social alienation the onus of blame is placed on the society, whereas in the case of self alienation the self is seen to be responsible. Hence, not only is the behavior of the socially alienated different from that of the self alienated, but the underlying attitude toward society is different.

When alienation is defined in this manner, what emerges from a consideration of much of the literature on alienation today is the idea that there has been a change in the direction of decreased social alienation and increased self-alienation among most middle class Americans. The characterizations of Riesman (1950), Mills, and Fromm focus upon the prevalence of self-alienation and indicate or imply (Riesman most clearly) that this phenomenon has been on the increase in the twentieth century; the "social ethic" of Whyte's (1956) "organization man" bespeaks of a new self-society relationship in which social alienation is no longer relevant; and Marcuse's (1964) appraisal likewise characterizes social alienation as practically non-existent in modern America.

In an effort to test these hypotheses and to secure information about the nature of alienation in different periods of American history, a sample of stories was drawn from two popular middle class magazines—*Saturday Evening Post* and *Cosmopolitan*—in the years 1904–5–6 (N=134) and 1954–5–6 (N=144).<sup>3</sup> Such stories tend to be highly

temporal in setting; and—as numerous studies have demonstrated (see Inglis, 1938; Muller, 1942; Johns-Heine and Gerth, 1949; Albrecht, 1956; Martel and McCall, 1964)—the characters of the stories bear striking resemblances to the readers, allowing for both identification and wish-fulfillment.

Indicators were developed to code story characters for social alienation—(1) isolation or estrangement from other people, (2) estrangement from norms and values, and (3) violative behavior—and for self alienation—(1) suppression of or distance from needs, (2) objectification of self and projection of powers, and (3) over-incorporation into society. In addition, since various commentators have noted that the stories in these magazines are often realistic in setting and character portrayal, while at the same time containing elements of fantasy in plot structure or resolution (see Whipple, 1928:20; Hoggart, 1961:106; Manfredi, 1950), types of plot resolutions were constructed that would constitute escapist resolutions for self- and social alienation. The presence of such a resolution was coded as an indicator of alienation. The following escapist resolutions for social alienation were used:

1. resolution such that social isolation is meaningfully reduced; sense of suspicion/distrust regarding fellow man is eliminated or drastically reduced.
2. the non-conformist ends up by seeing the virtues of conformity and finding such conformity meaningful.
3. resolution such that the person comes to feel truly "at home" in his environment; comes to understand things around him in a way which makes them palatable, meaningful to him.

For self-alienation, the escapist resolutions were:

1. resolution such that given self-society conflict, self emerges intact, victorious.
2. "true self" emerges at the end—that which one really wants to do or be; nature of one's true identity is revealed.
3. self emerges at the end having a greater sense of power and meaning; discovery that inner resources are strong; renewed self-

<sup>2</sup> These are ideal types which can be found in varying degrees of strength. Nor is it impossible for there to be some combination of both, as is exemplified by the hero of Albert Camus' *The Stranger*.

<sup>3</sup> The projected sample of 288 stories—consisting of two stories selected at random from each monthly issue of *Cosmopolitan* and two stories in one issue per month from the *Saturday Evening Post*—was

reduced by 10 because several issues of the magazines in the early period contained fewer than two stories each. When this occurred, stories from other issues were not substituted.

esteem as certain personal qualities come to be appreciated in their own right.<sup>4</sup>

#### RESULTS

Out of the total of 278 stories read, 168—or 60%—received at least one coding for alienation. The sample of stories in the 1950's contains a higher proportion of stories coded for alienation than does that of the earlier period: 54% of the stories in the 1900's manifest some alienation as opposed to 66% of the stories in the 1950's. Thus, irrespective of the type of alienation involved, the appearance of alienation themes in the later period represents a 21% increase over the earlier period.

The hypothesized changes of an increase in self alienation and decrease in social alienation are borne out by the data, though the latter change is only minimally apparent. The breakdown of the stories is given in Table 1.

Of greater interest than these broad changes is the manner in which each of the forms of alienation changes between the two periods. The self-alienation manifested in the 1950's is characterized primarily by a greater frequency and intensity than that found in the 1900's. But the nature of social alienation undergoes some striking changes between the two periods. In the discussion which follows, composite pictures of self- and social alienation in each period will be drawn. Thereafter, an attempt will be made to explain the differences between the two periods in terms of the social structure and

value changes which have occurred in American society.

A note is in order here about the methodology and limitations of content analysis. It might be said that there is a certain push towards qualitative rather than quantitative analysis inherent in this method. For, when the results of a content analysis are subjected to more careful and detailed breakdowns and analyses, the sub-class frequencies tend to become quite small. Consequently, the findings presented below are to be taken as suggestive rather than conclusive.

#### *Social Alienation*

Highlighting the differences in social alienation between the two periods, one can say that social alienation in the 1900's is chosen, deliberate, and vis-à-vis other people, while in the 1950's it is involuntary and largely vis-à-vis social norms and roles rather than people.

The feeling of non-belonging towards membership groups—a major component of the isolation and estrangement dimension of social alienation—is manifested in different ways in the two periods. A sense of non-belonging may be either imposed (involuntary) or chosen (voluntary). That is, a person may be excluded from a group or feel that he is being rejected, or he may himself reject the group. In the 1900's feelings of non-belonging are more frequently voluntary (5 of 8 cases of non-belonging), while in the 1950's the situation is reversed (4 of 10—maintaining voluntary non-belonging). But even the voluntarily estranged characters are different in the two periods. For while those who choose this form of alienation have rejected their membership groups for reasons of personal preference or inclination, they may either continue in such rejection or end up by accommodating to the group. While both of these alternatives are represented in the 1900's (3 of 5 do not accommodate, 2 of 5 do), all of the characters of this kind in the 1950's accommodate to their groups eventually.

It is not surprising in the light of these differences that isolation and estrangement themes figure more prominently in the stories of the 1900's, and that only in the 1900's do characters maintain deliberate seclusiveness.

<sup>4</sup> The reliability of the coding scheme was checked by two coders. The agreements were 73% and 75%. When reliability was measured for the basic dimensions of each type of alienation—omitting the sub-dimension indicators—the agreements rose to 80% and 83%. For a presentation of the entire coding scheme, see the writer's dissertation, cited in footnote 1 above.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF ALIENATION \*

|                   | 1900's<br>(N=134) | 1950's<br>(N=144) |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Social Alienation | 38.8%             | 35.4%             |
| Self-Alienation   | 23.1%             | 45.1%             |
| No Alienation     | 45.5%             | 34.0%             |

\* The totals add to more than 100% because of the existence of stories which contain elements of both self and social alienation.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF MAJOR TYPES OF SOCIAL ALIENATION

|                                                  | 1900's |      | 1950's |      |
|--------------------------------------------------|--------|------|--------|------|
|                                                  | N      | %    | N      | %    |
| (a) estrangement from values and norms           | 26     | 33%  | 30     | 41%  |
| (b) isolation and estrangement from other people | 22     | 28%  | 17     | 23%  |
| (c) alienated or violative behavior              | 31     | 39%  | 26     | 36%  |
| Totals:                                          | 79     | 100% | 73     | 100% |

The greater salience of this dimension in the 1900's is manifested also in the escapist plot resolutions, the majority of which deal with reduction of social isolation. By contrast, in the 1950's, the predominant form of escapist plot resolution is one in which the person comes to feel truly "at home" in his environment, and this resolution is occasioned primarily by geographic and occupational mobility.

While isolation from other people and voluntary non-belonging are key elements of social alienation in the 1900's, a major constituent of social alienation in the 1950's is an aspect of estrangement from norms and values: the sense of oppressiveness of role or status demands. This dimension appears in 13 (or 18%) of the social alienation stories in the 1950's and in 4 (or 5%) of such stories in the 1900's. In the later period, the oppressiveness occurs most frequently among men in connection with their work. Representative here are the engineer who has been promoted to an executive in his company and has to function as the "charm boy"; the production expert for a machinery corporation whose company frequently sends him to live in different locations; the store clerk who dreams and drinks, and persists in considering his work as temporary, though he has been clerking for twenty years. These men, and others like them, find their work roles oppressive but do not attempt to move out of them. The feeling of malaise is even

better exemplified by men who feel their work roles *and* family obligations to be burdensome—the suburbanite brokerage executive who feels "hemmed in" by his life; the shoe store clerk whose sense of oppressiveness about his work is matched by a feeling of estrangement towards his family and a sense of the stifling atmosphere of the city. Additionally, there are women who feel oppressed by the social demands of maintaining a middle class life style. It is interesting to note that none of these people is of the lower class. The oppressiveness does not come from the difficulty of the work or the meagerness of the monetary rewards. By contrast, in the 1900's, the stories which portray such oppressiveness often have reference to laborers.

The alienation expressed in the 1950's takes the form of malaise rather than strong disaffection or rebelliousness. In the 1900's, when characters find their status and role obligations oppressive, they actively shirk them. They maintain isolation from their fellows, thereby escaping from these obligations. Thus, one finds the young society girl who runs away to an Arizona ranch in order to escape the status obligations which she finds distasteful; the farm wife, with a desire to escape the drudgery of work and be free, who goes out tramping in the woods, only to encounter her husband there, likewise enjoying the freedom; the rich young man and the rich young woman each of whom has run away from society and lives in an isolated

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF ESCAPIST RESOLUTIONS FOR SOCIAL ALIENATION

|                                    | 1900's |      | 1950's |      |
|------------------------------------|--------|------|--------|------|
|                                    | N      | %    | N      | %    |
| (1) Reduction of social isolation  | 14     | 64%  | 10     | 38%  |
| (2) End to nonconformity           | 5      | 23%  | 3      | 12%  |
| (3) Emergence of 'at home' feeling | 3      | 13%  | 13     | 50%  |
| Totals:                            | 22     | 100% | 26     | 100% |

TABLE 4. DISTRIBUTION OF MAJOR TYPES OF SELF ALIENATION

|                                           | 1900's |      | 1950's |      |
|-------------------------------------------|--------|------|--------|------|
|                                           | N      | %    | N      | %    |
| (a) suppression of or distance from needs | 13     | 52%  | 49     | 73%  |
| (b) self as object—projection of powers   | 5      | 20%  | 8      | 12%  |
| (c) over-incorporation into society       | 7      | 28%  | 10     | 15%  |
| Totals:                                   | 25     | 100% | 67     | 100% |

cottage by the sea. In the 1950's, the characters no longer escape or cease to participate in their usual activities. Instead, the executive whose company just sent him to a new location where he cannot find housing for his family, except for one apartment building which will not allow animals—while his young son has become very attached to his dog—muses about “someday when I am no longer a slave to be sent hither and yon at the whim of the powers that be in the National Machinery Corporation. . . .” The clerk with a meagre salary, and a wife and three children to support, feels disgusted with his job and estranged from his family. He thinks of escaping for a week-end with a girl he has just met but, instead, spends the money on gifts for his family.

*Self-Alienation*

In contrast to social alienation, which shows a slight over-all decrease in frequency between the two periods and a significant change in form, self-alienation shows a large over-all increase in frequency and a heightened intensity. Contributing to this increase are identity problems stemming from career choice, a heightened sensitivity to, and concern for, others' impressions or judgments of the self, and problems revolving about the sense of self, manifested in a concern about self-control, self-mastery, and a sense of individuality or uniqueness.

Identity problems, associated with career choice, constitute the principal occasion for the escapist plot resolution designated “‘true self’ emerges at the end,” which increases in frequency between the two periods. This element does not appear at all in the 1900's. In that period it is over-commitment to a career that sometimes results in self-alienation. The characters manifesting this type of alienation translate all experiences into work-related terms. Representative here are the writers who deny their own emotional involvements so as to be better observers and produce better stories.

The other escapist plot resolution that increases in relative as well as absolute frequency is: “self emerges . . . having a greater sense of power and meaning.” In the 1900's, the heroes of such stories develop greater strength and meaning as a result of the love or influence of another person, or in the case of the “idle rich,” by becoming involved in some useful work. In the later period, they attain strength and meaning by experiencing a sense of self-control or self-mastery, often through a successful handling of some test of character. Exemplifying this theme are the Air Force pilot who learns that he can control his impulse to fight when on routine patrol missions near enemy territory; the man who realizes that “that wonderful something” isn't going to happen to him unless he makes it happen. A secondary theme in

TABLE 5. DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF ESCAPIST RESOLUTIONS FOR SELF-ALIENATION

|                                                         | 1900's |      | 1950's |      |
|---------------------------------------------------------|--------|------|--------|------|
|                                                         | N      | %    | N      | %    |
| (1) Self emerges victorious after self-society conflict | 7      | 33%  | 10     | 21%  |
| (2) “True Self” emerges                                 | 5      | 24%  | 14     | 30%  |
| (3) Self emerges with greater power and meaning         | 9      | 43%  | 23     | 49%  |
| Totals:                                                 | 21     | 100% | 47     | 100% |

the 1950's is that of the achievement of strength via a realization or discovery of individuality or uniqueness. Representative here are the old spinster school teacher who, after being instrumental in saving a boy's life, realizes that her life has been meaningful because of her unique ability to impart values to her students; the residents of a housing development who gain a greater sense of strength and purpose by winning the right to make changes in their heretofore identical houses and exercising their new freedom by showing great individuality of design. Both of these themes indicate that the individual's sense of self and the strength of his "inner resources" are more problematic in the 1950's.

It is not surprising, then, that the dimension of self-alienation which shows the biggest increase between the two periods is "suppression of, or distance from, needs." Contributing most heavily to this increase are the sense of lack of control over one's own behavior and the deliberate development of a particular style of response in order to influence or manipulate others. This latter mode of behavior occurs in connection with work activities, or with courtship and love activities, but it is only in the 1950's that it occurs also as part of a general attempt to impress people with no specific instrumental value. One does not find, in the 1900's, characters such as the woman who assumes an ultra-loving and warm attitude towards her small son in order to impress people, though she is almost indifferent to him when they are alone. Such behavior betrays a degree of concern about others' judgments of oneself that does not appear in the earlier period.

Since self-alienation involves placing responsibility for self-society conflict on the self rather than the society, both the general increase in self-alienation and the change from a voluntary to an involuntary social alienation would seem to indicate the presence of a more favorable attitude towards society in the 1950's than in the 1900's.

This more positive view of society probably accounts for the decrease in relative frequency of the escapist resolution designated as: "given self-society conflict, self emerges intact, victorious." A detailed examination of these stories provides further

evidence for the contention that a more favorable view of society prevails in the 1950's. Stories containing this type of resolution may conclude with the victory of the individual, with no change occurring thereafter in either the self or the society. In some cases, however, one or the other ultimately concedes. The victorious hero may later accommodate to the group, as in the case of the newly hired town manager who valiantly fights for what he thinks is right, despite the opposition of the town influentials and the majority of townsmen, but then comes to see the rightness of the other side. Alternatively, the society may ultimately concede, as in the case of the engineer who informs the Air Force, contrary to the directives of his employers, about a defect in the airplane which he had constructed for them under a company-Air Force contract. Instead of losing his job, he is ultimately rewarded for his honesty. That is, after he acts in accordance with his own personal dictates against his employers, his employers reward this activity. In the 1900's, this type of resolution occurs in only one (or 14%) of the stories of this type, as opposed to 5 such stories (or 50%) in the 1950's. The more typical mode of the 1900's is exemplified in the story of a clerk who testifies against his crooked employers and loses his job; as the story ends, he is left to face the difficulties of securing new employment.

### *Social Alienation and Self-Alienation*

Further evidence for the change in attitude toward society between the two periods may be found in an analysis of those stories in each period which contain elements of both social and self-alienation. Since the total number of such stories in both periods is only 24, any further breakdown inevitably results in very small sub-case frequencies. The differences that emerge through such further analysis are, however, of interest, and they are presented not as conclusive evidence, but as additional support for a trend that has been found in other analyses of the data.

The following general patterns emerge in these stories: (1) social-alienation is chosen in order to avoid self-alienation; (2) self-alienation leads to, or causes, social aliena-

TABLE 6. DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SELF- AND SOCIAL ALIENATION

|                                                            | 1900's |      | 1950's |      |
|------------------------------------------------------------|--------|------|--------|------|
|                                                            | N      | %    | N      | %    |
| (1) Social alienation is chosen to avoid self-alienation   | 2      | 29%  | 0      | 0%   |
| (2) Self-alienation causes social alienation               | 2      | 29%  | 6      | 35%  |
| (3) Social alienation and self-alienation coexist          | 1      | 14%  | 2      | 12%  |
| (4) Self-alienation is overcome through social integration | 1      | 14%  | 6      | 35%  |
| Miscellaneous                                              | 1      | 14%  | 3      | 18%  |
| Totals:                                                    | 7      | 100% | 17     | 100% |

tion; (3) social alienation and self-alienation coexist in the deeply alienated, with no clear pattern of predominance; and (4) self-alienation is overcome through social integration. While the frequency of type (3) remains almost constant in the two periods, interesting differences appear in the other types.

Type (1) stories—the choice of social alienation to avoid self-alienation—occur only in the 1900's. In these stories, the self is enhanced through socially alienated behavior. The essential conflict here is between personal loyalty and social norms. Exemplifying this theme are the young upper class man and his lower class wife who have been happily married for a year despite the social pressures against their union and the fact that he has been disinherited. An attempt is made by his family to effect a reconciliation. Realizing that this might cause disaster for their marriage, the couple decides not to succumb to the pressure, and they continue their socially alienated but happy existence. Stories of this type condone socially alienated behavior when the alternative presented involves some degree of self-compromise.

In stark contrast is the moral presented by the type (4) story, which appears as a major category in the sample of the 1950's. The message presented here is that the self can experience true meaning or purpose only when social integration is effected. Thus, the man who has been divorced for three years, and has been travelling a good deal, begins to feel a sense of purposelessness. He returns to the United States, effects a reconciliation with his ex-wife, and thereupon regains a sense of meaning and feels that he has found himself. The young man on Air Force patrol duty in a remote area feels that he is "losing touch with himself." He goes out for a long

walk to think about his state of mind and meets a person who tells him of an earlier expedition to this area in which all the men died, but their dreams and hopes were carried on. He then realizes that he is "part of something larger than himself, and he would never feel trapped by the land again." Having gained a sense of collective purpose, he regains his sense of self.

Another pattern appearing frequently in the 1950's is the type (2) story, in which self-alienation is the root of social alienation. In these stories, the characters feel alienated from society or engage in deviant activities because of alienation from self. Included here are two men who commit murders because they have lost touch with themselves and cannot exercise any self-control, and a young man who steals and cheats because he has no sense of personal identity, although he gives up these activities when he decides upon a career he would like to pursue. Also represented here are the men who experience social alienation because their work roles are self-alienating: the engineer who has become an executive and must function as a "charm boy" though it is against his personal inclinations, and the architect who must stifle his own ideas and tastes because he is employed by an old and conservative architectural firm.

The central difference between the two periods, then, is that in the 1950's social integration is more often seen as a positive good and the absence of which calls for an explanation. In the 1950's the predominant themes show the hero finding his self within society or maintaining social alienation because of some kind of self-alienation, while in the 1900's these themes are infrequent and social alienation in certain situations is condoned.



## DISCUSSION

What can account for this change in attitude? The answer might lie in the following schematic difference between the two periods:

| Flexibility of:  | 1900's | 1950's |
|------------------|--------|--------|
| Values and Norms | Low    | High   |
| Self             | Low    | High   |

In the 1900's, values and norms are clear and strongly adhered to, while in the 1950's they are flexible and adhered to less strictly. There is also a lesser flexibility of self in the 1900's in that the sense of who one is and what one wants to do is firmer and less subject to change than it is in the 1950's. The following sample plots illustrate these points:

|                  | 1900's                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 1950's                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Values and Norms | <p>A young clerk is asked to testify in court regarding the overissuance of stock certificates in the company for which he works. The President has accused the now deceased Secretary of being the guilty party, but the clerk knows that the President is himself guilty. The questions he is asked on the witness stand give the clerk no opportunity to reveal what he knows. After giving his testimony, he goes to see the judge and begs to be put on the stand again so that he may voluntarily give testimony exonerating the Secretary. He is fired thereafter, and his only reward is a thank you visit from the Secretary's widow. ("The Troublesome Truth," SEP, April 23, 1904).</p> | <p>A young lawyer who is working hard and hoping to get a senior partnership in the firm learns that his employer is selling to all the junior partners shares in his son's near-bankrupt business. He further realizes that under state law the shareholders are liable for the amounts they buy. Nevertheless he dutifully buys his shares and says nothing about it. But his wife—in whose name the stock certificates were purchased—goes against his wishes and gives them away to a church charity, telling the church to ask the boss to buy them back. When the boss learns about this he accuses the young man of being a schemer and fires him. It is only then that the young man accuses his employer of being dishonest. He is ultimately rewarded for this by the other senior partners who ask him to stay and become a senior partner, as the boss is retiring. ("Boss, You're a Crook!," SEP, November 24, 1956).</p> |
| Self             | <p>A young man of modest means marries a rich girl and shortly thereafter enters into a business part-</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <p>A well-known jazz musician decides to give up jazz and start a new life. He moves to a new town</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |

nership with a fellow employee. After a short time he buys out his partner, though his wife is not pleased by the financial struggle that this implies. But his goals are clear and he carefully pursues the difficult course of saving and hard work to build his business. Neither his wife nor his rich friends can exert pressure on him to spend money and so he is deflected from his course. He skips lunch, walks to work, and allows for no luxuries. Eventually, he becomes a recognized business success and begins to acquire luxuries. ("Forging The Golden Chain," SEP, January 20, 1906).

and sets himself up in a hardware and sporting goods business. He falls in love with a local school teacher. All goes well at first, but after she learns of his former identity she leaves him. At this point he decides to return to his former life as a jazz musician. His planning is interrupted, however, by the reappearance of the girl, who decides to marry him after all. He thereupon decides to forget about jazz and remain a store owner in the small town. ("The Lady Hated Jazz," SEP, December 24, 1955).

It is to be noted from these examples that the commitment to honesty in the 1900's is inflexible and independent of rewards or punishments, whereas in the 1950's it is clearly of instrumental value only. The personal goals and ideals of the young man in the 1900's are similarly inflexible and not to be deflected by environmental pressures, whereas the young man in the 1950's adjusts readily to different types of people and situations and readily changes occupations.

The increased flexibility of the self helps account for the heightened problem of self-control in the 1950's. In a flexible society, rigidity of self-definition becomes maladaptive. But when greater personal flexibility is called for, self-control becomes more difficult. And not only does self-control become a problem, but the very notion of a sense of self becomes more difficult, as is manifested by the elements of tension concerning individuality and uniqueness in the stories of the 1950's.

The more favorable attitude towards society—the greater difficulty of placing the "blame" on society—can be seen as stem-

ing from the increased flexibility of values and norms. It is easier to reject society when society represents a harsh constraining force than when it exhibits flexibility. For this reason, too, the social alienation that occurs in the 1950's is one of malaise rather than rebellion.

The social changes that have occurred between 1900 and 1950 may be seen as converging to produce the increase in social and personal flexibility seen in the stories. Among the most salient of these changes are urbanization and increased population density, the growth of the mass media and communication and transportation technologies, increased occupational and geographical mobility, higher educational attainments for a larger proportion of the population, and an increasingly cognitive orientation in both public and private decision-making.

Population growth, urbanization, and the developments in communication, transportation, and the mass media all serve to increase contact and interaction between diverse peoples and groups. Under conditions in which social groups maintaining differing

values are relatively insulated from one another, it is easy to maintain the group identity or value system, with perhaps only minimal consciousness thereof. However, as contact with representatives of other value patterns becomes more frequent and routine, a greater consciousness of values emerges which may bring with it a degree of value relativism.

Such value relativism may be further stimulated by the emergence of a society in which theoretical knowledge is being accorded an increasingly important role. "A society in which the store of knowledge concerning the consequences of action is large and is rapidly increasing is a society in which received norms and their 'justifying' values will be increasingly subjected to questioning and reformulation" (Williams, 1967: 30). The growing stock of knowledge about values and behavior and the widespread and rapid diffusion of this knowledge via the mass media cannot but have effects on behavior. The effects of Freudian theories on child-rearing practices might be taken as prototypical here. The analytic attitude thus extends into interpersonal relations. Philip Rieff has captured the sense of this phenomenon: "The analytic attitude has discovered no natural harmony of goals, no hierarchy of values inscribed upon the universe" (1966: 51).

At the same time as the value structure has become more fluid, pressures have emerged which call for a greater flexibility and malleability of the self. The most important of these pressures stem from role complexity and mobility. Increased social interaction and the growth in the complexity of organizations since 1900 have resulted in greater role complexity. Also, with more levels of supervision and a more differentiated and specialized division of labor, role ambiguity becomes an important problem. This has been well documented in a national survey of 725 employed persons (matched by sex, age, education, and occupation with the employed persons reported in the 1961 census). Forty-eight percent of the sample reported that "from time to time they are caught in the middle between two sets of people who want different things from them, and 15 percent indicate this to be a frequent

and serious problem. Thirty-nine percent report being bothered at times by thinking that they will not be able to satisfy the conflicting demands of the various people over them" (Kahn, *et al.*, 1964:55-56). Additionally, the following disturbances are reported by the subjects: lack of clarity about the scope and responsibilities of their jobs (35%); ambiguity about what their co-workers expect of them (29%); and uncertainty about their superiors' evaluations of them (32%) (Kahn, *et al.*, 1964:74).

To succeed under such conditions requires flexibility of behavior. Moreover, widespread mobility further compounds the situation, since expectations about proper behavior have to be re-learned, to some extent, when an individual is placed in a new environment. In the words of Rudolf Heberle:

Let us compare a society in which people tend to stay for generations in the same community or region with one in which they move frequently in their own lifetime and their migrations cover large distances. In the latter society, a large proportion in each community will be newcomers . . . who cannot be placed in a familiar social category except by observing and evaluating their manifest conduct or overt behavior. No wonder then, that under these conditions, everybody desires to appear at his best, and to win the approval of others by conforming to the observable standards. (1956:36).

The self-manipulation called forth by mobility and role complexity is probably facilitated by the relative decline of the Protestant Ethic, which had served to provide an "internal measuring rod." (For evidence concerning the decline of the Protestant Ethic see Williams, 1957; Straus and Houghton, 1960; Lowenthal, 1961; Wolfenstein, 1951; Kluckhohn, 1958).

It should be noted too that there are simply more opportunities for choice and for change facing the individual in the 1950's. The changes in occupational structure have opened up a broader range of occupations from which to choose (and it will be recalled that identity problems connected with career choice appear only in the 1950's). The spread of education has further increased choice; and the mass media provide a greater number of possible identification figures.

Despite the psychic pains involved, the

need for constant adjustments and self-manipulation does not lead to a withdrawal from society. Alienation from one's groups is almost always involuntary in the 1950's. The importance of group membership might perhaps be seen as directly related to self-alienating conditions. Thus, a study by Argyris finds that:

The need for group belongingness does not seem to exist for all employees. In Department A where the personality requirements are congruent with the organization's demands . . . the employees hardly ever mention the need to belong to an informal group in their work situation. In fact, over 90 percent state that they have no close friends in the organization, although the majority of them have worked together for ten years or more. In Department B where the organizational demands are antagonistic to the individuals' personality requirements, the need for group belongingness seems great. In this group, 85 percent of the employees have made close friends with some of their fellow employees, even though the majority of them have been working together for less than one year. (1954:272).

Speculatively, then, it could be argued that in the 1950's where there is less congruence between personality needs and organizational demands—as evidenced by the increase in oppressiveness of role and status obligations associated with the work setting in the 1950's—there is a greater need for group belonging.

Indeed "sociability" becomes an important theme in the stories of the 1950's. The major (non-alienation) themes in the 1950's are: an exhortation to openness and sociability, a celebration of home virtues and family fun, and portrayals of success in "beating the system" through manipulations of human sympathies. By contrast, the major themes of the 1900's are: success (largely through adherence to the Protestant Ethic); commitment (to a cause or a person); and family responsibility (to the extended family). The nature of these themes once again demonstrates the higher degree of structuring of social expectations in the earlier period. There is a logical consistency in the fact that in the 1900's, with commitment as a theme of the stories, social alienation takes the form of a more radical break with society than it does in the 1950's, where sociability is a ma-

for theme. The nature of social integration in the 1900's appears as more of an all-or-none matter than in the 1950's. Similarly, with respect to self-alienation, in the 1900's, where success and commitment are emphasized, a major form of self-alienation stems from over- or under-commitment to work, while in the 1950's a major form of self-alienation stems from excessive sociability and the manipulateness involved in gaining approval and status.

#### CONCLUSION

The various social changes that have occurred in American society over the last half-century combine to produce a greater looseness or flexibility in society. Society now provides less rigid guidelines to behavior. Since society is seen as being less harsh in its demands, it has become more difficult to place the "blame" on society. Hence the form of social alienation which involves rejection of society becomes infrequent. When social alienation is experienced, it does not involve withdrawal, but remains a feeling of malaise. However, the greater degree of behavioral flexibility becomes a new kind of burden in the mid-twentieth century and one which can easily lead to the self-manipulatory activities of the self-alienated.

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## SEXUAL STATUS AND PSYCHIATRIC SYMPTOMS \*

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*This paper is concerned with testing the hypothesis that women will report more psychiatric symptoms than will men with an equal number of physical illnesses. Our hypothesis arises from an assessment of the societal definitions of what is "appropriate" or "inappropriate" behavior for someone occupying the status of male or female. In our view, men are expected to be less expressive than women in their emotional behavior. Analysis of data collected from a sample of 278 adults in 1965 and 1966 provides strong support for the hypothesis. On two indices consisting of what are judged to be psychological and psychophysiological symptoms, a greater percentage of women than men have "high" scores. Two other indices, containing physiological and ambiguous items, show a tendency for men to have slightly higher scores. Since the first two indices contain 15 items and the other two only 7, not unexpectedly women are higher than men on the over-all mental health inventory. This pattern is revealed in the analysis of data for both 1965 and 1966, and is also shown in analysis of "turnover" during the one-year period. A further finding is that women are more likely to seek medical care than are men with the same number of physical illnesses and similar psychiatric symptoms.*

RECENT research concerning illness behavior (Mechanic, 1962) and the sick role (Mechanic, 1968; Mechanic and Volkart, 1961; Wilson, 1963) has established the fact that various patterns of norms define and govern the behavior of the ill person. Although considerable attention has been given to the influence of social class (cf. Hollingshead and Redlich, 1958; Koos, 1954; Srole, *et al.*, 1962; Suchman, 1964, 1965), ethnicity (cf. Croog, 1961; Dohrenwend, 1966; Saunders, 1954; Zborowski, 1952; Zola, 1966), and religion (Mechanic, 1963) on illness behavior, far less attention has been given to the effects of sexual status.

In the present study, we shall show how a person's sexual status affects both the recognition and expression of illness, and his help-seeking behavior in response to that illness. A major emphasis concerns our attempt to show that the expression of signs of psychological disturbance is not just associated with the experience of physical illness, but that this association also relates to sexual differences. We believe that the sex-linked differences are reflections of cultural processes that must be taken into account before deciding that self-reports of signs of mental disturbance have the same weight for

men as for women, and concluding that men and women reporting the same, or the same number of psychological difficulties are equally disturbed.

Our perspective relies on the theory of deviance as set forth by Becker (1963) and others (Erikson, 1962; Kitsuse, 1964; Lemert, 1951, 1967; Scheff, 1966; Friedson, 1969). In this view, deviance is seen not merely as a quality of the person's acts but also as a consequence of how the public or certain designated "experts" respond to his acts. We further consider that both actors and witnesses are aware of the cultural standards that obtain in, and for, different status-categories, so that we expect to find that people will generally be inclined to avoid, and will be incapable of carrying out, such acts as would lead significant others to respond to them negatively. What this means, of course, is that differences in the prevalence of some types of acts defined as deviance, among people who occupy different statuses, reflect differences in the actors' willingness to engage in, or make visible, certain acts or behaviors.

But what grounds are there for expecting pronounced differences in men's and women's ways of feeling, noting, and expressing psychological difficulties? And do these grounds appear solid after attempts have been made to control for possible differences in the over-all level of physical health in the two groups? We shall try to answer the first question now, leaving the second for later discussion

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when it can be considered in the context of the data of this study.

Sociologists have long recognized that the ascription of sex statuses provides a complex of culturally defined behaviors that members of any society have to learn. "Sex-typing of behavior and privilege is even more rigid and lasting in our society than is age-typing," observes Allison Davis (1941:350). "Indeed, sexual status and color-caste status are the only life-long forms of rank. In our society, one can escape from them in approved fashion only by death" (Davis, 1941). Similarly, according to Bierstedt (1963:353), "The existence of the two sexes, a biological differentiation, results in what is also one of the most important societal groups, men and women. In no society do the same norms apply with equal force to these two groups. In all societies there are different statuses for the two sexes."

Although differences between men's and women's roles may be blurred in contemporary American society, prescribed roles for men and women still exist. In particular, behavior that is expressive of warm emotionality or dependence tends to be considered inappropriate for men; aggressiveness and openly exploitative sexuality, for women. Kitsuse's (1964) study of the labeling of homosexual behavior provides an example of how these patterns operate. He quotes a female undergraduate who noted nothing unusually wrong upon seeing two girls holding hands in public, but did conclude—after seeing them in bed together—that they were homosexual. Kitsuse does not say so, but two men publicly seen holding hands would meet with much greater and more immediate suspicion.<sup>1</sup>

Less dramatic perhaps, but nearer at hand to the sort of materials that will be discussed below, are portions of studies by Linn and Phillips. Linn reported (1961:94) this difference in the process by which a man and a woman came to be regarded as requiring hospitalization:

"Aggressive behavior (which was relatively infrequent) in a married female patient, coming toward the end of a long period of symptoms, led her husband to hospitalize her, whereas aggressive behavior in a married male patient led the wife to swear out a warrant, having him arrested, and then it was the court which sent him to the hospital for mental observation."

Phillips (1964) in his study found that women respondents, who evaluated four case abstracts of mental illness, rejected men more strongly than they did women who exhibited the same behavior. These examples suggest that "sensitive" or "emotional" behavior is more tolerated in women, to the point of aberration, while self-assertive, aggressive, vigorous physical demonstrations are more tolerated among men.

Clearly, then, men and women manifesting the same behaviors are likely to differentially evoke tolerance or awaken disapproval in others. Furthermore, additional evidence shows that men and women differ in their manifestations of symptoms of psychiatric disorder. For example, previous investigations of the prevalence of these disorders, measuring them in terms of self-reported symptoms in general populations, are consistent in revealing higher rates among women (Davis, 1962; Gurin, *et al.*, 1960; Langner and Michael, 1963; Leighton, *et al.*, 1963; Phillips, 1966). The conventional interpretation is that women are disturbed more frequently than men. The alternative, which will be pursued here, is that women may be more likely than men to *report* certain acts, behaviors, and feelings that lead to their being categorized as mentally ill. Our argument is simply that it is more culturally appropriate and acceptable for women to be more expressive about their difficulties. "Letting it all out" and "dropping one's guard" are behaviors called for and approved on the couch, but until an individual has defined himself as a patient ready for intervention, the praise and approval is for being able to "take it," "grin and bear it," and "work it out for yourself." To that extent, the ethic of health is masculine, and while it may not correspond to the highest ideal of preventive medicine or the sharpest insight of psychiatry, it surely corresponds to the outlook of many harried general practitioners whose practice allows

<sup>1</sup> We need not labor the point, but another example is also telling. Americans hardly notice when two women exchange affectionate kisses, but cat-calls are heard in movie theatres when men are shown in French ceremonies doing the same thing; these bear witness to the different standards applied to each sex.

them little time for what they cannot readily identify as genuine sickness.<sup>2</sup>

As Barker (1953:317) has noted, "Particularly among men illness is looked upon as a feminine characteristic to be shunned. The man who publicly announces that he does not know what it means to be sick thereby improves his masculine status." In sum, it seems more acceptable for women to have problems, especially problems of illness, although we cannot with any accuracy speculate on how much of this difference is due to sex-role training, and how much to the possibility that women do have more interpersonal problems (Gurin, *et al.*, 1960: 208-209), or to their greater responsibility for, and involvement in, their families' health and welfare. Women are granted more indulgence. The other side of our argument is that men are subject to different expectations. It is less permissible for them to be sick, emotionally disturbed, or upset, because they are expected to exert more self-control, and, if difficulties do occur, they are expected to bear them with greater equanimity (Korn and McKorkle, 1962; Krech and Crutchfield, 1962; Parsons and Bales, 1955; Rossi, 1964; Zelditch, 1960).

Finally, we wish to note that Gurin (1960: 209-210) has anticipated the view guiding the present study:

"... these findings [sex differences in symptomatology] may reflect a greater readiness to admit distress rather than an actual difference in the stresses and strains encountered by men and women. The existence of such a difference between men and women in our society would not be surprising. The male role is closely linked to an active, coping interaction with the world, and a man's masculine identity is closely linked to his success in coping with his environment, to his strength in the face of difficulties. It would not be surprising, then, if a man defended against feelings that attested to his failure in this respect, and not only experienced such feelings less often than women but also was less likely to report them if they were experienced."

<sup>2</sup> For medically relevant behavior, women have higher admission rates to general hospitals, a higher percentage of them go through surgical procedures, and they make more physician visits per year (Anderson and Feldman, 1956). They have more dental visits and dental X-rays per year, greater health expenses, more disability days, and a higher proportion of them report one or more chronic illness conditions (Public Health Reports, 1964, 1966).

#### METHODS

The study was carried out in Lebanon, New Hampshire, a small New England town of approximately 9,000 inhabitants. Respondents were selected randomly from the City Directory (1964), with the stipulation that the sample include only married persons between the ages of 21 and 50, and that in no case should a husband and wife both be included. Our initial sample of 302 respondents (153 women and 149 men) was interviewed during the winter and spring of 1964-1965. One year later, each of the sample members was contacted for a second interview. In the second wave of interviews, 278 of the original sample (141 women and 137 men) were reinterviewed. Thus, the sample "mortality" was only 8 percent over this one-year period. All of the findings presented in this paper are based on the 278 respondents for whom we have data from two interviews, spaced one year apart.

Before proceeding to a presentation of our findings, it is first necessary to discuss briefly some of the measures employed in the research. State of *physical health* is measured by the respondents' reports on whether or not they *presently* (at the time of each interview) have a number of illnesses or physical difficulties. A standard medical checklist was utilized, and people were asked about such things as bronchitis, ulcers, diabetes, asthma, and so forth. Our original intention was to match people with the identical illnesses and then observe sex differences in psychiatric symptomatology. The limitations of this will be discussed later. For now we will note that our measure of illness in this study consists of the total *number* of illnesses reported by each respondent.

Psychiatric symptomatology is estimated in terms of peoples' responses to the 22-Item Mental Health Inventory. Developed as part of the Midtown studies, the index asks respondents whether or not they are troubled by any of the 22-symptoms of emotional or psychophysiological distress. Two different validity studies of this instrument report that it seems adequate for screening and case-finding in large populations (Langner, 1962; Manis, *et al.*, 1964), and that the probability of emotional disturbance increases as the scores run higher. Following Langner (1962), a cutoff point of 4 is used



TABLE 1. GROUPINGS OF 22 SYMPTOM ITEMS INTO SYMPTOM INDICES

|                                                                      |                                          |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| <i>Psychological Symptoms Associated With Psychological Disorder</i> |                                          |
|                                                                      | Feel somewhat apart                      |
|                                                                      | Can't get going                          |
|                                                                      | Nothing turns out right                  |
|                                                                      | Wonder if anything worthwhile            |
|                                                                      | Nervous                                  |
|                                                                      | Worrying type                            |
|                                                                      | Restlessness                             |
|                                                                      | Trouble getting to sleep                 |
|                                                                      | Low and very low spirits                 |
|                                                                      | Memory not all right                     |
| <i>Psychophysiological Symptoms</i>                                  |                                          |
|                                                                      | Personal worries get one down physically |
|                                                                      | Feel weak all over                       |
|                                                                      | Cold sweats                              |
|                                                                      | Hot all over                             |
|                                                                      | Headaches                                |
| <i>Physiological Symptoms Associated with Organic Disorder</i>       |                                          |
|                                                                      | Fainting more than a few times           |
|                                                                      | Clogging in nose                         |
|                                                                      | Poor appetite                            |
| <i>Ambiguous Symptoms</i>                                            |                                          |
|                                                                      | Sour stomach                             |
|                                                                      | Shortness of breath                      |
|                                                                      | Heart beats hard                         |
|                                                                      | Hands tremble                            |

for categorizing individuals as disturbed. He reports that it is at this point that the Mental Health score becomes "serious" or predictive of psychiatric impairment.<sup>3</sup>

A further refinement was made in the use of the 22-item index. We employ four-symptom indices developed from the over-all mental health index by Dohrenwend and Crandall (1967) in consultation with a group of psychiatrists and medical internists. The four indices are presented in Table 1. The *Psychological Symptom Index* is composed of ten items that were viewed as associated with psychological disorder by the clinicians. The *Psychophysiological Symptom Index* is composed of the five symptoms seen as occurring quite rarely in organic illness, but usually indicative of psychological distress. The *Physiological Symptom Index* is composed of three items judged as frequently occurring in organic illness. The *Ambiguous*

<sup>3</sup> Langner (1962) also notes that of people classified as "well" (no significant symptoms) by Midtown study psychiatrists, only 1 percent had scores of four or more; but among those classified as "incapacitated" (serious symptoms with great and total impairment), 84 percent had a score of four or more.

*Symptom Index* consists of four symptoms on which frequency of occurrence in organic illness the clinicians could not agree.

Hence, we have, according to the clinicians consulted by Dohrenwend and Crandall (1967), two indices composed of symptoms that usually indicate psychological distress, one index containing symptoms of organic illness, and one in which the symptoms could apparently be connected with either organic illness or psychological disturbance. For purposes of comparison, in the following pages we will speak of people as being either "High" or "Low" on the various indices. On the Psychological Index, individuals with two or more symptoms are classified as high. On the other three indices, a score of 1 or more places a person in the high category.

#### FINDINGS

We turn first to a presentation of how in 1965 the 22-Item Mental Health (MH) index and the four-symptom indices related to sexual status. Examination of the top line of Table 2 reveals that more than one-third of the female respondents have a score of 4 or more on the MH index, compared to only about one-fifth of the men. Similar patterns are seen for the two "psychological-type" indices. With the other two indices, however, the pattern is different, since a slightly greater percentage of men than women are high on what we might consider the "physiological-type" measures. These patterns seem to have considerable stability, as they are maintained within different age categories and among people occupying different social class positions.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> While previous research (Mechanic, 1963) has found that the illness behavior of Jews and non-

TABLE 2. PERCENT SCORING HIGH ON EACH OF FIVE SYMPTOM INDICES—BY SEXUAL STATUS

|                                | Sexual Status |         |
|--------------------------------|---------------|---------|
|                                | Males         | Females |
|                                | (N=137)       | (N=141) |
| <i>Symptom Indices</i>         |               |         |
| 22-Item MH Index (4+)          | 21.2          | 35.5    |
| Psychological Index (2+)       | 29.9          | 46.8    |
| Psychophysiological Index (1+) | 23.8          | 47.5    |
| Physiological Index (1+)       | 19.0          | 17.7    |
| Ambiguous Index (1+)           | 21.9          | 14.9    |

Given these findings, it is worthwhile to ask these two questions: (1) Do women choose psychological symptoms (nervousness, restlessness, feeling weak all over) to express distress, while men choose more physiological symptoms (clogging in nose, sour stomach, shortness of breath)? (2) Or is it the case that men manifest reactions to organic illness, and women those to psychiatric disorders? If the second proposition were true, then we might expect more men to report physical illnesses and more women to respond affirmatively to a question pertaining to "emotional difficulties." This, however, was not borne out by the findings. Neither the 20 items pertaining to physical illnesses and difficulties, nor the item pertaining to emotional troubles showed any significant difference by sexual status. Further, the average number of physical illnesses reported by males and females was identical; each averaging 3.4 illnesses at the time of the 1965 interview. Even inspection of doctors' diagnoses of the patients did not reveal any sex differences except, of course, for the category of "female complaints," which were rather small in number. Thus, there seems to be no sex differences in the prevalence or number of physical illnesses, whether measured by respondents' reports or doctors' diagnoses, and it appears safe to conclude that men and women seem to express similar health problems both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Earlier in this paper it was mentioned that we originally intended to "match" men and women with various physical illnesses and then compare their scores on the mental health indices. This turned out not to be possible because of the small sample size, the great variety of physical illnesses reported, and the rather small percentage of respondents reporting (or diagnosed by a physician as having) any given physical illness. Therefore, we employ as a measure of physical illness the respondents' reports of the number of illnesses or physical difficulties which they were experiencing at the time of the first interview. Surprisingly, perhaps, we found that it was the *number* of physical illnesses reported rather than the pattern of

illnesses that was most strongly related to scores on the mental health indices.<sup>5</sup>

We are now ready to see if the sex differences reported up to now are real, or whether they are artifacts of different patterns of physical illness among men and women. Table 3 presents the relationship between sexual status and psychiatric disturbance (4 or more symptoms on the 22-Item MH Index) within various illness categories. The first thing to be observed in this table is that, in each category, a greater percentage of women than men are classified as disturbed. Secondly, among both men and women, the percentage of respondents who are classified as disturbed increases with the number of illnesses reported—although there is one minor reversal among men, where more of those with 0–1 illnesses than with 2–3 illnesses are disturbed. A third observation is that the greater the number of illnesses, the greater the differentiation in disturbance between sexes. The difference between men and women is only 1 percentage point among those reporting 0 or 1 illness but 27 percentage points among respondents with six or more illnesses. Fourth, the number of illnesses not only has a greater influence than sexual status on psychological disturbance, but it also has considerably greater effects on women's disturbance than on men's: about 28 percentage points among men and 54 among women. Finally, it is clear that sex and number of physical ill-

<sup>5</sup> This finding is similar to that reported by the Midtown investigators (Langner and Michael, 1963:152) that "... the *number* rather than the pattern of negative factors [adult stresses] is what predicts mental health risk. . . . The mere *number* of factors tells us as much about mental health risks as an examination of the particular combinations or patterns of factors . . . experienced."

TABLE 3. PERCENT SCORING HIGH ON THE 22-ITEM MENTAL HEALTH INDEX—BY NUMBER OF PHYSICAL ILLNESSES AND SEXUAL STATUS

|                      | Number of Illnesses |              |              |              |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
|                      | 0-1                 | 2-3          | 4-5          | 6+           |
| <i>Sexual Status</i> |                     |              |              |              |
| Men                  | 13.0<br>(23)        | 6.0<br>(50)  | 28.9<br>(35) | 41.4<br>(29) |
| Women                | 14.3<br>(28)        | 16.7<br>(48) | 44.4<br>(27) | 68.4<br>(38) |

Jews is different, there were too few Jews in our sample for us to examine such differences.

TABLE 4. PERCENT SCORING HIGH ON SYMPTOM INDICES—  
BY NUMBER OF PHYSICAL ILLNESSES AND SEXUAL STATUS

| Sexual Status:<br>N:              | Number of Illnesses |               |             |               |             |               |             |               |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|
|                                   | 0-1                 |               | 2-3         |               | 4-5         |               | 6+          |               |
|                                   | Men<br>(23)         | Women<br>(28) | Men<br>(50) | Women<br>(48) | Men<br>(35) | Women<br>(27) | Men<br>(29) | Women<br>(38) |
| <i>Symptom Indices</i>            |                     |               |             |               |             |               |             |               |
| Psychological<br>Index (2+)       | 21.7                | 21.4          | 18.0        | 35.4          | 40.0        | 63.0          | 41.4        | 73.7          |
| Psychophysiological<br>Index (1+) | 8.7                 | 25.0          | 14.0        | 41.7          | 31.4        | 55.6          | 51.7        | 68.4          |
| Physiological<br>Index (1+)       | 4.3                 | 7.1           | 22.0        | 16.7          | 20.0        | 14.8          | 24.1        | 34.2          |
| Ambiguous<br>Index (1+)           | 13.0                | 0.0           | 6.0         | 8.3           | 22.9        | 14.8          | 55.2        | 34.2          |

nesses together exercise a strong joint influence on psychological status, despite the absence of any particular association between sex and physical condition considered alone.

Findings in Table 4 are as follows: (1) On the psychological and psychophysiological indices, women are considerably more likely than men to have "high" scores. (2) On the psychological index, the sex differential increases with the number of illnesses reported, as did the over-all 22-item MH index. (3) On the psychophysiological index, sex differences are greater in the two middle illness categories than they are at the extremes. (4) There are no consistent sex differences on the physiological and ambiguous indices, and those that do occur are small, except among respondents reporting six or more physical illnesses. For these people, 55 percent of the men and 34 percent of the women are high on the index of ambiguous symptoms. (5) Among both men and women, and for each of the four indices, there is a consistent relationship between illness and index scores. The greater the number of illnesses, the greater the percentage with high scores on each index. (6) For all of the indices, illness has a greater influence than sex on whether or not people have high scale scores.

In sum, while men and women are similar, in that physical illness is associated with psychological and physiological complaints, women are far more apt to express specifically psychological difficulties as their level of physical illness becomes more marked. The fact that the relation between

sexual status and psychological problems is maintained when we hold constant the number of physical illnesses, and that there is virtually no difference by sex in the types of illness reported, suggests that these psychological difficulties are concomitants of physical illnesses but not actual components of them—and thereby that they may well be reflecting differences in the readiness to perceive, to sense, or to express signs of emotional tension. It is clear, in any event, that these findings further specify those of previous investigators by showing that under roughly equal circumstances of objective physical illness, women are more likely than men to report feelings and behavior that are seen by mental health investigators as signs of psychiatric disturbance.

#### *Utilization of Medical Facilities*

In addition to our concern with the relationship between sexual status and mental health symptoms, we are interested in examining possible sex differences in how respondents use medical facilities and services. As our measure of medical utilization we employ data from physicians' records, and clinic and hospital records. Because of the small size of Lebanon and the fact that adjacent communities are smaller still, we were able to secure the cooperation of all health personnel with whom Lebanon residents might come in contact. Clearance was secured from the respondents for investigating their case records in physicians' offices, in the small hospital in Lebanon, and at the Mary Hitchcock Hospital and Clinic in Hanover—the

TABLE 5. PERCENT SEEKING MEDICAL HELP—BY NUMBER OF PHYSICAL ILLNESSES, SYMPTOM INDICES AND SEXUAL STATUS

| Sexual Status:             | Number of Illnesses |              |              |              |
|----------------------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
|                            | 0-3                 |              | 4+           |              |
|                            | Men                 | Women        | Men          | Women        |
| <i>Index Scores</i>        |                     |              |              |              |
| <i>Psychological</i>       |                     |              |              |              |
| Low (0-1)                  | 60.3<br>(58)        | 64.8<br>(54) | 81.6<br>(38) | 85.0<br>(20) |
| High (2+)                  | 53.3<br>(15)        | 63.6<br>(22) | 65.4<br>(26) | 80.0<br>(45) |
| <i>Psychophysiological</i> |                     |              |              |              |
| Low (0)                    | 54.7<br>(64)        | 69.4<br>(49) | 79.0<br>(38) | 87.5<br>(24) |
| High (1+)                  | 88.9<br>(9)         | 55.5<br>(27) | 69.2<br>(26) | 79.0<br>(41) |
| <i>Physiological</i>       |                     |              |              |              |
| Low (0)                    | 62.3<br>(61)        | 62.2<br>(66) | 74.0<br>(50) | 85.5<br>(48) |
| High (1+)                  | 50.0<br>(12)        | 80.0<br>(10) | 78.6<br>(14) | 70.6<br>(17) |
| <i>Ambiguous</i>           |                     |              |              |              |
| Low (0)                    | 58.2<br>(67)        | 63.9<br>(72) | 70.0<br>(40) | 83.3<br>(48) |
| High (1+)                  | 66.7<br>(6)         | 75.0<br>(4)  | 83.3<br>(24) | 76.5<br>(17) |
| <i>22-Item MH Index</i>    |                     |              |              |              |
| Low (0-3)                  | 58.5<br>(65)        | 65.7<br>(64) | 76.2<br>(42) | 81.5<br>(27) |
| High (4+)                  | 62.5<br>(8)         | 58.3<br>(12) | 72.7<br>(22) | 81.6<br>(38) |

only major medical center within a radius of over 50 miles. The records of all physicians within the locality and the records of the hospitals and clinics were searched to determine each respondent's use of the medical services and facilities during the twelve-month period between the first and second interviews. We feel confident that we have managed to learn about almost all medical visits made by the people in our sample. Even those few patients who went outside the area for medical assistance did so after consulting a local doctor or a physician at one of the local hospitals. Hence, in Table 5 we present the relationship between sexual status and seeking medical help during the period between interviews—by number of physical illnesses reported at the beginning of the twelve-month period, and by scores on the 22-Item MH index and each of the four symptom indices.

The first observation to be made about Table 5 is that more than one-half of the respondents in our sample sought medical

assistance during the twelve months between interviews. Looking then at the differences in help-seeking by sexual status, we see that in 15 of 20 comparisons a higher percentage of women than men sought help. That is, if we compare people within the two illness categories who occupy similar positions on each of the symptom indices, we see that women are higher on help-seeking in three-quarters of the comparisons. Note, however, that the differences are small, and this is a point we shall have to consider again later.

Another interesting finding in Table 5 is that people reporting a high number of physical illnesses are considerably more likely to seek medical assistance within the subsequent year than respondents reporting fewer illness. This is true for 18 of 20 comparisons. Further, most of the percentage differences are fairly large. While the finding is obvious in its suggestion that seeking medical aid is first of all dependent upon the number of illnesses an individual has,

and only secondarily upon his sexual status, it is useful for helping to demonstrate that our rough checklist method does have some validity as an indication of health status.

There is one surprising finding in the table. With sex and number of physical illnesses held constant, we find that there is *no* relation between *any* of the measures of psychiatric symptomatology and medical utilization. In fact, in 11 of 20 comparisons those who are low on the various mental health indices are higher in help-seeking. These findings are quite unexpected. We would have predicted that, given an equal number of illnesses, individuals manifesting psychiatric symptoms would seek help more often than people without these symptoms. That is, it would be expected that people who report "trouble sleeping," "cold sweats," and the like, would seek medical assistance to a greater extent than people without such experiences or feelings.

Thus, it appears that only a small proportion of help-seeking in this population is due to factors which physicians often take to be not serious, inasmuch as they show no clear and direct relationship to known physiological-organic disorders. (Phrased more bluntly, there seem to be few of the types known as "crocks".) Second, one can also infer that respondents themselves probably do not often interpret these psychiatric symptoms as indicators of illness—physical or psychological—that could profit from professional attention, for if they did, those with a greater number of such symptoms would seek help more often than those with fewer of them.

The precise manner in which the respondents define these feelings and experiences is not clear from our data. Among the likely possibilities are that they are simply not seen as serious; that they seem like "natural" responses to illness or other causes of discomfort or tension; that while bothersome they are not appropriate for professional attention, because experience has shown either that they are not always amenable to direct and rapid treatment, or that physicians are themselves not inclined to pay much attention to them; or finally, that they are the types of problems that can be handled at home by any of the dozens of much advertised patent remedies.

### *Mental Health Status: 1966*

Up to this point in our report, the concern has been mainly with the analysis of data from the first wave of interviews in 1965, although some data from 1966 were used in our examination of help-seeking. In this section of the paper, however, we explore the relationship between scores on the 22-Item MH index and the four symptom indices in 1965, and again a year later. Since the main focus is still on differences in the expression of psychiatric symptoms among men and women with similar physical health, we shall again compare respondents having 0-3 illnesses with those with 4 or more.

Turning first to an inspection of the sex differences on the psychological index in Table 6, we note a greater percentage of women than men have high scores. A similar pattern is found on the psychophysiological index. On the physiological and ambiguous symptom indices, however, there is no clear relationship between sexual status and index scores. The scores on the overall MH index are higher among women than men, except in the group with both four or more physical illnesses and high MH index scores in 1965. In this latter group, slightly more men than women have high scores.

A second finding of interest in Table 6 is the strong association of 1965 and 1966 index and subscale scores. Except for two minor reversals, a greater percentage of those with high than low 1965 scores have high scores in 1966. Apparently, then, these psychological proclivities are of some duration. The number of physical illnesses, too, continue to exercise an influence on symptom scores. Those respondents with four or more illnesses in 1965 consistently show higher index and subscale scores in 1966.

We see, therefore, that each of the three variables—sexual status, number of physical illnesses in 1965, and 1965 MH index and subscale scores—has an independent influence on respondents' scores on the over-all index and symptom indices in 1966. With regard to the relative effects of these variables, the MH index and the symptom indices generally have the strongest influence and sexual status the least.

Since we have seen that the number of illnesses which people reported in 1965 bears a strong relationship to their psychological-

TABLE 6. PERCENT SCORING HIGH ON 1966 SYMPTOM INDICES—BY NUMBER OF PHYSICAL ILLNESSES IN 1965, SYMPTOM INDICES IN 1965, AND SEXUAL STATUS

| Sexual Status:             | Number of Illnesses |              |              |              |
|----------------------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
|                            | 0-3                 |              | 4+           |              |
|                            | Men                 | Women        | Men          | Women        |
| <i>Index scores (1965)</i> |                     |              |              |              |
| <i>Psychological</i>       |                     |              |              |              |
| Low (0-1)                  | 17.2<br>(58)        | 25.9<br>(54) | 18.4<br>(38) | 30.0<br>(20) |
| High (2+)                  | 13.6<br>(15)        | 54.5<br>(22) | 65.4<br>(26) | 68.9<br>(45) |
| <i>Psychophysiological</i> |                     |              |              |              |
| Low (0)                    | 6.2<br>(64)         | 22.2<br>(49) | 15.8<br>(38) | 45.8<br>(24) |
| High (1+)                  | 55.6<br>(9)         | 77.8<br>(27) | 53.8<br>(26) | 78.0<br>(41) |
| <i>Physiological</i>       |                     |              |              |              |
| Low (0)                    | 6.6<br>(61)         | 3.0<br>(66)  | 14.0<br>(50) | 14.6<br>(48) |
| High (1+)                  | 25.0<br>(12)        | 40.0<br>(10) | 57.1<br>(14) | 41.2<br>(17) |
| <i>Ambiguous</i>           |                     |              |              |              |
| Low (0)                    | 4.5<br>(67)         | 4.2<br>(72)  | 7.5<br>(40)  | 12.5<br>(48) |
| High (1+)                  | 50.0<br>(6)         | 50.0<br>(4)  | 45.8<br>(24) | 52.9<br>(17) |
| <i>22-Item MH Index</i>    |                     |              |              |              |
| Low (0-3)                  | 3.0<br>(65)         | 12.5<br>(64) | 9.5<br>(42)  | 22.2<br>(27) |
| High (4+)                  | 0.0<br>(8)          | 16.7<br>(12) | 59.1<br>(22) | 55.3<br>(38) |

and physiological-type symptoms in both 1965 and 1966, the next appropriate step would be to introduce into the analysis respondents' reports of physical illnesses in 1966, and then to examine the relation between sexual status and symptom scores under the *simultaneous* control of number of illnesses in 1965 and 1966. Unfortunately, the small sample size makes this impossible. Even in Table 6, there are a few cells (among people with 0-3 illnesses and high index scores) with fewer than ten cases. It is, however, possible to look at change and stability among men and women on the various mental health indices in terms of the number of physical illnesses reported at the time of the two interviews.

Because these data are rather complicated and unwieldy, it seems appropriate to present them in piecemeal fashion. Therefore, we show first in Table 7 the "turnover"—the proportion shifting to high or low scores—on the MH index and symptom indices, for men and women in the four illness categories. We notice immediately the relatively low

turnover from 1965 to 1966. This is perhaps even better revealed by our separate analysis of the relationship of the 22 items at the two-time periods. An item-by-item examination revealed that the Q's (Yule's) were .90 or better in four items, .80 or better in nine items, .70 or above in five items, and .60 or better in three items. In only one item was the Q less than .60.

Another way of describing the stability of the 22 mental health symptoms is to note that the average turnover for the items was less than 13 percent, with a range of 2 percent on one item to 27 percent on another. On 19 of the 22 items, more than 80 percent of the respondents had the same score at the time of the second interview as they did when interviewed initially. We suspect that even less turnover would have occurred had there not been some dissimilarities in the response categories for several of the items in the two interviews.<sup>6</sup> For the items which

<sup>6</sup> On several items where the response categories were "Yes-No" in 1966, they were "Often-Some-

contained exactly the same response choices in both interviews, the average turnover was 10 percent, as compared with an average of 16 percent on the items where the wording of the answers differed. Additionally, the dissimilarities in the choice of responses may have led to an "inflation" in the proportion of respondents with high MH index and symptom indices scores in 1965. Thus, the generally lower scores on the 1966 measure results partially from a difference in wording on some of the items. Since our interest here is primarily in the relative percentages of men and women in any given category, the above differences in the two interviews are not of primary concern for this report, though we shall have occasion to consider them again later.

Table 7 not only indicates the turnover

made up of ambiguous items, reveals that men are higher in three of four categories. While these differences by sexual status are sometimes small, they reveal an interesting pattern. Women appear to be, in a sense, more "sensitive" or subject to change than men on the psychological-type symptoms, while men are more likely than women to change on the physiological-type symptoms. This pattern of change is parallel to our earlier finding that men and women use different types of items to describe their health difficulties. Taken together, these two findings lend more support to our initial contention that the conventional psychiatric symptomatology on the 22-item index seems to have a different meaning for women and men.

While the "turnover" figures in Table 7

TABLE 7. PERCENT "TURNOVER" ON SYMPTOM INDICES 1965-1966—BY NUMBER OF PHYSICAL ILLNESSES IN 1965 AND 1966, AND SEXUAL STATUS

| Sexual Status:            | Number of Illnesses |               |            |               |             |               |             |               |
|---------------------------|---------------------|---------------|------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|
|                           | 0-3                 |               | 0-3        |               | 4+          |               | 4+          |               |
|                           | 1965:<br>1966:      | 0-3           | 0-3        | 4+            | 4+          | 0-3           | 4+          | 4+            |
|                           | Men<br>N: (65)      | Women<br>(65) | Men<br>(8) | Women<br>(11) | Men<br>(46) | Women<br>(33) | Men<br>(18) | Women<br>(32) |
| <i>Symptom Indices</i>    |                     |               |            |               |             |               |             |               |
| Psychological Index       | 30.8                | 29.2          | 37.2       | 45.4          | 30.4        | 33.3          | 11.2        | 27.2          |
| Psychophysiological Index | 9.3                 | 21.5          | 25.0       | 27.3          | 30.4        | 36.4          | 22.3        | 25.0          |
| Physiological Index       | 16.9                | 10.8          | 25.0       | 9.1           | 21.7        | 27.3          | 16.7        | 25.0          |
| Ambiguous Index           | 7.7                 | 4.6           | 12.5       | 17.2          | 21.7        | 18.2          | 33.4        | 25.0          |
| 22-Item MH Index          | 10.8                | 21.5          | 25.0       | 27.3          | 23.9        | 39.4          | 11.2        | 31.3          |

for the MH index and each of the symptom indices, but it also allows for comparison of sex differences. On the over-all index, women have higher rates of turnover in all illness categories. For the psychological (three of four comparisons) as well as the psychophysiological (four of four) indices, women have greater turnover than men. On the physiological index, men have more turnover in two instances, women in two other instances. Examination of the fourth index,

times-Never" in 1965. This means that the "Yes" responses in 1966 were compared with the "Often" and "Sometimes" categories which were combined in 1965.

tell us something about total changes in scores, they reveal nothing concerning: (a) the proportions of respondents who had "high" scores on the over-all index and symptom indices both years, (b) the proportions who had "low" scores both years, or (c) the "net change" between 1965 and 1966. These three concerns will be dealt with in Table 8. However, we must emphasize that we will discuss only a portion of the materials, for to discuss all of the findings in this table would be far beyond our task here.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, we will focus on the find-

<sup>7</sup> For an excellent discussion of analysis for tables in panel studies, see Zelsel (1957).

TABLE 8. SCORES ON SYMPTOM INDICES 1965-1966—BY NUMBER OF PHYSICAL ILLNESSES IN 1965, NUMBER OF PHYSICAL ILLNESSES IN 1966, AND BY SEXUAL STATUS

|                            |       | Number of Illnesses |               |            |               |             |               |             |               |
|----------------------------|-------|---------------------|---------------|------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|
| Sexual Status:             | 1965: | 0-3                 |               | 0-3        |               | 4+          |               | 4+          |               |
|                            | 1966: | 0-3                 |               | 4+         |               | 0-3         |               | 4+          |               |
|                            | N:    | Men<br>(65)         | Women<br>(65) | Men<br>(8) | Women<br>(11) | Men<br>(46) | Women<br>(33) | Men<br>(18) | Women<br>(32) |
| Index Scores               |       |                     |               |            |               |             |               |             |               |
| 1965 1966                  |       |                     |               |            |               |             |               |             |               |
| <i>Psychological</i>       |       |                     |               |            |               |             |               |             |               |
| Low-Low                    |       | 67.7                | 55.4          | 50.0       | 36.5          | 52.2        | 39.4          | 38.8        | 3.0           |
| High-Low                   |       | 12.3                | 16.9          | 25.0       | 27.3          | 13.0        | 12.1          | 5.6         | 6.0           |
| Low-High                   |       | 18.5                | 12.3          | 12.5       | 18.1          | 17.4        | 21.2          | 5.6         | 21.2          |
| High-High                  |       | 1.5                 | 15.4          | 12.5       | 18.1          | 17.4        | 27.3          | 50.0        | 69.8          |
| Total %                    |       | (100.0)             | (100.0)       | (100.0)    | (100.0)       | (100.0)     | (100.0)       | (100.0)     | (100.0)       |
| <i>Psychophysiological</i> |       |                     |               |            |               |             |               |             |               |
| Low-Low                    |       | 84.5                | 47.7          | 62.5       | 63.5          | 56.1        | 30.3          | 33.3        | 9.4           |
| High-Low                   |       | 3.1                 | 13.8          | 25.0       | 18.2          | 6.5         | 18.2          | 16.7        | 15.6          |
| Low-High                   |       | 6.2                 | 7.7           | 0.0        | 9.1           | 23.6        | 18.2          | 5.6         | 9.4           |
| High-High                  |       | 6.2                 | 30.8          | 12.5       | 9.1           | 13.8        | 33.3          | 44.4        | 65.6          |
| Total %                    |       | (100.0)             | (100.0)       | (100.0)    | (100.0)       | (100.0)     | (100.0)       | (100.0)     | (100.0)       |
| <i>Physiological</i>       |       |                     |               |            |               |             |               |             |               |
| Low-Low                    |       | 80.0                | 84.6          | 62.5       | 81.8          | 71.7        | 63.6          | 55.6        | 62.5          |
| High-Low                   |       | 3.1                 | 3.1           | 25.0       | 0.0           | 13.0        | 9.1           | 5.6         | 12.5          |
| Low-High                   |       | 13.8                | 7.7           | 0.0        | 9.1           | 8.7         | 18.2          | 11.1        | 12.5          |
| High-High                  |       | 3.1                 | 4.6           | 12.5       | 9.1           | 6.6         | 9.1           | 27.7        | 12.5          |
| Total %                    |       | (100.0)             | (100.0)       | (100.0)    | (100.0)       | (100.0)     | (100.0)       | (100.0)     | (100.0)       |
| <i>Ambiguous</i>           |       |                     |               |            |               |             |               |             |               |
| Low-Low                    |       | 89.2                | 92.3          | 75.0       | 81.8          | 71.7        | 75.7          | 22.2        | 53.1          |
| High-Low                   |       | 4.6                 | 1.5           | 0.0        | 17.2          | 4.3         | 6.1           | 5.6         | 12.5          |
| Low-High                   |       | 3.1                 | 3.1           | 12.5       | 0.0           | 17.4        | 12.1          | 27.8        | 12.5          |
| High-High                  |       | 3.1                 | 3.1           | 12.5       | 0.0           | 6.6         | 6.1           | 44.4        | 21.9          |
| Total %                    |       | (100.0)             | (100.0)       | (100.0)    | (100.0)       | (100.0)     | (100.0)       | (100.0)     | (100.0)       |
| <i>22-Item MH Index</i>    |       |                     |               |            |               |             |               |             |               |
| Low-Low                    |       | 89.2                | 75.4          | 75.0       | 63.5          | 65.2        | 51.5          | 44.4        | 12.5          |
| High-Low                   |       | 1.5                 | 7.7           | 12.5       | 27.3          | 6.5         | 12.1          | 5.6         | 6.3           |
| Low-High                   |       | 9.3                 | 13.8          | 12.5       | 0.0           | 17.4        | 27.3          | 5.6         | 25.0          |
| High-High                  |       | 0.0                 | 3.1           | 0.0        | 9.2           | 10.9        | 9.1           | 44.4        | 56.2          |
| Total %                    |       | (100.0)             | (100.0)       | (100.0)    | (100.0)       | (100.0)     | (100.0)       | (100.0)     | (100.0)       |

ings that pertain to our central concern with sexual status.

Table 8 presents data pertaining to scores on the 22-item MH index and the four-symptom indices. Perhaps the most striking aspect is the extent to which scores on the MH index and subscales are associated with the number of physical illnesses which people report. For example, on the psychological index, among men who had three or fewer illnesses both years, 67.7 percent had *low* scores, as contrasted with 38.8 percent of those men who had four or more illnesses in both years. Men in the other two categories occupy middle positions. Among women, the differences are even more notable; 55.4 per-

cent at the one extreme, and 3.0 percent at the other had low scores both years. The same pattern is seen if we look at those with *high* scores on the psychological index for both 1965 and 1966—a range, in the four illness categories, from 1.5 percent to 50.0 percent among males, and 15.4 percent to 69.8 percent among females. On each of the other three mental health indices and on the 22-Item Mental Health index, there is this same strong relationship between number of physical illnesses and the subjects' having either high or low scores both years.

Moreover, another tendency emerges upon comparing those with more illnesses in the



second, rather than the first, year with those for whom the reverse is true. People who had a greater number of physical illnesses in 1966 than in 1965 show a net increase in psychiatric symptoms, while respondents with fewer illnesses show a net decrease. Clearly, all mental health indices that we have used are sensitive to changes in physical health.

Examining now the sex differences in Table 8, we see the following: (1) No clear pattern emerges when comparing men and women on "net change," either with reference to amount or direction of change. (2) Comparing percentages of men and women who were high on the various symptoms indices, or the over-all 22-item MH index in either 1965 or 1966, but not both, we find women, on the one hand, higher than men in six of eight comparisons on the psychological index; five of eight on the psychophysiological index; and seven of eight comparisons on the over-all 22-item index; and men, on the other hand, higher on five of eight comparisons of the ambiguous symptoms; and break even with the women on the physiological index.

The remaining two major findings are clearer, and by now more familiar, for they constitute further replications of what has gone before. In all illness categories, a higher proportion of men than women are two-year low scorers on the psychological and the 22-item MH indices. In three of four illness groups, men are also lower both years on the psychophysiological index. The women are somewhat more likely to be two-year lows on the physiological and ambiguous indices. Finally, among those who had high scores both years, more women than men turn up high on the psychological, psychophysiological, and over-all MH indices, while the men are a bit more likely to have high scores both years on what appear to be their specialties, the physiological and ambiguous indices.

#### SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

This paper has been mainly concerned with testing the proposition that women will report more psychiatric symptoms than men, even with the same level of physical illnesses. Analysis of data collected from a sample of 278 adults in 1965 and 1966 provided strong support for this hypothesis. On two indices

consisting of what were judged to be psychological and psychophysiological symptoms, a higher percentage of women than men had "high" scores. For two other indices, containing physiological and ambiguous items, there was a tendency for men to have slightly higher scores than women. Since the first two indices contain fifteen items, whereas the other two contain only seven, not unexpectedly women were higher than men on the over-all 22-Item Mental Health index. This pattern was revealed in analysis of the data for both 1965 and 1966.

As was stated early in the paper, there has been a consistent finding in "true prevalence" studies of mental illness that women have a higher rate of psychiatric disturbance than men. We believe that this may be due not to "real" sex differences in frequency of disturbance but rather to men's great reluctance to admit to certain unpleasurable feelings and sensations since they are aware of cultural expectations regarding expressive control. Our data do not allow for a clear determination among alternative explanations, but they should nonetheless be presented and evaluated in light of the materials we do have available.

One possibility is that our measure of physical illness, as well as those intended to tap psychological disturbance, is essentially a psychological instrument. Yet we have already indicated that only a small proportion of the illnesses reported by respondents were psychogenic or psychosomatic. Furthermore, the respondents knew the names of their illnesses, and in this they were not arriving at their own judgments but were instead following diagnoses made by physicians. Also, if reporting a larger number of illnesses was a simple reflection of a psychological problem in all the respondents, then there would be reason for expecting that as the number of reported illnesses increased, the number of other signs of psychological disturbance would have gone up as markedly among men as among women, but this pattern did not occur. Finally, recall that there was a marked association between the number of physical illnesses reported and number of physician visits in the subsequent year; but no such association occurred between physician visits and scores on the various indices of psychological difficulty.

Let us therefore turn to a second possi-

bility, since the first one that supposes all our measures to have been psychological finds so little corroboration. The contrasting argument would be that *none* of the measures was an indication of psychological disturbance; instead, all were lists of additional symptoms of physical illness. If this had been the case, then such symptoms would have been indicative of a greater severity of illness, or, at the very least, of more discomfort from physical ailments, and we should therefore have had more reason for expecting them to be associated with the number of physician visits that respondents made. Besides, it would still be necessary to ponder why women were subject to more of such symptoms than men.

A third possible interpretation is the one with which we took issue at the outset; namely, that women are in fact more likely than men to be psychologically disturbed. Indeed, at this point we can refine the proposition to read as follows: the tendency for women to show more signs of psychological disturbance than men becomes more marked as the number of physical illnesses to which both groups are subjected increases. Now then, we do not doubt that the indices we employed measure psychological disturbance, and we know that women reported more indications of such disturbance than men. However, the question we are grappling with is more basic: Do items of the kind on the 22-item MH index measure psychological disturbance among men as well as they do among women? There are theoretical, methodological, and substantive reasons why our answer to this question has to be a qualified no.

Our theoretical reasoning was stated in the introduction to the study, and it is not necessary to review it here. The methodological grounds have to do both with the nature of the 22-item index, itself, and with the way we administered it. As for the index, it may be noted that its items emphasize introspective and relatively passive types of discomfort and tension. Not a single item has to do with expressing aggression, losing one's temper, being irritable, etc. In other words, the index does not appear to be an equally representative sample of the universe of possible items of disturbance for both men and women. Now consider our adminis-

tration. In 1965, our format for several items was "Often, Sometimes, Never," and we courted a symptom as occurring when the respondent chose either of the first two categories. But in 1966 the format was "Yes, No," and scores on these items went down. What this probably means is that respondents were less likely to note the presence of those items that they decided were not worth reporting because of their relatively rare occurrence. If this were the case for our respondents in general, then it seems reasonable to suggest that a patterned difference may also have existed, *at the time of both interviews*, that men were more likely than women to decide that the frequency or intensity of certain symptoms was not sufficient to make them worth reporting, especially if it was possible to assume that the presence of these symptoms could be interpreted as a sign of weakness.<sup>8</sup>

As a final note, let us turn to our data for a substantive point that is worth repeating. We have already seen that in a sense the respondents dismissed their indicators of psychological disturbance, in that they did not tend to seek specific professional help. This was as true for women as it was for men. Thus, despite the well-known observation that women are more likely than men to turn to professional help agents with their problems, it is especially striking that when

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<sup>8</sup> We must note here the possibility that men, because of their presumed emphasis on not displaying weakness, also cover up the number of physical illnesses which they "really" have. We think this somewhat unlikely, in that the respondents were aware of our intention to examine physician and hospital records. Thus the respondents might feel that such examinations would provide a check against their verbal reports. The possibility of our checking up on the psychological-type questions was probably considered more difficult, and was perhaps not even considered by the respondents in that those symptoms were apparently not difficulties for which they sought help anyway—i.e., these were not considered medical problems. Further, if men did indeed *underreport* the number of physical illnesses which they had, then this tends to magnify the differences which we have already seen, where women report more psychological-type symptoms than men with the same number of physical illnesses. That is, if men actually have more illnesses than the group of women with whom they are being compared, then the discrepancy in psychiatric symptoms is even more noteworthy.

we controlled for level of physical illness there were no striking differences in the help-seeking rates of low- and high-psychologically disturbed women, or in those of high-disturbance men and women. Our conclusion cannot be certain, but it does not seem unreasonable, in the light of these findings, to suppose that if both men and women can themselves intercede in the process where discomfort leads to the seeking of medical attention, then it is possible that men cut off the process earlier by suppressing the sorts of psychological discomforts emphasized in the 22-item MH index, or by noting them less frequently when they occur. Probably as likely as either of these, however, is a masculine tendency to recall the previous occurrence of these items less frequently in the subsequent interview situation.

In any case, there is no doubt that our findings must be taken into account in trying to arrive at definite conclusions from investigations into the prevalence of mental illness in American society. Tyhurst's (1957:161) general caveat serves well for indicating an important implication of the specific matter examined here:

"Signs of psychological distress—somatic, emotional, or intellectual—are . . . not necessarily equivalent with the person's being a case of mental illness. . . . Thus, for example, prevalence surveys of such symptoms . . . can have little meaning for the incidence of mental illness unless the *contextual relevance and timing* of the symptoms is determined at the same time."

As part of the "contextual relevance" of psychiatric symptoms, investigators must consider the various statuses of the persons being evaluated—their social class positions, ethnicity (Dohrenwend, 1966; Zola, 1966), and, as we have emphasized in this report, their sexual status.

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## SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF INNOVATORS \*

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*Sportsmen differentially adopting a technological innovation were assigned to one of four adopter categories. Multiple discriminant function analysis showed these categories to be empirically distinct in terms of selected socio-psychological characteristics and revealed that only one subject had been misclassified. The most discriminating variables in order of power were venturesomeness, professional status, imaginativeness, educational status, dominance, sociability, cosmopolitaness, and self-sufficiency. It is suggested that the findings lend some support to certain generalizations made by Hagen and Rogers and underscore the value of using an objective, multi-factor personality inventory in diffusion research.*

IN his work, *Diffusion of Innovations* (1962), Rogers reviews several hundred publications related to innovativeness, i.e., "the degree to which an individual is relatively earlier in adopting new ideas than other members of his social system" (p. 2). Rogers argues that "when research on this topic reaches the point where we may predict 'when' and 'who' will adopt new ideas in a social system, valuable theoretical and practical consequences should result" (pp. 285-286). He cautiously observes though: (1) that in view of the quantity of literature on diffusion research, there have been relatively few attempts to predict innovativeness; (2) predictive efforts<sup>1</sup> to date have been only moderately successful at best; (3) "there are few studies that have related adequate measures of personality variables to innovativeness" (p. 178); and (4) nearly all predictive studies have been limited to farmer respondents, and thus "there is little evidence to date that (discovered) relationships will

hold in other types of social systems" (p. 289).

This investigation represents an effort to both replicate and extend research related to the prediction of innovativeness. First, it puts to test—in an English social system related to sport—generalizations derived from work in rural sociology with American farmers. Although it has been observed that "the spread of sport through the world and changes in its nature are major phenomena of the twentieth century" (Smithells and Cameron, 1962:438), and although sportsmen and others have acknowledged the changes which innovations such as new training methods have wrought in sport, little theoretical or empirical work has been done regarding these changes.

Second, the investigation places emphasis on the adequate assessment of theoretically relevant personality variables. A number of theorists of social change have stressed the importance of personality traits as antecedents to change (e.g., Barnett, 1953; Hagen, 1962; McClelland, 1961). Also, the need for studies assessing the relationship of personality characteristics to the differential adoption of innovations has been stated by several writers (e.g., Miles, 1964; Rogers, 1962; Straus, 1956). Yet, the investigator knows of only one study regarding the adoption of an innovation wherein an objective multiple-factor personality inventory was administered in the process of gathering data concerning personal attributes of adopters (cf. Straus, 1956). This investigation attempted to meet the aforementioned criterion by using Cattell's *Sixteen Personality Factor*

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<sup>1</sup> More accurately, most, if not all predictive efforts to date, including the present investigation, have been postdictive in nature.

*Questionnaire* to obtain data on personality measures hypothesized to be related to technological change.

Third, the study examines innovativeness by determining whether multiple adopter categories can be empirically differentiated in terms of selected socio-psychological characteristics. Past efforts of predicting innovativeness have been largely conducted by rural sociologists making multiple correlation analyses of data collected from farmer respondents (cf. Rogers, 1962:287-292). Although multiple correlation procedures provide an indication of what variables are associated with the early adoption of an innovation, they ignore the matter of group membership. That is, multiple correlational analysis indicates the group in which an individual will perform best, but provides little knowledge as to the group which he most nearly resembles (Rulon, 1951).

It is true that some studies have been conducted in an attempt to answer the preceding question, but they typically have had certain common conceptual and methodological weaknesses. A major conceptual weakness has been that past investigations of differences between adopter categories have often considered only dichotomized categories, such as early and late adopters, or acceptors and rejectors. Rogers demonstrates that innovativeness may be empirically treated as a continuous variable, and contends that the concept may be better understood if its underlying continuum is partitioned so that individuals are grouped into several adopter categories (1962:148-168). Specifically, Rogers posits and discusses the salient values of five ideal-type adopter categories. He operationally defines his categories as follows: Innovators, first 2½% to adopt a given innovation; Early Adopters, next 13½% to adopt; Early Majority, following 34% to adopt; Late Majority, next 34% to adopt; and finally, Laggards, last 16% to adopt (1962:159-172).

Previous empirical efforts to differentiate between various categories of early and late adopters have been limited to comparing differences between means on given traits, or comparing profiles on several traits for different adopter categories. The first approach to data analysis precludes the assessment of all attributes simultaneously for dif-

ferent categories; whereas the major weakness of the second manner of data treatment is that "profile factors may be highly related, and the possibility exists that less than the entire set of different variables is meaningful or that other variables, non-significant by themselves, may be discriminating when viewed as an entire profile rather than individually" (Kroll and Petersen, 1965:433-434). An alternative to the aforementioned methods of data analysis is the configurational approach to prediction proposed by Rogers (1962:292-295). Rogers' approach, however, does not seem to be a practical one when large numbers of independent variables are considered, and it tends to possess the drawbacks of profile analysis. To avoid the methodological weaknesses outlined, this investigation used multiple discriminant function analysis to test whether multiple adopter categories can be empirically differentiated.

#### PROCEDURES

##### *Subjects*

Data were collected from 89 male and 17 female English swimming coaches by means of personal interviews (35 cases) and mailed questionnaires (71 cases) in the spring and summer of 1966. Analyses of data, however, were confined to a sample of 42 men and six women drawn from a population of chief (including three co-chief) swimming coaches,<sup>2</sup> with a minimum of eight years coaching experience,<sup>3</sup> associated with competitive clubs affiliated to the Amateur Swimming Association of England (ASA).<sup>4</sup> This sample represents approximately 50 percent of the coaches associated with competitive clubs affiliated to the ASA.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The sample was limited to chief coaches because assistant coaches often lacked the authority to make the decision to adopt the innovation considered.

<sup>3</sup> Since the innovation considered was first introduced in 1957-1958, only those subjects who had coached at least eight years, and thus had nearly equal opportunity of being an early adopter, were considered for data analysis.

<sup>4</sup> Analysis was limited to coaches associated with competitive clubs in that the innovation considered was not relevant for non-competitive clubs. For purposes of this investigation, a competitive club was defined as one who had one or more swimmers, placing at least third in one or more events at its district championships in 1964.

<sup>5</sup> The proportion of competitive clubs represented

### Variables

Seventeen socio-psychological attributes were considered in the investigation: innovativeness, socio-economic status, educational status, professional status, peer status, cosmopolitanism, sociability, intelligence, dominance, surgency, perseverance, venturesomeness, sensitivity, imaginativeness, shrewdness, experimentiveness, and self-sufficiency.<sup>6</sup>

The variables, largely sociological in nature, were selected on the basis of findings of past research as revealed by Rogers' review (1962) of the literature. The variables of a psychological nature, reflecting personality traits, were chosen because they have been shown important in the prediction of creativity (IPAT, 1963), which Hagen has theorized as being a crucial factor in social change (1962).

### Instruments

Measures of the above variables were obtained using a questionnaire developed by the investigator and Form A of Cattell's *Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire* (16 PF). The latter instrument was selected for use in the investigation because: (1) the factors it purports to measure are relevant to the assessment of venturesomeness and creativity; (2) the instrument has been shown to be a reliable and valid inventory for purposes of "group" investigation; (3) the instrument may be self-administered and is thus suitable for a study using mailed questionnaires; and (4) the instrument appeared appropriate for the population concerned, as it had been previously used for research purposes in England and is designed for adult populations (Cattell and Eber, 1957, 1962a, 1962b).

### Measures

An operational indicator was developed for each of the seventeen variables listed above.

in the sample according to districts within the ASA is as follows: North-Eastern District—11/12, Northern District—7/17, Midland District—13/32, Western District—6/12, and Southern District—8/15.

<sup>6</sup> Empirically speaking, one dependent and nineteen independent variables were considered as two measures of socio-economic status and three measures of cosmopolitanism were used in data analysis.

1. Following Rogers, *Innovativeness* was defined as "the degree to which an individual is relatively earlier in adopting a new idea than other members of his social system." Innovativeness was taken as the dependent variable and operationalized as time of adoption of the controlled interval method (CIM) recorded to the nearest year.<sup>7</sup> The CIM is a sophisticated form of interval training wherein pulse rate is used as a means of determining the intensity of a training bout, the length of recovery period between bouts, and as a motivation device and an indicator of a swimmer's level of cardiovascular fitness (ASA, 1962). The CIM was selected for consideration in the investigation because: (1) having potential for bringing about change in competitive swimming via better performance records, it appeared to be a notable sport innovation; (2) it was distinctive—there being no other methods of training quite like it; (3) it did not have major economic constraints attached to it, thus eliminating certain factors which would have had to be controlled; (4) it had attained a moderate diffusion; (5) it had a pattern of diffusion which could be accurately traced; and (6) it was officially recommended but not required for adoption by the national body governing swimming in England.

2. *Socio-economic status* denotes an individual's position in a social system with respect to level of wealth and occupation. Two operational measures of socio-economic status were obtained by means of criteria given by *Classification of Occupations 1966*, General Register's Office. First, each subject was classified on the basis of his occupation, according to what that volume terms "social class," as follows: (1) professional occupations and alike, (2) intermediate occupations, (3) skilled occupations, (4) partly skilled occupations, and (5) unskilled occupations. The resulting index was called *social status*. Second, each subject was classified according to what the above publication terms "socio-

<sup>7</sup> Several items (Innovations) are usually used to construct a composite index of innovativeness in diffusion research (cf. Rogers, 1962). Thus, the index employed here probably has a relatively low degree of reliability in comparison to composite indices of innovativeness. However, this fact should lead to a conservative rather than a liberal correlation between the dependent variable and any given independent variable.

economic group." The following categories were employed: (1) employers and managers of large establishments, (2) employers and managers of small establishments, (3) professional workers self-employed, (4) professional workers—employees, (5) intermediate non-manual workers, (6) junior non-manual workers, (7) personal service workers, (8) foremen and supervisors, (9) skilled manual workers, (10) semi-skilled manual workers, and (11) unskilled manual workers. The resulting index was labeled *occupational status*.

3. *Educational status* denotes an individual's position in a social system with respect to level of educational achievement. A subject's educational status was ascertained by his response to questions regarding years of schooling, types of schools attended, and diplomas and degrees earned. On the basis of replies received, an operational index of educational status was developed by assigning numerical values one through nine to the following categories: primary school, secondary modern school, secondary technical school, grammar school, public school, technical college, training college, advanced college of technology, and university (cf. Burgess, 1964).

4. *Professional status* denotes an individual's position in a social system with respect to level of professional achievement. Professional status was operationalized by determining the degree to which a subject's ability to teach and coach swimming was recognized by the ASA. The governing body of amateur swimming in England has established committees which annually appoint a national panel of examiners which administer tests, both theoretical and practical, at three levels of proficiency. Subjects were ranked in terms of professional proficiency and assigned a numerical value of "0," "1," "2," or "3."<sup>8</sup>

5. *Peer status* denotes an individual's position in a social system with respect to the degree of deference accorded him. A subject's peer status was measured by how many times he was mentioned by other coaches when

they were asked: "Excluding yourself, who do you think are the three best coaches in your district?"<sup>9</sup>

6. *Cosmopolitaness* denotes the degree to which an individual's orientation is external to the local situation in which he generally operates. Three operational measures of "cosmopolitaness" were used in the present study. The first was a measure of how far away a subject had traveled from his locality during the past year to participate in a professional function. Each subject was asked: "What is the most distance (one way) you have traveled at any time during the past year to participate in or attend a swimming gala or coaching course?" Replies were recorded to the nearest mile reported.

The second and third measures were designed to ascertain to what extent a subject employed cosmopolite information sources related to swimming. Each respondent was asked the following two questions: (1) "Have you written during the past year to any nationally or internationally known coach or other swimming expert for information or advice about some aspect of swimming?" and (2) "Are you a member of the British Swimming Coaches Association (B.S.C.A.)?" Replies to these questions were recorded yes or no and scored one or zero respectively.

7. *Personality Traits*. Empirical indicators for each of the psychological attributes were based on raw scores for given factor scales of the 16 P.F. The following personality variables and their respective 16 P.F. factor scales were taken into account: Sociability (A), Intelligence (B), Dominance (E), Surgency (F), Perseverance (G), Venturesomeness (H), Sensitivity (I), Imaginativeness (M), Shrewdness (N), Experimentiveness (Q1), and Self-sufficiency (Q2).

### *Treatment*

Subjects were placed into adopter categories on the basis of what appeared to be "natural" groupings in terms of when they adopted the CIM.<sup>10</sup> Table 1 shows how the

<sup>8</sup> The relationship between innovativeness and professional status is perhaps inflated to the extent that obtaining an advanced award of the ASA implies knowledge and use of the CIM. It is noted, however, that most subjects earned their awards before the CIM became prominent or adopted the CIM before passing examinations for the advanced award of the ASA.

<sup>9</sup> The measurement of peer status is limited by the fact that some districts had more coaches than others and by the fact that there were differential rates of returns by districts.

<sup>10</sup> This categorization is, moreover, the most reliable one. Follow-up post cards were mailed to each



TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF ADOPTER CATEGORIES

| Year of Adoption | Number Adopting per Year | Adopter Category      |
|------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1957             | 1                        | Innovators (n=3)      |
| 1958             | 2                        |                       |
| 1959             | 11                       | Early Majority (n=24) |
| 1960             | 13                       |                       |
| 1961             | 3                        | Late Majority (n=15)  |
| 1962             | 3                        |                       |
| 1963             | 3                        |                       |
| 1964             | 6                        |                       |
| 1965             | 0                        | Laggards (n=6)        |
| 1966             | 1                        |                       |
| Not Adopting     | 5                        |                       |
| Total=48         |                          |                       |

subjects were classified on the basis of when they adopted the CIM. As is evident from this Table, the first three (6½%) to adopt CIM were classified as Innovators; the next twenty-four (50%) to adopt were labeled Early Majority; the following fifteen (31%) to adopt were termed Late Majority; and the last subject to adopt as well as five non-adopters (12½%) were defined as Laggards. It is noted that if the strong assumption is granted that the category labeled Early Majority in this study is composed of both Early Adopters and Early Majority in terms of Rogers' classification, then the two methods of adopter categorization are approximate.

Multiple discriminant function analysis was employed to determine whether the four categories were empirically different. This technique was considered appropriate since "... discriminant analysis takes into account variability of group means on the *n* variables, variation of individuals about group means on the *n* variables, and interrelationships of the *n* variables ..." (Tiedeman, 1951:76). In short, discriminant function analysis provides three kinds of information. First, it determines whether in fact certain groups are really distinct with respect to selected characteristics. Second, it tells us on what

coach asking again when he first used CIM. While some coaches gave a date of adoption which varied by a year from their earlier statement of their time of adoption, in no case did their second statement of adoption date change the adopter category to which they were assigned.

factors the groups may be best discriminated. And third, it indicates whether an individual is like other individuals in the group to which he has been assigned. That is, it indicates the extent to which individuals have been theoretically misclassified.

The multivariate generalized null hypothesis tested was that no socio-psychological differences existed among the four adopter categories. The .05 level of significance was selected as being sufficient to warrant the rejection of the statistical hypothesis. All sociopsychological attributes considered as independent variables in the investigation were treated in the discriminant function analysis. Differences among adopter categories are reported in terms of D-squares for each pair of groups. The discriminative power of the total battery of socio-psychological variables, as well as the discriminative power of any given variable, are reported in terms of Wilk's lambdas. The statistical significance of a given lambda is given in terms of its F-ratio.

## RESULTS

### *Adopter Categories*

The multivariate generalized null hypothesis of no socio-psychological differences among the four adopter categories was rejected, as the obtained lambda for the overall test was found to be statistically significant beyond the .01 level. In addition, differences between all but one pair of adopter categories were found to be statistically significant at or beyond the .05 level. The F-value of differences between Late Majority Adopters and Laggards is statistically significant at the .05 level when rounded to only two decimal places but just fails to reach the significant level when carried to three decimal places, as shown in Table 2.

### *Discriminatory Power*

Regarding the discriminative power of individual variables, it can be seen from Table 3 that the lambdas for the variables of venturesomeness, professional status, imaginativeness, educational status, dominance, sociability, cosmopolitanness #3 (membership in B.S.C.A.), and self-sufficiency were statistically significant beyond the .05 level.

TABLE 2. DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN PAIRED ADOPTER CATEGORIES, NINETEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

| D-Squares for Each Pair of Adopter Categories †          |      |           |         |         |
|----------------------------------------------------------|------|-----------|---------|---------|
|                                                          | 1    | 2         | 3       | 4       |
| 1                                                        | .... | 31.674    | 62.309  | 91.937  |
| 2                                                        | .... | ....      | 15.735  | 24.731  |
| 3                                                        | .... | ....      | ....    | 15.014  |
| 4                                                        | .... | ....      | ....    | ....    |
| F-Tests for Each Pair of Adopter Categories (19+26 d.f.) |      |           |         |         |
|                                                          | 1    | 2         | 3       | 4       |
| 1                                                        | .... | 2.627*    | 4.845** | 5.719** |
| 2                                                        | .... | ....      | 4.517** | 3.692** |
| 3                                                        | .... | ....      | ....    | 2.001†† |
| 4                                                        | .... | ....      | ....    | ....    |
| F-Test for Over-all Analysis (57+78 d.f.)                |      |           |         |         |
| Lambda=.032                                              |      | F=2.977** |         |         |

† 1=Innovators (n=3); 2=Early Majority (n=24); 3=Late Majority (n=15); and 4=Laggards (n=6).

\* .05 level of significance.

\*\* .01 level of significance.

†† With 19+26 d.f. an F-value of 2.0027 is required for  $p \leq .05$ .

### Classification

Table 4 compares the assignment of subjects on the basis of their time of adoption of CIM with their empirical classification

TABLE 3. DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION ANALYSIS, NINETEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

| Variable                   | Lambda | F       |
|----------------------------|--------|---------|
| 1. Venturesomeness (H)     | .539   | 7.405** |
| 2. Professional Status     | .543   | 7.300** |
| 3. Imaginativeness (M)     | .566   | 6.639** |
| 4. Educational Status      | .580   | 6.285** |
| 5. Dominance (E)           | .621   | 5.288** |
| 6. Sociability (A)         | .623   | 5.252** |
| 7. Cosmopoliteness #3      | .648   | 4.700** |
| 8. Self-Sufficiency (Q2)   | .688   | 3.926*  |
| 9. Perseverance (G)        | .773   | 2.538   |
| 10. Cosmopoliteness #1     | .794   | 2.247   |
| 11. Peer Status            | .794   | 2.240   |
| 12. Intelligence (B)       | .802   | 2.133   |
| 13. Occupational Status    | .828   | 1.800   |
| 14. Social Status          | .829   | 1.791   |
| 15. Cosmopoliteness #2     | .845   | 1.590   |
| 16. Shrewdness (N)         | .847   | 1.569   |
| 17. Experimentiveness (Q1) | .914   | .815    |
| 18. Surgency (F)           | .958   | .383    |
| 19. Sensitivity (I)        | .990   | .085    |

\* .05 level of significance (3+26 d.f.)

\*\* .01 level of significance

determined by discriminant function analysis. As is evident from that Table, only one subject out of the forty-eight was misclassified; namely, one individual classified as a Late Majority Adopter was shown to possess the socio-psychological attributes of an Early Majority Adopter.

### DISCUSSION

The discovery of empirically distinguishable adopter categories lends support to Rogers' argument that innovativeness is a continuous variable and that it may be both theoretically and empirically fruitful in diffusion research to study multiple rather than dichotomous adopter categories.

It is also of interest to observe that the

TABLE 4. CLASSIFICATION OF SUBJECTS, NINETEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

| Adopter Category | Empirically              |                     |                       |
|------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
|                  | <i>A Priori</i> Assigned | Differen-<br>tiated | Wrongly<br>Classified |
| Innovators       | 3                        | 3                   | 0                     |
| Early Majority   | 24                       | 25*                 | 0                     |
| Late Majority    | 15                       | 14                  | 1*                    |
| Laggards         | 6                        | 6                   | 0                     |
| Total            | 48                       | 48                  | 1                     |

\* An individual theoretically classified as a Late Majority Adopter was empirically found to possess attributes in common with Early Majority Adopters.

findings give some support to Hagen's argument that "technological progress results from the actions of men characterized by varying degrees of creativity" (1962:88). For the most discriminative variables in the investigation are not unlike several of those reported by Taylor and Holland in their analysis of the creative individual:

There is some evidence that creative persons are more autonomous than others, more self-sufficient, more independent in judgment . . . more open to the irrational in themselves, more stable, more feminine in interests and characteristics . . . more dominant and self-assertive, more complex, more resourceful and adventurous . . . (1964:27-28).

Moreover, it is of special interest to note that venturesomeness had the most discriminative power of all the independent variables considered, which supports Rogers' contention that "the major value of the

innovator is venturesomeness" (1962:169).

In addition to providing a means of establishing the empirical validity of *a priori* established adopter categories, discriminant function analysis provides a useful method for the better understanding of the data. For example, it isolates deviant individuals within given groups who can be further analyzed in an effort to account for exceptional findings. The single individual misclassified in this investigation well illustrates this point. The coach was classified on the basis of his date of adoption of CIM as a Late Majority Adopter, but analysis showed him to be more like Early Majority Adopters in terms of the socio-psychological attributes he possessed. A case analysis based on data obtained from the subject in a personal interview is suggestive as to why the subject was wrongly classified.

The subject is near retirement age and, although he has coached for several years, he did not become active in highly competitive swimming until he began tutoring a young female swimmer in 1962. He recognized this swimmer to have great talent and perceived the CIM to be applicable to her training program; whereas before this time he had no swimmers under his charge whom he felt capable of benefiting from the CIM training program. An outcome ascribed in part to his act of adoption of CIM was that the female swimmer concerned represented Great Britain at the 1964 Olympic Games.

In view of the moderately striking findings of the investigation, a cursory discussion of the arbitrariness associated with adopter categorization is called for as a cautionary note. Discriminant analysis allows one to determine whether discrimination among social categories is possible in terms of selected characteristics. But "... the multiple discriminant function can not be used as a substitute for theory in selecting the groups or the attributes for study . . ." (Rettig, 1964:398). Although there is some theoretical basis for considering innovativeness as a continuous dimension, which may be partitioned into several categories for more fruitful examination, there exists no truly adequate rationale for partitioning an adopter continuum one way or another. Even Rogers, who has probably given the most thought to adopter categorization, concedes that

"five" was an arbitrary number for his suggested categories (1962:162-163). Likewise, the categorization made in the present study was a discretionary decision, more empirical than theoretical in nature. It seemed reasonable, however, to conceive of a small group of individuals at one extreme of the distribution who actively sponsor technological change, a second small group at the opposite extreme who actively resist change, and two large groups between the extremes—one favoring early adoption and the other late adoption. Also, it seemed sensible, in view of the small sample, to select adopter categories in terms of more or less "natural groupings," rather than imposing precise operational cut off points, such as those given by Rogers.

Even assuming that one has solid theoretical grounds for choosing certain categories and attributes for study, there is still the decision regarding how many characteristics to take into account. For, in discriminant function analysis, an investigator often has the problem of striking a happy medium between variable parsimony and maximum likelihood classification. As an example, only one adopter was misclassified in the aforementioned analysis, but a total of nineteen social psychological characteristics were used for purposes of discrimination. When a second analysis was made using fewer factors, the number of significant discriminatory variables was increased, but the number of misclassified adopters was also increased (see Tables 5 and 6).

Since past efforts accounting for innovativeness have largely relied on multiple correlation procedures, a comparison between discriminant function analysis and multiple correlation analysis is perhaps in order at this point. The former technique is appropriate for answering the question: "Can various adopter categories be empirically differentiated on the basis of a battery of social psychological characteristics collectively considered," whereas the latter method is appropriate for answering the question: "Can a substantial proportion of the variance associated with innovativeness be explained by a cluster of social psychological characteristics?"

When eighteen of the nineteen previously treated social psychological factors were used

TABLE 5. DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN PAIRED ADOPTER CATEGORIES, TWELVE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

| F-Tests for Each Pair of Adopter Categories † (12+33 d.f.) |       |         |           |         |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
|                                                            | 1     | 2       | 3         | 4       |
| 1                                                          | ..... | 3.341** | 6.135**   | 6.071** |
| 2                                                          | ..... | .....   | 5.530**   | 3.484** |
| 3                                                          | ..... | .....   | .....     | 2.007   |
| 4                                                          | ..... | .....   | .....     | .....   |
| F-Test for Over-all Analysis (36+98 d.f.)                  |       |         |           |         |
| Lambda=.082                                                |       |         | F=3.626** |         |

| Classification of Subjects |                   |                            |                    |
|----------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| Adopter Category *         | A Priori Assigned | Empirically Differentiated | Wrongly Classified |
| 1                          | 3                 | 3                          | 0                  |
| 2                          | 24                | 23                         | 3 (three 3's)      |
| 3                          | 15                | 17                         | 2 (two 2's)        |
| 4                          | 6                 | 5                          | 1 (one 3)          |
| Total                      | 48                | 48                         | 6                  |

† 1=Innovators (n=3); 2=Early Majority (n=24); 3=Late Majority (n=15); and 4=Laggards (n=6).

\* .05 level of significance.

\*\* .01 level of significance.

in multiple correlation analysis,<sup>11</sup> a corrected multiple correlation of .77 was obtained between date of adoption of CIM and the several independent variables considered in

<sup>11</sup> The variable of social status was excluded for purposes of analysis since it was found to be nearly identical with occupational status. Also for purposes of analysis, a set of "dummy variables" was defined over the group of eighteen independent variables. Scores exceeding the mean on a given personality variable were assigned a "1" and those at or below the mean, an "0." Other variables were similarly dichotomized at or near the median.

TABLE 6. DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION ANALYSIS, TWELVE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

| Variable                 | Lambda | F       |
|--------------------------|--------|---------|
| 1. Professional Status   | .553   | 8.898** |
| 2. Educational Status    | .601   | 7.300** |
| 3. Venturesomeness (H)   | .640   | 6.196** |
| 4. Imaginativeness (M)   | .669   | 5.441** |
| 5. Cosmopolitaness #1    | .711   | 4.472** |
| 6. Self-Sufficiency (Q2) | .734   | 3.991*  |
| 7. Cosmopolitaness #3    | .749   | 3.677*  |
| 8. Sociability (A)       | .757   | 3.538*  |
| 9. Perseverance (G)      | .761   | 3.448*  |
| 10. Dominance (E)        | .763   | 3.411*  |
| 11. Intelligence (B)     | .838   | 2.122   |
| 12. Peer Status          | .908   | 1.117   |

\* .05 level of significance

\*\* .01 level of significance (3+33 d.f.)

combination (see Table 7). Thus sixty percent of the adoption variance associated with the sport innovation was accounted for.

A comparison of Tables 3, 6 and 7 reveals that the attributes of professional status and venturesomeness have the greatest explanatory power among the several attributes considered in each analysis. However, there is some discrepancy between the rank order of the other predictor variables when discriminant function analysis is contrasted with multiple correlation analysis. This discrepancy is perhaps to be expected in light of the basic differences between the two methods of analysis. As Rulon (1951) observes:

The fact of group membership is not entered into the data matrix for multiple correlation analysis, but the criterion score for goodness and badness is. In the multiple discriminant analysis it is the other way around. The criterion score is not entered in the data matrix but the fact of group membership is (p. 89).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Rulon further states that "... in view of these basic differences between the two approaches, and the fairly clear distinction between the kinds of information yielded by the two techniques, it is remarkable or refreshing—or something—that people sometimes say the two approaches are the same, or that we don't need the discriminant func-

TABLE 7. MULTIPLE CORRELATION ANALYSIS, EIGHTEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES †

| Independent Variable              | Partial Correlation with Innovativeness | t-value with 29 d.f.              |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Professional Status            | .556                                    | 3.700**                           |
| 2. Venturesomeness (H)            | .396                                    | 2.319*                            |
| 3. Sociability (A)                | -.390                                   | -2.281*                           |
| 4. Experimentiveness (Q1)         | .356                                    | 2.049*                            |
| 5. Shrewdness (N)                 | -.355                                   | -2.043*                           |
| 6. Imaginativeness (M)            | .347                                    | 1.995                             |
| 7. Cosmpoliteness #2              | .336                                    | 1.923                             |
| 8. Dominance (E)                  | -.327                                   | -1.865                            |
| 9. Occupational Status            | .303                                    | 1.715                             |
| 10. Sensitivity (I)               | -.293                                   | -1.649                            |
| 11. Peer Status                   | .202                                    | 1.109                             |
| 12. Self-Sufficiency (Q2)         | .164                                    | .897                              |
| 13. Intelligence (B)              | -.158                                   | -.861                             |
| 14. Educational Status            | .135                                    | .734                              |
| 15. Cosmpoliteness #3             | -.114                                   | -.619                             |
| 16. Perseverance (G)              | .009                                    | .537                              |
| 17. Cosmpoliteness #1             | .006                                    | .358                              |
| 18. Surgency (F)                  | -.002                                   | -.117                             |
| Multiple Correlation Coefficient= | .868                                    | Corrected R= .774††               |
| Determination=                    | .753                                    | Corrected R <sup>2</sup> = .599†† |

† Dependent variable is date of adoption of CIM (i.e., innovativeness).

†† Correction of coefficients for inflated R due to small sample size was made using formulas given by Guilford, 1956, p. 399.

\* .05 level of significance.

\*\* .01 level of significance.

In any event, it is notable that the findings resulting from both methods of analysis are similar in several instances to those reported in past diffusion studies. (For major summaries of the findings from diffusion research, see Havens, 1962; Rogers, 1962; Rogers and Ramos, 1965; Rogers and Bettinghaus, 1966).

In summary, the present investigation permits four conclusions: First, the effort to account for innovativeness in this study appears to be somewhat more successful than those of earlier studies. Second, a number of generalizations regarding the diffusion and adoption of innovations, largely based on work in rural sociology in America, have been supported by this study in sport sociology conducted in England. Third, the in-

vestigation suggests that consideration of theoretically relevant personality variables, when adequately assessed, may be fruitful in predicting innovativeness. Fourth, the study implies that it is worthwhile to consider multiple adopter categories rather than just bi-polar groups, such as early and late adopters. Finally, the investigation suggests that future studies of a similar nature might find it profitable to use multivariate statistical techniques, and more particularly, to employ, as did this investigation, the multiple discriminant function technique.

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## THE EDUCATIONAL AND EARLY OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT PROCESS \*

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*This paper presents a path model emphasizing social psychological as well as social structural antecedents of educational and occupational attainment. A causal sequence is proposed which commences with the parents' stratification position and the individual's mental ability. From there it moves to performance in school, then to the influence of significant others, then to levels of educational and occupational aspiration, and, finally, to educational and occupational attainments. The model proves its utility when applied to longitudinal data for a large sample of Wisconsin farm-reared males.*

**B**LAU and Duncan (1967:165-172) have recently presented a path model of the occupational attainment process of the American adult male population. This basic model begins with two variables describing the early stratification position of each person; these are his father's educational and

occupational attainment statuses. It then moves to two behavioral variables; these are the educational level the individual has completed and the prestige level of his first job. The dependent variable is the person's occupational prestige position in 1962. That the model is not without power is attested by the fact that it accounts for about 26 percent of the variance in educational attainment, 33 percent of the variance in first

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job, and 42 percent of the variance in 1962 level of occupational attainment. Various additions to the basic model are presented in the volume, but none is clearly shown to make much of an improvement in it. These include nativity, migration, farm origin, subgroup position, marriage, and assortative mating. Without detracting from the excellence of the Blau and Duncan analysis, we may make several observations.

1) Because the dependent behaviors are occupational prestige attainments—attainment levels in a stratification system, it is appropriate to single out variables indicating father's stratification position as the most relevant social structural inputs. It is unfortunate that practical considerations prevented the inclusion of psychological inputs in their model, especially considering the repeated references to one such—mental ability—in the literature on differential occupational attainment (Lipset and Bendix, 1959:203–226; Sewell and Armer, 1966). More recently, this gap has been partially filled (Duncan, 1968a).

2) Also omitted are social psychological factors which mediate the influence of the input variables on attainment. This, too, is unfortunate in view not only of the speculative theory but also the concrete research in social psychology, which suggests the importance of such intervening variables as reference groups (Merton, 1957:281–386), significant others (Gerth and Mills, 1953: 84–91), self-concept (Super, 1957:80–100), behavior expectations (Gross *et al.*, 1958), and levels of educational and occupational aspiration (Haller and Miller, 1963; Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, 1967; Ohlendorf *et al.*, 1967), and experiences of success or failure in school (Parsons, 1959; Brookover *et al.*, 1965).

It remains to be seen whether the addition of such psychological and social psychological variables is worthwhile, although there are reasons for believing that at least some of them may be. First, an explanation of a behavior system requires a plausible causal argument, not just a set of path coefficients among temporally ordered variables. As indicated in Duncan's (1968b) recent work, the introduction of social psychological mediating variables offers this possibility, but it does not guarantee it. As it

stands, the Blau-Duncan model fails to indicate why any connection at all would be expected between the input variables, father's education and occupation, and the three subsequent factors: respondent's education, respondent's first job, and respondent's 1962 occupation. Granting differences among social psychological positions, they all agree that one's cognitions and motivations (including, among others, knowledge, self-concept and aspirations) are developed in structured situations (including the expectations of others), and that one's actions (attainments in this case) are a result of the cognitive and motivational orientations one brings to the action situation, as well as the factors in the new situation itself. Second, if valid, a social psychological model will suggest new points at which the causal system may be entered in order to change the attainment behaviors of persons, an issue not addressed by the Blau and Duncan volume. Variables such as the expectations of significant others offer other possibilities for manipulating the outcomes, including educational attainments. Third, in addition to the above advantages, a social psychological model of educational and occupational attainment might add to the explanation of variance in the dependent variables.

#### THE PROBLEM

The present report extends the attempts of the writers (Sewell and Armer, 1966; Sewell and Orenstein, 1965; Sewell and Shah, 1967; Sewell, 1964; Haller and Sewell, 1967; Portes *et al.*, 1968; Haller, 1966; Haller and Miller, 1963; Miller and Haller, 1964; Sewell *et al.*, 1957) to apply social psychological concepts to the explanation of variation in levels of educational and occupational attainment. We assume (1) that certain social structural and psychological factors—initial stratification position and mental ability, specifically—affect both the sets of significant others' influences bearing on the youth, and the youth's own observations of his ability; (2) that the influence of significant others, and possibly his estimates of his ability, affect the youth's levels of educational and occupational aspiration; (3) that the levels of aspiration affect subsequent levels of educational attainment; (4) that education in turn affects

levels of occupational attainment. In the present analysis we assume that all effects are linear; also, that the social psychological variables perform only mediating functions.

More specifically, we present theory and data regarding what we believe to be a logically consistent social psychological model. This provides a plausible causal argument to link stratification and mental ability inputs through a set of social psychological and behavioral mechanisms to educational and occupational attainments. One compelling feature of the model is that some of the inputs may be manipulated through experimental or other purposive interventions. This means that parts of it can be experimentally tested in future research and that practical policy agents can reasonably hope to use it in order to change educational and occupational attainments.

#### A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL MODEL

The model treats causal relationships among eight variables.  $X_1$  is the occupational prestige level attained by the adult person, or *occupational attainment* (OccAtt);  $X_2$  is the educational level he had previously attained, or *educational attainment* (EdAtt);  $X_3$  is the occupational prestige level to which he aspired as a youth, or *level of occupational aspiration* (LOA);  $X_4$  is his *level of educational aspiration* as a youth (LEA);  $X_5$  is the influence for educational achievement exerted upon him by significant others while still in high school, or *significant others' influence* (SOI);  $X_6$  is the quality of his *academic performance* in high school (AP);  $X_7$  is the level of his family in the stratification system, or *socioeconomic status* (SES); and  $X_8$  is his *mental ability* as measured while he was in high school (MA). Path models (Blau and Duncan, 1967:165-172; Wright, 1934; Wright, 1960; Heise, 1968) require a knowledge of the causal order among the variables. Beyond the causal arguments presented below, additional credibility is suggested by the existence of a plausible temporal order among variables.  $X_7$  (SES) and  $X_8$  (MA) precede everything else.  $X_5$  (SOI) and  $X_6$  (AP) precede both aspirations and attainments, and it can be assumed that for the most part  $X_6$  precedes  $X_5$ . Youthful aspirations obviously precede later educational and occupational

attainments. Pre-adult educational attainments precede adult occupational attainments.

By no means do all of the possible causal linkages seem defensible. The most likely ones are indicated in Diagram 1. In it straight solid lines stand for causal lines that are to be theoretically expected, dotted lines stand for possible but theoretically debatable causal lines, and curved lines represent unanalyzed correlations among variables which cannot be assigned causal priority in present data.

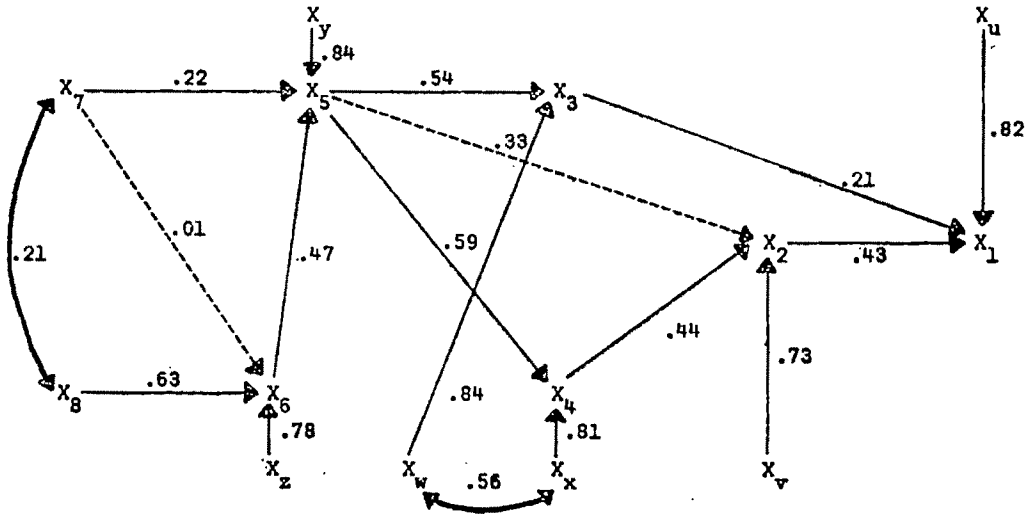
Commencing from the left of the diagram, we assume, as has often been found before (Sewell and Shah, 1967; Sewell *et al.*, 1957), that a low positive correlation,  $r_{78}$ , exists between the youth's measured mental ability (MA) and his parents' socioeconomic status (SES). This is the case:  $r_{78} = .21$ . We anticipate the existence of substantial effect of MA on academic performance (AP). We theorize that significant others' influence (SOI) is controlled by AP, and by socioeconomic status, as well as by exogenous factors, that they exert profound effects on aspiration, and that the latter in turn influences later attainments. A more detailed examination of the theory follows.

Working with partial conceptions of SOI (and using different terminology), Bordua (1960) and Sewell and Shah (1968) have shown that parents' expectations for the youths' attainments are important influences on later aspirations and attainment. Similarly, Cramer (1967), Alexander and Campbell (1964), Campbell and Alexander (1965), Haller and Butterworth (1960), and Duncan *et al.* (1968) have investigated peer influences on aspirations and attainments. Each of these sets of actors, plus some others, may be seen as a special case of reference group influence. Building on such thinking, we have concluded that the key variable here is significant others' influence. Significant others are the specific persons from whom the individual obtains his level of aspiration, either because they serve as models or because they communicate to him their expectations for his behavior (Woelfel, 1967). The term "significant others" is more appropriate than that of "reference group" because it eliminates the implication that collectivities such as one's friends, or



DIAGRAM 1

PATH COEFFICIENTS OF ANTECEDENTS OF EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT LEVELS

 $X_1$  - Occupational Attainment $X_2$  - Educational Attainment $X_3$  - Level of Occupational Aspiration $X_4$  - Level of Educational Aspiration $X_5$  - Significant Others' Influence $X_6$  - Academic Performance $X_7$  - Socioeconomic Status $X_8$  - Mental Ability

work groups, or parents are necessarily the influential agents for all individuals. Experimental research, beginning with Sherif's work (1935), has shown the importance of other persons in defining one's own situation. One obtains his social behavior tendencies largely through the influence of others. Herriott (1963) has carried this line of thinking into the present area of research. He has shown that one's conception of the educational behavior others think appropriate to him is highly correlated with his level of educational aspiration. Thus, significant others' influence is a central variable in a social psychological explanation of educational and occupational attainment. It is obviously important to discover the causal paths determining SOI, as well as those by which it exerts its effects on attainment. We hypothesize a substantial direct path ( $p_{57}$ ) from socioeconomic status (SES) to SOI. We also hypothesize a substantial effect of mental ability on SOI. This is because we expect that the significant others with whom the youth interacts base their expectations for his educational and occupational attainments in part on his demonstrated abilities. In turn, this implies that the path from

mental ability (MA) to SOI is indirect by way of academic performance (AP). Thus, we hypothesize the existence of a pronounced path from MA to AP ( $p_{68}$ ) and another from AP to SOI ( $p_{65}$ ). So far we assume that one's grades in school are based on the quality of his performance. A strong undercurrent in the literature seems to have held, however, that the youth's family's SES has a direct influence on his grades (Havighurst and Neugarten, 1957:236-237). To our knowledge, this has not been adequately demonstrated, and in large high schools, often far removed from the youth's home and neighborhood, this may well be debatable. Nevertheless, since it is at least possible that school grades (the evidences of performance) are partly determined by teachers' desires to please prestigious parents or to reward "middle-class" behavior, we have drawn a dotted path ( $p_{67}$ ) from SES to AP, allowing for the possibility of such an influence.

We hypothesize that the major effects of significant others' influence (SOI) on attainment are mediated by its effects on levels of aspiration. Thus, we have indicated a path ( $p_{35}$ ) from SOI to level of occupational

aspiration (LOA) and another ( $p_{45}$ ) from SOI to level of educational aspiration (LEA). It is not inconsistent with this to suspect the possibility that SOI might have a direct influence on later educational attainment (EdAtt); we have thus included a dotted or debatable path ( $p_{25}$ ) from SOI to EdAtt. Because we are here referring to SOI during late high school, it must necessarily refer largely to college education. There is, therefore, no reason to include such a path from SOI to occupational attainment.

Levels of educational aspiration (LEA) and occupational aspirations (LOA) are known to be highly correlated, since education is widely, and to some extent validly, considered to be a necessary condition for high occupational attainment (Haller and Miller, 1963:30, 39-42, 96). But LOA and LEA are not identical. (In these data,  $r_{84,5} = r_{wx} = .56$ .) We expect that LEA will have a pronounced effect on EdAtt ( $p_{24}$ ), and that its entire effect on level of occupational attainment will be expressed through EdAtt. On the other hand, we do not hypothesize any effect of LOA on EdAtt which is not already contained in its correlation with LEA. Hence, there is no hypothetical path for LOA to EdAtt. A direct effect of LOA on OccAtt ( $p_{18}$ ) is hypothesized, however.

There are 26 possible paths, given the sequence laid out above. As one can see by counting the paths (straight lines) in Diagram 1, we hypothesize noteworthy effects for only eight of these—ten if the dotted lines are counted. If this were a rigorous theoretical model, path coefficients would be calculated only for these eight (or ten) supposed causal connections. We believe that because of the fact that it is not rigorous, and at this stage of our knowledge probably cannot be, it would be well to calculate all of the possible 26 path coefficients, using the calculated values as rough indicators of the influences operating in the system. If the theoretic reasoning is a fair description of the reality to which it is addressed, the path coefficients for the eight (or ten) predicted causal lines should be considerably greater than those for the remainder where no causal prediction was made. Also, it is entirely possible that some unhypothesized causal lines might turn out to be of importance. This, too, argues for calculating the

whole set of 26. These data are presented in tabular form (Table 3) below.

#### METHOD

In 1957 all high school seniors in Wisconsin responded to an extensive questionnaire concerning their educational and occupational aspirations and a number of potentially related topics. In 1964 one of the authors (Sewell) directed a follow-up in which data on later educational and occupational attainments were collected from an approximately one-third random sample of the respondents in the original survey.

This study is concerned with those 929 subjects for whom data are available at both times, in 1957 and 1964, and who (a) are males and (b) whose fathers were farmers in 1957. Zero-order correlations are computed on all 929 cases, using a computer program which accepts missing data. All higher order coefficients are based on 739 cases for whom data on each variable were complete. (The matrices of zero-order correlations between all eight variables for those two sets of cases are practically identical.)

#### Variables

*Level of occupational attainment* ( $X_1$ —OccAtt) was measured by Duncan's (1961) socioeconomic index of occupational status.

*Level of educational attainment* ( $X_2$ —EdAtt) was operationalized with data obtained in 1964 by dividing the sample into those who have had at least some college education and those who have not had any at all.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is important to note that the timing of the follow-up was such as to allow most individuals to complete their education up to the bachelor's degree and beyond. It is unlikely that the educational attainment of the sample as a whole will change much in the years to come. On the other hand, while the span of seven years allowed those individuals who did not continue their education to find a stable position in the occupational structure and even improve upon it, there was not enough time for those who continued their education to do the same. A few of the latter were still in school; most had just begun their occupational careers. It is therefore possible that a follow-up taken five or ten years from now would show greater differentiation in attainments as the educated group gathers momentum and moves up in the occupational world.

*Level of occupational aspiration* ( $X_3$ —LOA) was determined by assigning Duncan's (1961) socioeconomic index scores to the occupation indicated by the respondent as the one he desired to fill in the future.

*Level of educational aspiration* ( $X_4$ —LEA) is a dichotomous variable corresponding to the respondent's statement in 1957 of whether or not he planned to attend college after graduating from high school.

*Index of significant others' influence* ( $X_5$ —SOI) is a simple summated score (range: zero to three) of three variables: (a) The youth's report of his parents' encouragement for college, dichotomized according to whether or not the respondent perceived direct parental encouragement for going to

the perceptions of direct parental and teacher pressures toward college conform to the classic case of normative reference groups. The educational plans of close friends, on the other hand, may be thought of as having mixed functions. First, close peer groups may exercise pressure toward conformity, and second, friends' plans also serve for the individual's cognitive comparison of himself with "people like himself." Therefore, though the main character of the dimension indicated by this index is clearly normative, it can be thought of as containing some elements of an evaluative function as well.

*Quality of academic performance* ( $X_6$ —AP) is measured by a reflected arc sine transformation of each student's rank in his high school class.

*Socioeconomic status* ( $X_7$ —SES) is measured by a factor-weighted combination of the education of the respondent's father and mother, his perception of the economic status of the family, his perception of possible parental support should he choose to go to college and the approximate amount of such support, and the occupation of his father.<sup>2</sup>

*Measured mental ability* ( $X_8$ —MA) is indexed by Henmon-Nelson test scores (1942). The data were taken when the youths were in the junior year of high school. The scores, originally recorded as percentile-ranks, were treated with an arc sine transformation to approximate a normal distribution.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Naturally, father's occupation is a constant in this subsample of farm-reared males. It is important to note that the SES mean and standard deviations for this subsample are considerably lower than for the total sample. The low and homogeneous SES levels of this subsample may yield atypical relations among the variables.

<sup>3</sup> Our previous research (Sewell and Armer, 1966; Haller and Sewell, 1967) has led us to be skeptical of claims that local ecological and school class compositional factors influence aspirations and attainments. Nevertheless the zero-order intercorrelations of five such variables and their correlations with  $X_1$ — $X_8$  are available (although they are not presented here). Two of these pertain to the county in which the youth attended high school: county level of living and degree of urbanization. Three pertain to his high school senior class: average SES of the class, percentage of the class members whose fathers attended college, and percentage of the class members whose fathers had professional-level occupa-

TABLE 1. ZERO-ORDER CORRELATIONS BETWEEN INDICATORS OF SIGNIFICANT OTHERS' INFLUENCE REGARDING COLLEGE

|                               | Teachers' Influence | Friends' Influence | Index of Significant Others' Influence |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Parental Influence            | .37                 | .26                | .74                                    |
| Teachers' Influence           | ...                 | .32                | .72                                    |
| Friends' Influence            | ...                 | ...                | .68                                    |
| Significant Others' Influence | ...                 | ...                | ...                                    |

college. (b) The youth's report of his teachers' encouragement for college, dichotomized in a similar manner, according to whether or not direct teacher encouragement for college was perceived by the respondent. (c) Friends' college plans, dichotomized according to the respondent's statement that most of his close friends planned or did not plan to go to college. These variables, all emphasizing education, were combined because they reflect the same conceptual dimension, and that dimension is theoretically more relevant than any of its component parts. That the three components do in fact measure the same dimension is attested by the positive correlations among them and a subsequent factor analysis. These correlations and the correlation of each with the summated variable, significant others' influence, are shown in Table 1. It may be relevant to point out the composition of this significant others' index in the light of Kelley's distinction (1952). Clearly,

TABLE 2. ZERO-ORDER CORRELATIONS

|                           | X <sub>1</sub><br>Occupational<br>Attainment<br>(Prestige<br>Scores—<br>Duncan) | X <sub>2</sub><br>Educational<br>Attainment<br>(Years<br>College) | X <sub>3</sub><br>Level of<br>Occupational<br>Aspiration | X <sub>4</sub><br>Level of<br>Educational<br>Aspiration | X <sub>5</sub><br>Significant<br>Others'<br>Influence | X <sub>6</sub><br>Academic<br>Performance<br>(Grade<br>Point) | X <sub>7</sub><br>Socio-<br>economic<br>Status | X <sub>8</sub><br>Measured<br>Mental<br>Ability |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| X <sub>1</sub> -Occ. Att. | ...                                                                             | .52                                                               | .43                                                      | .38                                                     | .41                                                   | .37                                                           | .14                                            | .33                                             |
| X <sub>2</sub> -Ed. Att.  | ...                                                                             | ...                                                               | .53                                                      | .61                                                     | .57                                                   | .48                                                           | .23                                            | .40                                             |
| X <sub>3</sub> -LOA       | ...                                                                             | ...                                                               | ...                                                      | .70                                                     | .53                                                   | .43                                                           | .15                                            | .41                                             |
| X <sub>4</sub> -LEA       | ...                                                                             | ...                                                               | ...                                                      | ...                                                     | .59                                                   | .46                                                           | .26                                            | .40                                             |
| X <sub>5</sub> -SOI       | ...                                                                             | ...                                                               | ...                                                      | ...                                                     | ...                                                   | .49                                                           | .29                                            | .41                                             |
| X <sub>6</sub> -AP        | ...                                                                             | ...                                                               | ...                                                      | ...                                                     | ...                                                   | ...                                                           | .16                                            | .62                                             |
| X <sub>7</sub> -SES       | ...                                                                             | ...                                                               | ...                                                      | ...                                                     | ...                                                   | ...                                                           | ...                                            | .21                                             |
| X <sub>8</sub> -MA        | ...                                                                             | ...                                                               | ...                                                      | ...                                                     | ...                                                   | ...                                                           | ...                                            | ...                                             |

## RESULTS

The zero-order correlation coefficients among eight variables are presented in Table 2. A complete path diagram would involve too many lines to be intelligible, because path coefficients presented in Diagram 1 were calculated for all 26 possible lines implied in the causal order specified above. With the exception of the theoretically dubious direct path from SES to AP, which turned out to be  $p_{67}=.01$ , each of the path coefficients for causal lines hypothesized in Diagram 1 is larger than those not hypothesized. Both sets of standardized beta (or path) coefficients are presented in Table 3.

This table shows that the reasoning presented in the above section, offering a social psychological explanation for educational and occupational attainment, cannot be too far off the mark. We had hypothesized that SOI (significant others' influence) was of

central importance. In fact, it has notable direct effects on three subsequent variables, each of which bears ultimately on prestige level of occupational attainment. Both theory and data agree that SOI has direct effects on levels of educational and occupational aspiration, as well as educational (*i.e.*, college) attainment. In turn, each aspiration variable appears to have the predicted substantial effects on its respective attainment variable. Looking at its antecedents, we note theory and data again agree that SOI is affected directly by SES and indirectly by measured mental ability through the latter's effect on the youth's academic performance. The latter variable is crucial because it provides (or is correlated with) palpable evidence that significant others can observe and, thus to a degree, align their expectations for the youth with his demonstrated ability.

None of the unpredicted paths is very strong, but we must recognize that there may be more operating in such a system than we

tions. Though substantially correlated with each other, the variables are uncorrelated with the variables in the above model.

TABLE 3. STANDARDIZED BETA COEFFICIENTS FOR HYPOTHESIZED AND NON-HYPOTHESIZED CAUSAL PATHS \*

| Dependent Variables   | Independent Variables   |                       |                       |                       |                      |                       |                      |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
|                       | X <sub>2</sub><br>EdAtt | X <sub>3</sub><br>LOA | X <sub>4</sub><br>LEA | X <sub>5</sub><br>SOI | X <sub>6</sub><br>AP | X <sub>7</sub><br>SES | X <sub>8</sub><br>MA |
| X <sub>6</sub> AP     | ...                     | ...                   | ...                   | ...                   | ...                  | (.01)                 | .62                  |
| X <sub>5</sub> SOI    | ...                     | ...                   | ...                   | ...                   | .39                  | .21                   | .13                  |
| X <sub>4</sub> LEA    | ...                     | ...                   | ...                   | .45                   | .18                  | .07                   | .08                  |
| X <sub>3</sub> LOA    | ...                     | ...                   | ...                   | .42                   | .12                  | -.02                  | .16                  |
| X <sub>2</sub> EdAtt  | ...                     | .07                   | .34                   | (.23)                 | .17                  | .05                   | .03                  |
| X <sub>1</sub> OccAtt | .38                     | .19                   | -.10                  | .11                   | .06                  | .00                   | .04                  |

\* Figures in italics are coefficients for paths hypothesized in Diagram 1.

Figures in parentheses refer to theoretically debatable causal lines.

were able to anticipate from previous thinking. There is a pair of perhaps consequential direct paths from academic performance to educational aspiration ( $p_{46}=.18$ ) and to educational attainment ( $p_{26}=.17$ ). There are several possibilities. The data might imply the existence of a mediating factor, such as one's self conception of his ability, a factor which could influence both educational aspirations and attainment. They also suggest that not all of the effect of ability on educational aspiration and attainments is mediated by SOI. Finally, one's ability may exert a continuing effect on his educational attainments quite apart from the mediation of either significant others or aspirations—and therefore apart from one's conception of his ability. Arguments such as these, however, should not be pressed too far because the figures are small. Another unexpected but noteworthy path links mental ability directly to level of occupational aspiration. We offer no speculation regarding it.

So far we have seen that a consistent and plausible social psychological position is at least moderately well borne out by the analysis of lines of apparent influence of its variables when they are arranged in causal order. How well does the total set of independent variables work in accounting for variance in the attainment variables? In brief,  $R^2_{1.2345678}=.34$  and  $R^2_{2.845678}=.50$ . Thus, the variables account for 34 percent of the variance in level of occupational attainment and 50 percent of the variance in level of educational attainment. Obviously, variables  $X_3$  through  $X_8$  are much more effective in accounting for educational attainment than in accounting for occupational attainment. Indeed, educational attainment alone accounts for 27 percent of the variance in occupational attainment (from Table 3,  $r^2_{12}=.52^2=.27$ ). What we have here, then, is a plausible causal system functioning primarily to explain variation in educational attainment. This, in turn, has considerable effect on occupational attainment. The same set of variables adds a small but useful amount to the explanation of occupational attainment variance beyond that contributed by its explanation of educational attainment.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup>Some readers will be interested in the path coefficients as calculated only for the lines hypothe-

#### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Using father's occupational prestige, the person's educational attainment, and his first job level, Blau and Duncan (1967:165-172) were able to account for 33 percent of the variance in occupational attainment of a nationwide sample of American men. Neither our sample nor our variables are identical with theirs; so it is impossible to assess the total contribution of this study to the state of knowledge as reflected in their work. Educational attainment is strategic in both studies and in this regard the studies are fairly comparable. The present model adds a great deal to the explanation of the social psychological factors affecting that variable. The prospects seem good, too, that if the present model were to be applied to a sample coming from a wider range of the American stratification system with greater age variation, it might prove to be more powerful than it appears with our sample of young farm-reared men. In general, the present take-off on the Blau-Duncan approach to occupational attainment levels seems worthy of further testing and elaboration.

Several comments are appropriate regarding the social psychological position and data presented here. (1) Clearly, the variable we have called significant others' influence is an important factor. The present evidence appears to show that once formed its effects are far-reaching. Also, besides being a powerful explanatory factor, significant others' influence should be amenable to manipulation. It thus suggests itself as a point at which external agents might intervene to change educational and occupational attainment levels. This means that at least part of the system is theoretically amenable to experimental testing. The parts of the

sized in the diagram. For this reason and because of the diagram's parsimony, we have calculated the values for each of its eight paths (or ten, including dubious ones). The restricted model explains 47 and 33 percent of the variance in  $X_2$  and  $X_1$ , respectively. Data not presented here show that the model reproduces the zero-order correlation matrix quite well. For this reason and because the model is an effective predictor of  $X_2$  and  $X_1$ , it may be considered to be fairly valid. Nonetheless, it seems more prudent to rest our case on the less presumptuous data already presented in Table 3. This is why the coefficients presented in the diagram are not discussed here.

present model which are hypothetically dependent upon this variable might be more securely tested if such experiments can be worked out. Also, practical change agents might be able to change levels of attainment, either by inserting themselves or others as new significant others or by changing the expectations existing significant others have for the individual. There may well be a substantial pay-off from more refined work with this variable.

(2) The results seem to indicate, too, that aspirations (a special class of attitudes) are in fact performing mediational functions in transmitting anterior factors into subsequent behaviors. This has been a subject of recent debate, much of which has in effect held that attitudinal variables are useless epiphenomena. This was recently discussed by Fendrich (1967).

Such encouraging results do not, however, mitigate the need for (a) general experimental determination of the supposed effects of attitudes on behaviors, and (b) specific experimental determination of the effects of aspirations on attainments.

(3) The question may be raised as to the extent to which this system is inherently culture-bound. One might wonder whether attainment behavior within an institutionalized pattern of "sponsored" rather than "contest" achievement (Turner, 1960) would change the path model. Besides this (and perhaps other institutionalized types of achievement patterns), there is also the question of the relevance of the model for ascribed occupational attainment systems. Obviously we do not have data bearing on these questions but we may at least discuss them. Let us suppose that the same eight variables are measured on youth in a "sponsored" achievement context. We speculate that if measured mental ability is the basis of selection of those who are to be advanced, then the direct path from mental ability to significant others' influence would increase because sponsors are significant others. (This would require a more general measure of significant others' influence than was used here.) If a variable other than mental ability or socioeconomic status is important to the sponsors, then the residual effect of unmeasured variables on significant others' influence would increase. Since one's

sponsors presumably influence one's aspirations and aspirations in turn mediate attainment, the rest of the model probably would not change much.

Consider the case of ascribed attainment. Here one's parents' position determines what one's significant others will expect of one; mental ability is either irrelevant or controlled by family position; and one's aspirations are controlled by the family. The importance of higher education may vary among basically ascribed systems: in one it may be unimportant, in another it may merely validate one's status, or in still another it may train ascribed elites to fulfill the key social roles in the society. If educational attainment is important within the social system, aspirations will mediate the influence of significant others upon it, and it in turn will mediate occupational attainment. If not, occupational aspirations will mediate occupational attainment and educational attainment will drop out of the path model. In short, by allowing for variations in the path coefficients, the same basic social psychological model might work well to describe attainment in stratification and mobility systems quite different from that of the present sample.

(4) The linear model used here seems to be an appropriate way to operationalize social psychological positions holding that the function of "intervening" attitudinal variables is to mediate the influence of more fundamental social structural and psychological variables on behavior. By assuming linear relations among variables and applying a path system to the analysis, we have cast the attainment problem in such a framework. It seems to have worked quite well. We are sufficiently encouraged by this attempt to recommend that a parallel tack might be made on problems in which the overt behavior variables are quite different from educational and occupational attainment.

(5) Nonetheless, satisfactory as such a linear model and its accompanying theory seems to be, there is still the possibility that other techniques flowing from somewhat different social psychological assumptions might be better. It is possible that, in the action situation, enduring attitudes (such as educational and occupational aspirations) may

function as independent forces which express themselves in relevant overt behaviors to the degree that other personality and situational variables permit. Linear models would thus be effective to the degree that the persons modify their aspirations to bring them in line with potentials for action offered by the latter variables. More importantly, the combined effects of aspirational and facilitational variables would produce nonlinear accelerating curves of influence on behavior variables. For the present types of data, this would imply that parental stratification position, mental ability, and significant others' influence not only produce aspirations, but also, to the extent to which these influences continue more or less unchanged on into early adulthood, they function as differential facilitators for the expression of aspirations in attainments. If this is true, a nonlinear system of statistical analysis handling interaction effects would be even more powerful than the one used in this paper.

(6) It should be remembered that the most highly educated of these young men had just begun their careers when the final data were collected. If the distance between them and the less educated widens, the occupational attainment variance accounted for by the model may well increase. The direct relations of some of the antecedents to occupational attainment may also change. In particular, mental ability may show a higher path to occupational attainment.

(7) Finally, although the results reported in this paper indicate that the proposed model has considerable promise for explaining educational and early occupational attainment of farm boys, its adequacy should now be tested on populations with a more differentiated socioeconomic background. It is quite possible that in such populations the effects of socioeconomic status on subsequent variables may be significantly increased. The effects of other variables in the system may also be altered when the model is applied to less homogeneous populations.

The present research appears to have extended knowledge of the causal mechanism influencing occupational attainment. Most of this was accomplished by providing a consistent social psychological model which adds to our ability to explain what is surely one

of its key proximal antecedents, educational attainment.

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## SEPARATING RELIABILITY AND STABILITY IN TEST-RETEST CORRELATION \*

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*Formulas are developed for estimating the true reliability of a measure from data collected at three points in time. The procedure can be applied to a single question, and unlike traditional test-retest reliabilities, this measure is not reduced in value when changes occur during the testing interval. A related coefficient of stability also is introduced, and a procedure is presented for examining the credibility of required assumptions.*

THE theory of measurements traditionally has been the province of psychometricians. Sociologists certainly can benefit from the large and excellent literature in that field (e.g., Lord and Novick, 1968). However, the problems in psychological and sociological measurement are not always the same, and psychometric solutions sometimes may be less useful than techniques tailored more directly to sociometric dilemmas. Measuring reliability appears to be a case in point. The psychometricians have grounded much of their reliability theory on the idea of a test in which there are multiple items and for which there may be equivalent forms. The resulting techniques of assessing reliability (internal consistency measures, cross-form correlations) may be only of peripheral interest when key variables can be measured practically only by a single question. In this case, which is a frequent sociological situation, it is more appropriate to turn to test-retest correlations to assess reliabilities.

Unfortunately, a simple test-retest correlation may not measure true reliability because it is affected by temporal instability in a variable as well as by errors of measurement. Consider the hypothetical case of a test which measures without error, and whose true reliability, therefore, is 1.00. Suppose persons are evaluated with the test at time 1 and time 2, and the measurement interval is sufficiently long so that some shifts in the measured attribute occur during the

measurement interval. Then, because of the shifts in true scores—i.e., because some persons increase in value and others decrease—the distribution of individuals at time 2 will not coincide exactly with the distribution at time 1. It follows that the correlation between the two testings will be less than 1.00, and we would conclude that we have a test with reliability less than 1.00 even though this is contrary to the initial assumption.

One may attempt to reduce the effect of temporal instability on test-retest correlations by reducing the time interval between measurements, thereby reducing the amount of shifting which can occur in true scores. However, an immediate test-retest may not be practical with many measures. Further, this procedure often raises the problem of respondents recalling their first answer so that the second assessment is not independent of the first.

It would be desirable, therefore, to have a general procedure for analyzing test-retest correlations so that the effects of measurement errors and true-score instability could be separated analytically. Coleman (1968) has demonstrated that such a separation is possible if one gathers data at three points in time rather than two. This paper interprets Coleman's insight in terms of traditional statistics used in tests and measurements.

The analysis below is carried out using path analysis, a quantitative procedure for analyzing relations between variables, developed by the biologist, Sewall Wright (1934). The rules of path analysis are not presented since a number of expository articles on the

\* The author is grateful to George Bohrnstedt and to the *Review's* referees for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper. Edgar F. Borgatta kindly provided data from a study in progress for one of the empirical examples.

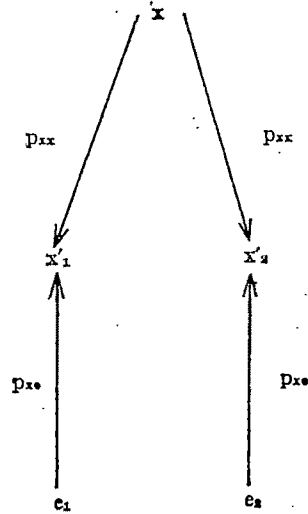
topic are available elsewhere (Turner and Stevens, 1959; Duncan, 1966; Heise, 1968; Boudon, 1968). Path analysis has been applied previously to reliability problems by Wright (1934) and by Siegel and Hodge (1968), and Blalock (1963) has employed a similar approach. Part of the discussion here is drawn from these sources.

#### PATH ANALYSIS OF MEASUREMENTS

Suppose we have a test or index which measures a variable  $x$ . Conceptually, we can distinguish between the true variable  $x$  and the obtained measurement  $x'$  as two different variables related by the fact that the value on  $x$  determines to some degree the value we find on the measurement,  $x'$ . In this case we are making the customary assumption that  $x' = x + e$ , where  $e$  is a random variable representing errors of measurement and the correlation between errors and true values (i.e., between  $x$  and  $e$ ) is zero. The relationship between  $x$  and  $x'$  can be represented in a path diagram as illustrated in Figure 1. This diagram indicates that  $x'$  is determined both by  $x$  and by the random variable  $e$ . The parameter,  $p_{x'x}$ , is a number which indicates the amount of relationship between  $x$  and  $x'$ . It is related to the traditional reliability coefficient, as will be seen below. The coefficient,  $p_{xe}$ , indicates the extent to which variations in  $x'$  are a function of errors. It is not an independent unknown since, once  $p_{xx}$  is known, we can determine how much variance in  $x'$  is *not* determined by  $x$ , and the value of  $p_{xe}$  is set accordingly.

Let us first consider how path analysis can be applied to analyze reliability coefficients based on parallel forms, a traditional psychometric topic. Because we now have two tests, we have a total of three substantive variables to consider:  $x$  and observed-score variables,  $x'_1$  and  $x'_2$ . In addition, of course, there are two random error variables,  $e_1$  and  $e_2$ , which are assumed to be uncorrelated. The path diagram for this situation is given in Figure 2. Notice that the amount of determination of test scores by  $x$  is repre-

FIGURE 2



sented as identical for both tests ( $p_{xx}$ ). This follows from the customary assumption that the parallel forms are completely equivalent.

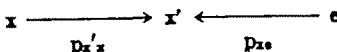
From Figure 2 and the rules of path analysis, one finds that the relationship between  $p_{xx}$  and the reliability coefficient,  $r_{12}$ , is  $r_{12} = p_{xx}^2$ . Thus, the reliability measure,  $p_{xx}$ , which appears in the path analysis, is the square root of the traditional reliability coefficient.

Wright (1934) has shown how the correction for attenuation can be derived from a path analysis of measurements, and this demonstration is reproduced here to further illustrate the meaningfulness of path analysis in measurement problems.

We now have two true variables,  $x$  and  $y$ , plus two tests for measuring each of these,  $x'_1$  and  $x'_2$ , and  $y'_1$  and  $y'_2$ . The variables  $x$  and  $y$  are correlated, and our goal is to estimate the true correlation,  $r_{xy}$ , from correlations among the test variables. The path diagram for this situation is given in Figure 3.

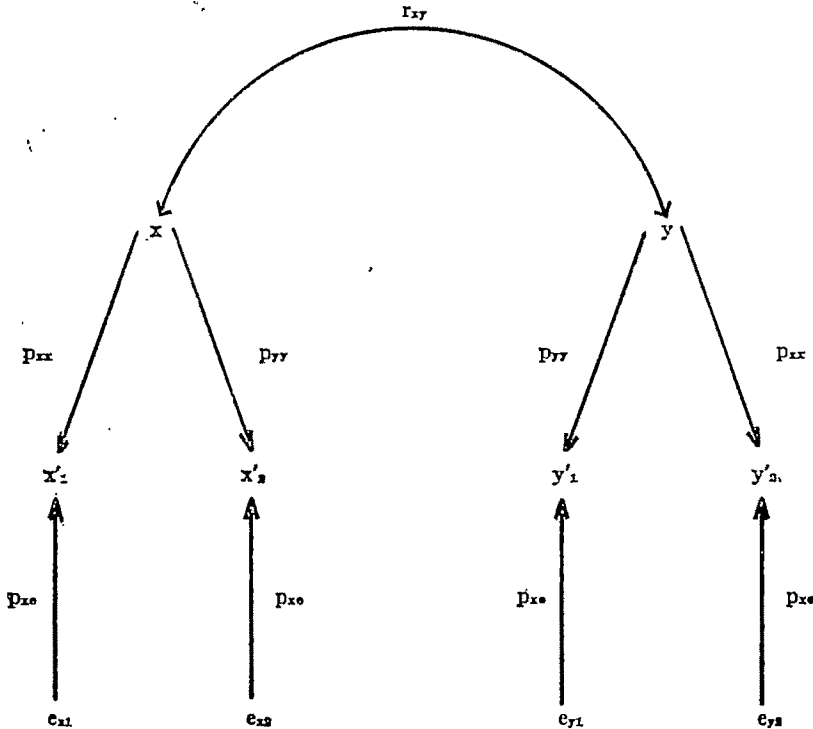
As empirical information, we have the reliabilities of the tests,  $r_{x'_1x'_2}$  and  $r_{y'_1y'_2}$ , and the correlations between one of the  $x'$  forms with one of the  $y'$  forms, say,  $r_{x'_1y'_1}$ . Following the rules of path analysis, we can write:

FIGURE 1



$$\begin{aligned}
 r_{x'_1y'_1} &= p_{xx}r_{xy}p_{yy} \\
 r_{x'_1x'_2} &= p_{xx}^2 \\
 r_{y'_1y'_2} &= p_{yy}^2
 \end{aligned}
 \tag{1}$$

FIGURE 3



These equations can be algebraically manipulated to:

$$r_{xy} = \frac{r'_{x_1 y_1}}{p_{xx} p_{yy}}$$

$$p_{xx} = \sqrt{r'_{x_1 x_2}} \quad (2)$$

$$p_{yy} = \sqrt{r'_{y_1 y_2}}$$

Substituting, we obtain:

$$r_{xy} = \frac{r'_{x_1 y_1}}{\sqrt{r'_{x_1 x_2}} \sqrt{r'_{y_1 y_2}}} \quad (3)$$

which is the traditional correction-for-attenuation formula.

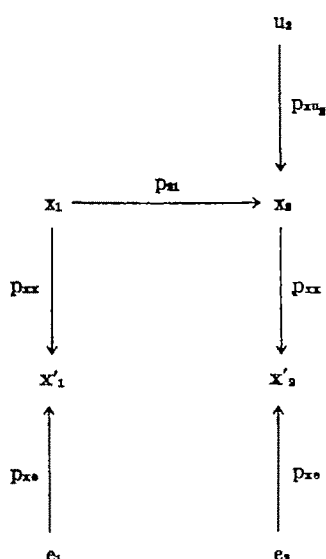
#### THE TEST-RETEST SITUATION

Suppose we measure  $x$  imperfectly at time 1. Following the convention established above, we then have two substantive variables of interest:  $x_1$ , the true scores at time 1, and  $x'_1$ , the empirical measurements with errors. Now suppose we measure again with the same test or index at time 2. Again, we

have two variables,  $x_2$  and  $x'_2$ . Here  $x_1$  and  $x_2$  are distinguished as separate variables since the distribution of individuals at the two times generally is not the same: some changes have occurred during the measurement interval. However,  $x_1$  and  $x_2$  are correlated and, in addition, we know that  $x_1$  preceded  $x_2$ ; hence, it is reasonable to say that  $x_1$  in part determines  $x_2$ , but  $x_2$  does not determine  $x_1$ . The path analysis for this situation is indicated in Figure 4. The new variable,  $u_2$ , in this diagram represents the aggregation of variables that have affected or disturbed  $x$  during the interval from 1 to 2. The coefficient,  $p_{xu_2}$ , indicates the extent of such disturbances;  $p_{xu_2}$  is like  $p_{x0}$  in that it is defined as a residual and so does not constitute an independent unknown in the system. The path coefficient,  $p_{x1}$ , is a measure of the stability of  $x$  over time, since it indicates the degree to which  $x_1$  determines  $x_2$  over the given interval.

A careful examination of the diagram reveals the several assumptions that are being made at this point. First, we are assuming

FIGURE 4



the relationship between the true variable and the index is constant over time: both paths,  $x_1 \rightarrow x'_1$  and  $x_2 \rightarrow x'_2$ , are labeled  $p_{xx}$ . Second, the assumption that errors are uncorrelated with true scores is indicated by the absence of curved lines connecting  $e$ 's with  $x$ 's. Third, it is assumed that measurement errors at different times are uncorrelated: a curved line does not connect  $e_1$  and  $e_2$ . Fourth, it is assumed that disturbances in  $x$  that develop between times 1 and 2 are uncorrelated with the initial values of  $x$  so that no curved line connects  $x_1$  and  $u_2$ . Also, it may be noted that the rate of change in the true scores is presumed to be approximately constant within the measurement interval.

Following the rules of path analysis, the test-retest correlation can be analyzed as follows (where  $r_{12}$  indicates the true correlation between the *measured* variables,  $x'_1$  and  $x'_2$ ):

$$r_{12} = p_{xx} p_{21} p_{xx} = p_{xx}^2 p_{21} \quad (4)$$

The relationship between reliability coefficient and path coefficient, that was mentioned above, i.e.,  $r_{xx} = p_{xx}^2$ , can be true in this case only if  $p_{21} = 1.00$ . But this would imply that the variable  $x$  remains completely stable over time. Allowing that this is not so (i.e.,  $p_{21}$  is less than 1.00), we see that the test-retest correlation is not simply the square of the reliability parameter,  $p_{xx}$ .

What we would like to do, then, is to find

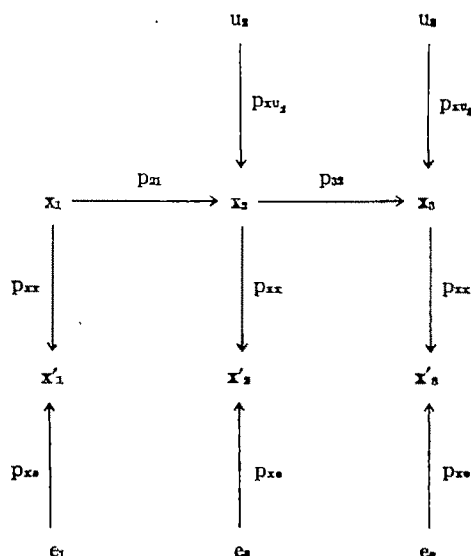
the actual value of  $p_{xx}$ . Then we could square it, obtaining a reliability coefficient which is comparable to other reliability coefficients in that it is uncontaminated by the temporal instability of variable  $x$ . This reliability coefficient would have the value we theoretically would obtain by a test-retest correlation in which the retest came instantly after the first test.

Equation 4 expresses an observed correlation as a function of two unknowns,  $p_{xx}$  and  $p_{21}$ . Because there are *two* unknowns, we cannot turn this equation around and solve for  $p_{xx}$ . So, if we are to estimate the value of  $p_{xx}$ , we need more information, that is, another equation. This can be obtained by making another retest at a time 3. The path diagram for the three-wave testing is given in Figure 5.

From the diagram it can be seen that a third unknown ( $p_{32}$ ) arises by adding another retest, if we maintain the assumptions stated above, and further require that disturbances at times 2 and 3 are uncorrelated. Now, however, the additional testing allows us to write two new equations so that we have three equations and three unknowns. (Again, the  $r$ 's represent the true correlations between *measured* variables.)

$$\begin{aligned} r_{12} &= p_{xx} p_{21} p_{xx} = p_{xx}^2 p_{21} \\ r_{23} &= p_{xx} p_{32} p_{xx} = p_{xx}^2 p_{32} \\ r_{13} &= p_{xx} p_{21} p_{32} p_{xx} = p_{xx}^2 p_{21} p_{32} \end{aligned} \quad (5)$$

FIGURE 5



The first two of these equations can be manipulated as follows:

$$p_{21} = \frac{r_{12}}{p^2_{xx}} \quad (6)$$

$$p_{32} = \frac{r_{23}}{p^2_{xx}}$$

Substituting these results into the last of equations 5:

$$r_{13} = p^2_{xx} \frac{r_{12}}{p^2_{xx}} \frac{r_{23}}{p^2_{xx}} = \frac{r_{12}r_{23}}{p^2_{xx}} \quad (7)$$

or

$$p^2_{xx} = \frac{r_{12}r_{23}}{r_{13}} \quad (8)$$

It is the square of  $p_{xx}$  that corresponds to a customary reliability coefficient, so that equation 8 indicates the formula for a new measure of reliability based on test-retest data but free of temporal change effects.

$$r_{xx} = \frac{r_{12}r_{23}}{r_{13}} \quad (9)$$

The symbols in formula 9 are meant to designate true correlations in the population of interest. When one substitutes empirical correlations based on samples, an estimate of the true reliability is obtained, and the estimate of course is subject to sampling variability.

#### STABILITY COEFFICIENTS

Once the reliability coefficient is available, it is possible to correct the test-retest correlations for attenuation and thereby obtain stability coefficients measuring the amount of change that occurred during a given interval. In fact, if interest centers on the stability coefficients, they can be obtained without calculating  $r_{xx}$  first. Let the stability coefficient for a given interval be  $s$ ; this is the correlation between true scores at one time with true scores at another time. From Figure 5 and the rules of path analysis, it follows that:

$$\begin{aligned} s_{12} &= p_{21} \\ s_{23} &= p_{32} \\ s_{13} &= p_{21}p_{32} \end{aligned} \quad (10)$$

Now, equations 6 and 8 can be solved directly for  $p_{21}$  and  $p_{32}$ .

$$p_{21} = r_{12}/p^2_{xx} = r_{12}r_{13}/r_{12}r_{23} = r_{13}/r_{23} \quad (11)$$

$$p_{32} = r_{23}/p^2_{xx} = r_{23}r_{13}/r_{12}r_{23} = r_{13}/r_{12}$$

Hence:

$$\begin{aligned} s_{12} &= r_{13}/r_{23} \\ s_{23} &= r_{13}/r_{12} \\ s_{13} &= r_{13}^2/r_{12}r_{23} \end{aligned} \quad (12)$$

#### EMPIRICAL EXAMPLES

Correlations between IQ measures of children passing through third, sixth, and ninth grades have been presented by Crowther (1965). At each level, the instrument employed was the California Test of Mental Maturity, and a measurement was the total score over all subscales. The test involves different forms for different levels, but this does not affect the analysis if it is assumed that the reliabilities and validities are the same for all forms.

Observed correlations between testings were as follows:

$$r_{12} = .56; r_{23} = .65; r_{13} = .52$$

Then, by formula 9:

$$r_{xx} = .70$$

By formulas 12:

$$s_{12} = .80; s_{23} = .93; s_{13} = .74$$

The corrected coefficient,  $r_{xx}$ , is considerably higher than the test-retest correlations computed over a three-year interval. The  $r_{xx}$  compares well with, but is slightly lower than, the reported reliability based on parallel forms: the test-publisher reports that between-form correlations range from .72 to .81 at different age levels (Stanley, 1965). The values of the stability coefficients indicate that IQ is less stable between third and sixth grades than between sixth and ninth; further, only a little more than half of the ninth grade IQ variance is shared with the third grade variance. Although these values may seem low for what often is thought of as a "permanent" trait, notice that the stability coefficients are substantially higher than the raw test-retest correlations. If one were to overlook measurement error, he might seriously underestimate the stability of IQ.

A longitudinal study of college students

(unpublished) by Edgar F. Borgatta provides another illustration. In this study, measurement 1 was made when the students were first semester freshmen; measurement 2, when they were second semester freshmen; and measurement 3, when they were second semester sophomores. The question of interest asked students how often they attended religious services. The test-retest correlations for males and females were:

$$r_{12} = .71, .73$$

$$r_{23} = .80, .78$$

$$r_{13} = .60, .62$$

from which it follows that:

$$r_{xx} = .95 \text{ for males}$$

$$r_{xx} = .92 \text{ for females.}$$

Again, the corrected reliabilities are substantially above the raw test-retest values, indicating the importance of making the correction.

The stability coefficients for these data are:

$$s_{12} = .75; .79$$

$$s_{23} = .85; .85$$

$$s_{13} = .64; .67$$

These figures indicate that patterns of church attendance change at a relatively rapid rate during the first few months on campus.

Freedman, Coombs, and Bumpass (1965) reported the following test-retest correlations obtained in a longitudinal study in which the key variable was expectations about family size.

$$r_{12} = .81$$

$$r_{23} = .85$$

$$r_{13} = .78$$

From these figures one can estimate the reliability of their measure as .88, and the stability coefficients as:

$$s_{12} = .92$$

$$s_{23} = .96$$

$$s_{13} = .88$$

These reliability and stability coefficients suggest that a sizable proportion of the flux in family size expectations is a matter of ambiguity in measurement rather than due to actual changes of mind.

#### RESTRICTIONS

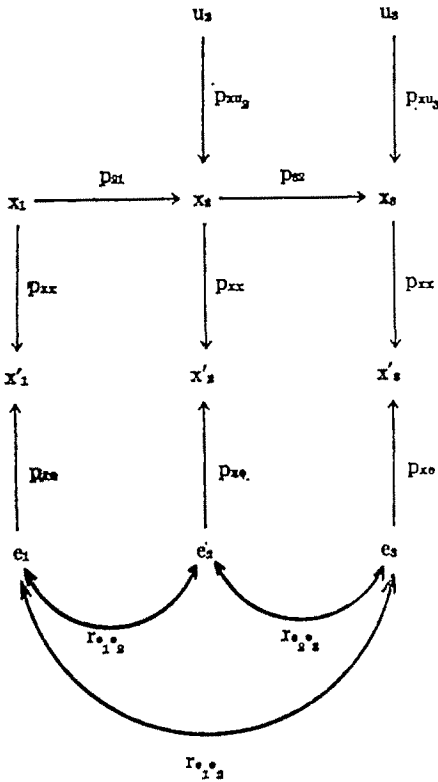
Formulas 9 and 12 provide estimates of the reliability and stability coefficients under the following assumptions: (a) determination of the index by the underlying variable is constant over time; (b) the rate of instability in the underlying variable is constant between adjacent measurement times; (c) measurement errors are uncorrelated with true scores; (d) measurement errors at different times are uncorrelated with each other; and (e) disturbances at times 2 and 3 are uncorrelated with each other or with the true scores at time 1. Both (a) and (c) are standard metric assumptions, and (b) can usually be managed by adjusting the test-retest intervals. The problems posed by (d) and (e) are discussed below.

Assumption (d) requires that errors be serially uncorrelated. The assumption may be violated when respondents recall earlier answers and try to be consistent in their responses. In such a case, distortions occurring in early measurements will tend to be reproduced over time. If errors are serially correlated, the model in Figure 5 must be replaced by the one in Figure 6. In this model the error terms are connected by curved lines indicating they are correlated.

With three waves of testing, there are three empirical correlations available for defining equations. However, it can be seen from Figure 6 that the model now has six independent unknowns ( $p_{xx}$ ,  $p_{21}$ ,  $p_{32}$ ,  $r_{e_1 e_2}$ ,  $r_{e_2 e_3}$ ,  $r_{e_1 e_3}$ ), and so there is not enough information to identify the parameters. Furthermore, adding additional waves of observations does not solve this problem since every new wave continues to add new unknowns. For example, obtaining a fourth wave would yield six test-retest correlations, but there would be a total of ten unknowns to identify (those in Figure 6 plus  $p_{43}$ ,  $r_{e_3 e_4}$ ,  $r_{e_2 e_4}$ , and  $r_{e_1 e_4}$ ).

One might suppose that a different solution to this problem could be obtained by equalizing the measurement intervals and then assuming that the stability coefficients and the serial correlations in errors do not change over time. This would reduce the number of unknowns in Figure 6 to four ( $p_{xx}$ ,  $p_x$ ,  $r_{e_1 e_2}$ , and  $r_{e_1 e_3}$ , where  $p_x = p_{21} = p_{32}$ ).

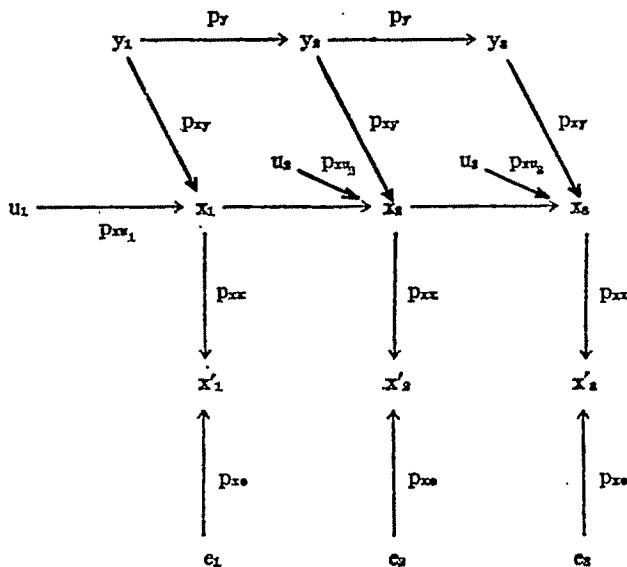
FIGURE 6



three waves of testing, it might seem that now additional retests could help, since each retest will add only one new unknown, i.e., the correlation between errors at time 1 and at the last testing. This is not so, however, since with the constant-parameters model each additional testing adds only one *new* empirical piece of information—the correlation between the first and last tests. All of the other additional correlations are merely replications of those already obtained. For example, the correlation  $r_{34}$  would be only another estimate of the true correlation between two adjacent testings, thus serving as a replication on  $r_{12}$  and  $r_{23}$ . With each additional retest adding a new unknown and only one new piece of information, it is clear that a constant-parameters model also is unsolvable, whatever the number of retests. In general, then, when measurement errors are serially correlated, it is impossible to obtain enough information to solve for reliability and stability coefficients.

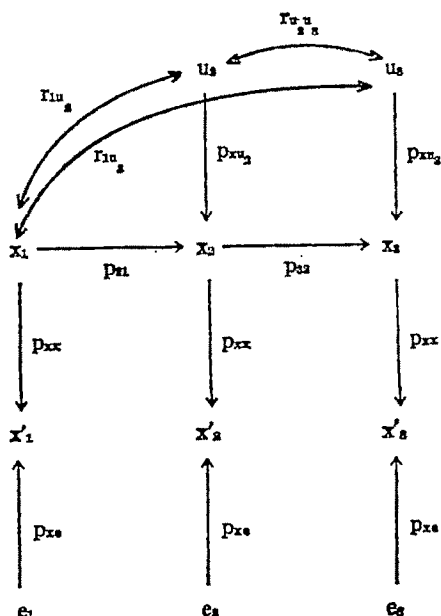
Assumption (e) requires that disturbances in the underlying variable,  $x$ , are uncorrelated over time and that these disturbances are uncorrelated with the initial values of  $x$ . This assumption would be violated if there is some unmeasured variable,  $y$ , that has stability over time and unilaterally affects  $x$ , as indicated in Figure 7.

FIGURE 7



and  $r_{e_1e_2} = r_{e_2e_3}$ ). Although it is impossible to identify these four unknowns from

FIGURE 8



This situation would necessitate the model in Figure 8. This model has six unknowns ( $p_{xx}$ ,  $p_{21}$ ,  $p_{32}$ ,  $r_{1u_2}$ ,  $r_{1u_3}$ ,  $r_{u_2 u_3}$ ) and is unsolvable. Adding a fourth wave of observations adds three test-retest correlations, but the required model also has three more unknowns ( $r_{1u_4}$ ,  $r_{u_2 u_4}$ ,  $r_{u_3 u_4}$ ). Obviously, the

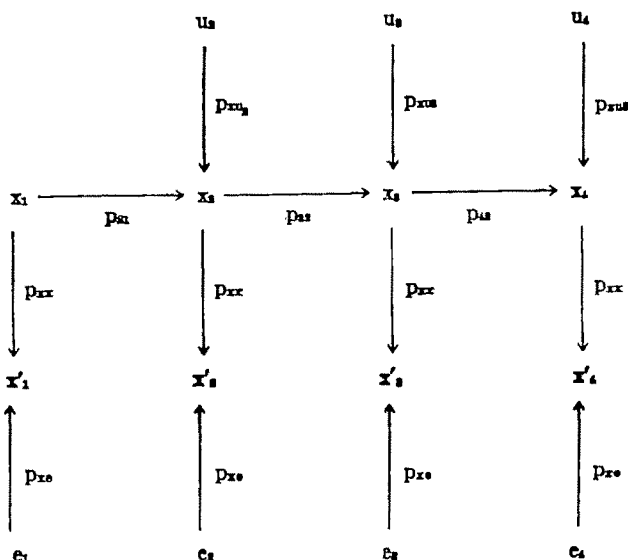
situation is parallel to that discussed above for serially-correlated errors, and, in general, accurate reliability and stability coefficients cannot be obtained when some unmeasured variable is having a continuous effect on the variable of interest during the period of measurements. Of course, the problem becomes serious only when the unmeasured variable has a substantial impact and when it is stable (i.e.,  $p_{xy}$  and  $p_y$  are not small in value).

There is no way to analyze test-retest correlations on a single variable so as to eliminate the problems of correlated errors and correlated disturbances. However, if a fourth wave of measurements can be obtained, an analysis can be conducted that reveals whether correlated errors or correlated disturbances are interfering with reliability and stability estimates. To derive this procedure, we assume that the model in Figure 9 holds; then the following equations would be appropriate according to formulas 8 and 11 (we obtain  $p_{43}$  by treating measurements 2 through 4 as a separate set of test-retests).

$$p_{xx} = \frac{r_{12}r_{23}}{r_{13}} \quad (13)$$

$$p_{21} = \frac{r_{18}}{r_{23}} \quad p_{32} = \frac{r_{18}}{r_{12}} \quad p_{43} = \frac{r_{24}}{r_{28}}$$

FIGURE 9





The correlation  $r_{14}$  then can be predicted as follows:

$$r_{14} = P_{xx}^2 P_{21} P_{32} P_{43}$$

$$r_{14} = \left( \frac{r_{12}r_{23}}{r_{13}} \right) \left( \frac{r_{13}}{r_{23}} \right) \left( \frac{r_{13}}{r_{12}} \right) \left( \frac{r_{24}}{r_{23}} \right) \quad (14)$$

$$r_{14} = \frac{r_{13}r_{24}}{r_{23}}$$

or:

$$r_{14}r_{23} = r_{13}r_{24} \quad (15)$$

In actual practice it is unlikely that the left and right terms of 15 will be exactly equal. However, if the model in Figure 5 is appropriate and one is working with a large sample, then the two products should differ very little. If the left and right terms of (15) are distinctly different, one has evidence that required assumptions are not met, and the model is inappropriate for the data.

#### SUMMARY

Following Coleman's lead and using path analysis, formulas have been derived for estimating a measure's reliability and a variable's stability from test-retest correlations. The reliability estimate does not require a test with multiple items or two equivalent measures; hence, the reliability of a single question or observation can be determined. Furthermore, the reliability coefficient, unlike a simple test-retest correlation, is not attenuated in size because of changes which occur during the testing interval. The formulas depend on these assumptions: measurement errors are not serially correlated, and no unmeasured variable has a significant continuous impact on the measured variable during the measurement period. The legitimacy of these assumptions can be examined if a fourth wave of measurements is obtained.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

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*Modern Systems Research for the Behavioral Scientists*, edited by WALTER BUCKLEY. Chicago, Illinois: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968. 525 pp. \$14.75.

This book reprints fifty-seven articles (or excerpts from books); it also contains an original article by Tamotsu Shibutani and a final chapter by the editor, in which he summarizes the sociological views he developed at length in his previous book, *Sociology and Modern Systems Theory*. The two books ought to be read together, for essentially the present one is a selection from the materials that helped to shape Buckley's ideas in the earlier book. The articles, drawn from biology, psychology, political science, sociology, linguistics, and even physics and engineering, are too numerous and too heterogeneous for almost any one reader to understand in detail, let alone comment upon in a book review. They do, however, successfully illustrate certain general and important ideas—for example, that scientific models developed in one field may also be helpful in another; that the concept of empirical system, although arbitrary in certain inevitable and quite acceptable ways, is scientifically valuable, perhaps indispensable; and that it is scientifically fruitful to recognize the existence of emergent levels of organization, without at all implying that the processes going on at lower levels of organization have ceased to operate. The reader of these often fascinating articles can incidentally learn a good deal about such things as cybernetics, information theory, game theory, and general systems theory. Among the authors represented are Wiener, Ashby, Karl Deutsch, and von Bertalanffy.

The basic purpose of Buckley's two books, of course, is to foster sophisticated sociological theorizing. Although he by no means rejects George Homans and Talcott Parsons entirely, it is reasonably clear that his main targets are psychological reductionism and Parsons's theory. I think the greatest sociological weakness of both books, however, is Buckley's rather superficial knowledge of Parsons. Parsons is not a crude normative determinist; he has always treated all action as the result of interplay between actor and situation. He is aware that all social systems are loosely integrated, that deviant behavior is part of a social system, and that social systems are often capable of changing their structure as the result of both internal malintegration and interaction with the environ-

ment. For Parsons, the functional problems of social systems do not explain the existence of particular social structures. The concept of functional problems serves mainly to aid one in the very delineation of a social system for analysis, and to provide reference points for the description of social structure and for assessing the significance, to the system, of processes and events. It is true that a good deal of activity is quite consciously goal-directed, and that goal attainment is often at the same time functional. It is also true that functional effectiveness helps to maintain some structural patterns. But in any case structure arises, persists, or changes only as a result of definite processes. Structure is only relatively stable, and its stability is variable. In Parsons, the *concept* of equilibrium (which Buckley constantly attacks) is a logical necessity following upon use of the concept of social structure. For the same reason, it is necessary to distinguish between processes that maintain a relative structural stability and processes that bring about structural change.

Though not entirely original, Buckley's discussion of microprocesses, morphogenesis, and the structural looseness and flexibility of social systems is valuable. He could easily incorporate some more of Parsons's ideas—for example, the analytical distinction between culture and the social system as subsystems of the general action system, and the distinction between the value level and the norm level of social structure. There is much greater social-structural flexibility when the social system and the cultural system have become clearly differentiated and also when the value level and the norm level are clearly differentiated. As for the supposed issue of consensus theory versus conflict theory, not only does Parsons recognize that consensus is always imperfect and must be worked at continuously, but he identifies, in his scheme of six double-interchange systems, the types of process that bring about whatever degree of consensus may exist.

Buckley has expressed his ideas so clearly, however, that he makes further discussion possible and fruitful. At the very least, in the present book he has searched out and made more easily available several valuable articles. The book as a whole, however, is somewhat repetitious, and many of the articles will be of little interest to sociologists. Among my favorite articles are "Definition of System," by A. D. Hall and R. E. Fagen, and "The Second Cybernetics:

Deviation-Amplifying Mutual Causal Processes, by Magoroh Maruyama. The first of these, although written for engineers, is the best discussion of the scientific conception of empirical systems that I have read, and it distinguishes different types of empirical system. Maruyama's article reminds us that we ought to pay attention to positive as well as negative feedback. Negative feedback tends, of course, to correct a system when it goes off some target or program, whereas positive feedback tends to bring about cumulative change in the structure of the system and may change its nature profoundly.

HARRY M. JOHNSON

*University of Illinois*

*Model Building in the Human Sciences*, edited by HERMAN O. A. WOLD. Monaco: Editions "Sciences Humaines," 1967. 320 pp. 51 Francs port en sus.

The 1964 session of the Entretiens De Monaco En Sciences Humaines was organized by Herman O. A. Wold. The theme of this symposium was scientific model building in the human sciences. Of the seventeen contributors to the symposium, seven were from France, four from the United States, two from the Netherlands and one each from Poland, Hungary, Great Britain and Sweden. *Model Building in the Human Sciences*, edited by Professor Wold, contains thirteen papers presented at the symposium together with short summaries of some of the discussions. In addition, the book includes a concluding statement of the implications of the symposium for the philosophy of science. The papers can be grouped into two parts. Ten papers on model building constitute part one; the second part consists of three papers which discuss the definition, meaning, and use of causal concepts. A majority of the papers are concerned with macro-level models.

Part one includes a paper by Wold which reviews macro-economic model building. Another overview article, contributed by Enders A. Robinson, advances the thesis that adaptive control systems are crucial for model building in the human sciences. Other papers present models for short, medium, and long-term macro-forecasting for the Netherlands economy. Krzysztof Porwit discusses the use of a model for long term planning in a socialistic economy. L. R. Klein, in an extensive review article, recapitulates many of the various approaches to estimating parameters of macro-economic models.

Peter Whittle's paper, a discussion of some simple nonlinear models for describing the New Zealand rabbit population, illustrates the power of such models. In addition, the contribution of

Professor Whittle portrays a few of the problems encountered in working with nonlinear processes. Since little published material of an elementary nature is available on nonlinear models, this paper should be read by all who are interested in model building in the social sciences.

In the only paper which is clearly devoted to the development of a model at the micro-level, Patrick Suppes describes the applications of mathematical models of learning to problems in education. He suggests that one of the more significant effects resulting from the construction of mathematical models is the effect on the standards of data analysis: "The point is that when a precisely formulated quantitative model is available for testing, inevitably a wealth of detailed questions arises that would not be raised in the framework of sheer empiricism."

Part two, on causal models and causal concepts, includes a review paper by Wold on the definition and meaning of causal concepts, a paper in French by M. Malinvaud which suggests some features of an axiomatic development of the concept of causality, and one by James S. Coleman on causal models for qualitative attributes.

Most of the material in this book will be of interest primarily to those concerned with macro-economic models. For them it is a convenient source of valuable papers, especially Wold's overview article on the statistical aspects of model building and the discussion by Klein on the problems of estimation. Unfortunately the biggest weakness of the book stems also from its primary concern with macro-economic models. Although Wold stresses that a fundamental difference exists between models for phenomena where controlled experiments are or are not possible, none of the other contributions to the symposium illustrate this assertion. Further, Wold fails to stress that differences exist between the macro and micro levels of model building. Finally, all of the papers portray model building in the human sciences as primarily a task of a statistical nature—the constructing of a set of equations and the estimation of the parameters of the set. No attention is devoted to the construction of theory which gives substantive meaning to the entire endeavor.

HANS E. LEE

*Michigan State University*

*Social Theory and Social Invention*, edited by HERMAN D. STEIN. Cleveland, Ohio: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1968. 187 pp. \$5.95.

To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the School of Applied Social Sciences of Case

Western Reserve University, a colloquium was held on the theme of the translation of social science "ideas and knowledge into action for the welfare of society." The book consists of a brief introduction by Dean Stein, four major papers by Charles Frankel, Michael Harrington, Melvin Tumin, and Gunnar Myrdal, together with comments on each by three people active in the fields of social work education and practice, and responses by the major participants. As one might expect with such a heady topic as this, the papers vary considerably in the success with which they tackle the main issue of the relationship between social science theory and social invention.

In perhaps the most interesting and stimulating paper of the colloquium, Charles Frankel reviews four standard views of the relationship of social theory (used in the broader philosophical rather than a scientific sense) to social action and practice and presents a balanced evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of each approach. Whether one's own stance falls into the Platonic, conservative, historicist, or piecemeal social engineering approach, he comes away with a better appreciation of his own position.

Michael Harrington's essay, "A Subversive Version of the Great Society," is in fact a *Harper's Magazine* article in which he evaluates the successes and failures of President Johnson's vision of the Great Society, with special attention to the notion of creating a "system of social accounts which would indicate the social benefits and social costs of investments and services and thus reflect the true cost of a product." The three commentators, Richard A. Cloward, John B. Turner, and Alton A. Linford, are generally sympathetic with Harrington's position, but they do note a number of difficulties and limitations inherent in a national system of social accounting. For the professional social scientist, the arguments for and against instituting such a system have been much more adequately discussed elsewhere (cf. Raymond M. Bauer, *Social Indicators*).

Melvin Tumin's essay, "Captives, Consensus, and Conflict: Implications for New Roles in Social Change," concentrates on an interesting, if overdrawn, theoretical analysis of power relations at every level of social interaction from the two-person group to society as a whole, employing the metaphor of captives and captors. He is particularly concerned with specifying the conditions under which consent or consensus, rather than compliance or conformity, is the basis for social harmony. Those familiar with Tumin's general position will find little new in this essay. The three discussants, Eugen Pusić, Lucien Mehl, and Irving Rosow, make excep-

tionally interesting commentaries on Tumin's analysis, qualifying and extending it at many points.

Gunnar Myrdal, in a rather diffuse concluding essay titled "The Social Sciences and Their Impact on Society," maintains that there is relatively little fundamental theory in the social field that has been tested and accepted as scientifically valid. One of the reasons for the lag in the development of social theory is that students attracted to the social sciences have not been as bright as those attracted to the natural sciences. More generally, the social sciences in their effort to emulate the success of the natural sciences have fallen into the pit of scientism—"simply loose and muddled thinking disguised in a straightjacket of pretended exactitude." Finally, the role of value premises in social research makes for greater difficulties in conducting research and getting findings and implications accepted by the larger society. Myrdal concludes with the lament that in recent decades social scientists have abandoned their traditional responsibility for the formation of public opinion and have retreated into the ivory tower of model building. The commentators take issue with him primarily on matters of emphasis.

Indeed, this latter point reveals one of the major failings of the entire symposium—the participants are for the most part too much in agreement with one another. A humanistic liberalism and social action orientation pervades the entire discussion. There is, of course, nothing wrong with this; but it allows little occasion for "creative disagreements" among persons having different perspectives on the issues. The commentators usually can do no more than elaborate a point or argue for a difference in emphasis. The result is a rather bland and uninformative "me tooism." The inclusion of a Milton Friedman, and also of a first class social researcher who was caricatured and patronized for his irrelevance to the great social issues of the day, would have added spice and perhaps penetration to some of the intriguing issues posed.

The book is well written and is enjoyable reading, but its treatment of topics is relatively loose and elementary, making it more appropriate for a student or a lay, rather than a professional, audience.

EDWARD O. LAUMANN

*University of Michigan*

*Chicago Sociology 1920-1932*, by ROBERT E. L. FARIS. San Francisco, California: Chandler Publishing Co., 1967. 177 pp. \$7.00.

This book has a nostalgic appeal for me. It

revives, in the brief space of 133 pages (the rest of the book is given over to introductory comments and a listing of doctoral and masters' dissertations from Chicago between 1893 and 1935) the sociological spirit of the late twenties and early thirties. This was a time when a small number of men at the University of Chicago were taken with the vision of bringing the methods of science to the study of human social affairs. This was the period when Albion Small, W. I. Thomas, G. H. Mead, Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, Ellsworth Faris, William Fielding Ogburn, and Louis Wirth were to have an impressive influence on the future of American sociology. Professor Faris describes this influence well—he presents clearly the central ideas of these men, and at the same time manages to give us some glimpses into their characters. It is to the credit of the author that the book dwells primarily on ideas and ignores the temptation to go into gossip about the lives of these men.

In referring to the character of the men at Chicago, Professor Faris makes the following comment: "The personalities of [these] sociologists . . . were about as diverse as would normally be found in an academic department. They were assembled from varied backgrounds and had many differences in personal tastes. There was little homogeneity of personality to hold them together; their working harmony was the consequence of mutual confidence and a strong sense of the importance of what they were doing." There can be little doubt about it, these were men of faith. This was a time when a highly active and intelligent body of men deeply believed that objective truth about social actions could be empirically determined and that such truth would be of greater value to mankind than myths, lies, and emotionalism.

From our present vantage point of nearly a half a century, the success of this faith is not as easy to assess as Faris perhaps suggests. He is correct, I believe, when he says that sociology has gained academic acceptance and has come to be appreciated among a wide public. But popular acceptance is a tricky index of merit. It is possible that more people today turn to astrology than to sociology for advice and information. (I notice, for example, that the daily papers carry astrological columns but no sociological columns.) Certainly this is not an adequate demonstration of the superior qualities of astrology.

If sociologists are to evaluate their own worth, it is still necessary, I believe, to raise the question: Does sociology really have anything worthwhile to tell the world? Regardless of whether or not sociology has been publicly accepted, can we say that the world has some-

how been positively affected because sociologists have looked at it? Does humanity want and need a scientific sociology? Sociologists would do well to keep in mind the fact that no single member of the sociological community today has the intellectual influence and secular authority of a self-made essayist like Eric Hoffer. I cannot name, offhand, a sociologist who has experienced that easy familiarity with the high and the mighty that Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., has known. Have we, today, met the promise that was the vision of the Chicago sociologists of the twenties?

Professor Faris has written about another day and another generation of men—and in doing so, has raised the question of how far we have come. Half a century is a fairly long time when measured in terms of human affairs. We cannot claim that sociology is still young. If there was optimism at Chicago, it has now been tempered by a bloody war that no one can justify, McCarthyism, the American Independent Party, a resurgence of racism, and the existing prospect of urban and world blight beyond the imagination of any Chicago human ecologist working in the thirties. Chicago sociologists of the thirties were perhaps too innocent and hopeful. Modern sociologists, if some of my colleagues are any measure, are possibly too cynical and pessimistic.

If I am correct in this admittedly casual judgment, then I know I am correct in recommending that modern sociologists read this book. Not only does it provide a well-guided tour through the beginnings of American sociological thought; it also revitalizes, to some extent, that sense of the value of sociology, *qua* sociology, which more than anything else made Chicago in the twenties and thirties an inspiration for those of us who work with sociology today.

R. P. CUZZORT

*University of Colorado*

*Political Unification: a Comparative Study of Leaders and Forces*, by AMITAI ETZIONI. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965. 346 pp. Paperbound, \$3.95.

This book about the fate of regional unions is a good example of what an imaginative conceptual scheme can do for congeries of already well-known facts.

Etzioni starts with a paradigm for the study of political unification, spells out a theory expressed in 17 propositions, examines the fortunes of four regional unions, 1953-1964, in the light of the propositions, and then revises and amplifies the theory. The whole enterprise

is carried through with intellectual discipline and admirable clarity. If the treatment seems at times unrelieved and mechanical, it is for the same reason that most encyclopedia articles are unexciting—too much information analysis being packed into too limited a space.

The historical treatment of the four regional unions—the United Arab Republic (U.A.R.), the Federation of the West Indies, the Nordic Council, and the European Economic Community (E.E.C.)—is largely based on secondary sources. The author conducted a few interviews and made some use of local newspapers, but has relied mainly on the studies of others for his facts.

Drawing broadly on the social science literature from political science through Parsons to group dynamics, Etzioni fuses some interesting theoretical elements. He recognizes three types of integrating power based on corresponding assets: (1) coercive power derived from assets like weapons and military manpower, (2) utilitarian power derived from economic possessions and technical and administrative capabilities, and (3) what he calls identitive power derived from symbols, rituals, and educational and religious institutions.

The integrating power in a regional system must, among other things, be effectively composed, one aspect of which is the mix of different types of power. A union will be most likely to succeed if elites guiding the unification have high identitive and utilitarian power but only moderate coercive power (too much coercion alienates the unconvinced). Another aspect is one that Deutsch has emphasized—communication channels and responsiveness—to which Etzioni adds adequate political representation as the central avenue for power-backed communication.

Integrating power must also be effectively distributed. Here the author hypothesizes two promising situations: a union of states roughly equal in power, and a union with one dominant power (or at most two). Unions of three powerful states among weaker ones are described as uncompromising. If a union starts with the backing of an external power (e.g., the E.E.C. backed by the U.S.), it will internalize the functions and authority of that external power as it develops.

On the dynamic side, Etzioni theorizes that it takes more power to increase the level of integration than to maintain it, and more power to maintain a premature union than a mature one. He also expects emphasis on identitive power in the initial stages to be more effective than trying to reallocate resources to obtain utilitarian efficiency.

The four chapters on the four unions show why the U.A.R. and the Federation of the West Indies failed, why the Nordic Council has remained only modestly successful, and why the E.E.C. (to 1964 at least) did better. The discussion of harmonization in the Nordic Council vs. integration in E.E.C. is instructive. In the period of nationalism, says Etzioni, harmonization is much easier, but it will not give the stability that integration does because it cannot coordinate politically significant activities.

In general, Etzioni finds his propositions confirmed, but discovers that other dimensions need to be added to the theory. For instance, his scheme does not give sufficient weight to the cross-pulls of other groupings to which members of a union belong. Again, he finds that internalization of different functions from an external power may proceed at varying rates. E.E.C. has become much more independent of the United States in economic matters than in political matters. Another supplementary finding shows that the system-elite of the E.E.C. is an integrating force in its own right. Finally, elite states that lead unifications get identitive rather than utilitarian rewards.

It is exceedingly difficult in circumstances like these to detect bias. It could enter in two ways: (1) the author might have derived his theory in large part from the four cases, so that its validation would be automatic; or (2) he might have interpreted the facts of the four cases to suit his theory. Since he corrects the theory at several points, he seems not to be guilty on either count.

At only one point would this reviewer be seriously critical. In a footnote on page 37, Etzioni explains that in earlier works he used the term *normative* to describe the third type of integrating power but that he has changed to *identitive* because a leader calls on his followers in the name of the values to which they are committed. He has abandoned *normative* because to some it suggests moral prescriptions and to others legal norms to the exclusion of the mores. These are weak reasons. Normative integration is indeed a powerful type, perhaps the most powerful. Men will die for a set of values. A regional union rarely enjoys at the start strong normative commitment, but this is usually the sign of final success. To substitute *identitive* is to lose completely the substance of the bond. People can identify with anything—coercive action, for instance. The change substitutes the psychological process for the sociological reality.

ROBERT C. ANGELL

University of Michigan

*Comparative Perspectives on Social Change*, edited by S. N. EISENSTADT. Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Co., 1968. 279 pp. Paperbound. No price indicated.

Comparative researchers often overlook the historical context. In editing this volume, Eisenstadt stresses important points frequently ignored by researchers passing through developing societies with pre-coded, pre-translated questionnaires. The sixteen selections reflect the richness of historical material and the skilled insight of anthropological description. And we are reminded that a "comparative perspective on social change" applies equally to work settings in the American automobile industry and to a Javanese village.

The first section, "Processes of Change in the Major Spheres of Society," ranges from Davis' introduction to demographic change in the Western hemisphere to Geertz' anthropological description of the subtle impact of change on a Javanese funeral ceremony. The changes in work attitudes and social interaction accompanying automation, noted in Faunce's American study, may parallel consequences of the transformation from craft setting to factory in developing societies. Van Doorn links the emergence of unskilled workers in the Netherlands as a "social type" to declining upward mobility within blue-collar ranks. Goode and Habbakuk each re-examines common assumptions about social change. Goode questions the assumed linkage between industrialization and the nuclear family, and explores the conditions under which industrial development and the conjugal family are compatible. Habbakuk's careful history of the effects of the labor supply on the industrialization of England challenges those who see parallels between development in the Third World and the industrialization of England. Few developing societies can draw upon the cluster of natural resources, markets, labor supply, and geography enjoyed by England. Wilkening presents a rare contrast of peasant society and modern rural society. Compared to other selections, Lerner's work on a communication theory of modernization relies less on historical material, but it is valuable both as an example of a type of general theory of modernization and as a discussion of the role of media in development.

The second section, "Responses to Change: Personal Level and Social Movements," includes only three selections. Barber's 1941 article on acculturation and messianic movements among American Indians is perhaps least valuable, since the recent emergence of

both Red and Black Power has dramatically altered the situation he described. Lifton's trichotomy of "transformationists," "accommodationists," and "restorationists," based on a study of Japanese youth, somewhat parallels, respectively, a political left, center, and right, and might be applied to restless youth in many societies. Benda builds a complex typology of political elites in Southeast Asia. His sound analysis elucidates the vast differences in political history and structure of these societies that are often lumped into a single regional category.

The third section deals with "Patterns of Transformation of Total Societies." Wolf's analysis of the early development of Islam and Huntington's comparison of political modernization in America and Europe are extremely complex, and may obfuscate the undergraduate's comprehension. Huntington's work, together with Habbakuk's article, offers a comprehensive look at Western development. Dore's selection, "Comparisons of Latin American and Asian Studies," is especially valuable in that a discussion of scholars, attracted to the areas and the problems they encounter, supplements a comparison of development in Latin America and Japan.

Eisenstadt's contributions are an Introduction, which outlines a framework for the study of change, and a concluding article examining the "capacity for internal transformation" of pre-modern societies. Though his debt to an older functional model is clear, his focus on the "undermining" of traditional institutions, an extensive discussion of institutional autonomy and structural flexibility, and a specification of levels of analysis ranging from traditional communities to total societies, all combine in an approach which will be appreciated by the undergraduate reader.

This book, one of eleven "Comparative Perspectives" readers planned by the publisher, would be most appropriate for courses in social change or development or to supplement an introductory text. The volume's historical perspective will introduce the student to sociological analysis which does not rely on questionnaires or statistics. The instructor could contrast its selections with survey research studies of social change. The book presents a fine sample of insightful analysis and historical craftsmanship. However, one wishes that more care had gone into the mechanics of editing the selections. Wilkening's mention of Moore ("whom you will hear tomorrow night"), Lerner's reference to the editor of "this volume" (in which the selection was originally printed), and incomplete citations in the Wolf article detract

from the care with which each contributor analyzed social change.

RICHARD P. GALE

*University of Oregon*

*Perspectives in Developmental Change*, edited by ART GALLAHER, JR. Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1968. 263 pp. \$8.50.

In many ways the field of developmental or induced social change presents an ideal opportunity for the reduction of disciplinary tribalism in the social sciences. The problems posed by economic growth, political effectiveness, and cultural integration transcend all of the established guilds and offer extraordinary possibilities for fruitful collaboration in both research and action programs. And yet, as we near the end of the Development Decade, it is clear that the promise of the interdisciplinary ideal has far outrun the practice. The typical fruit of collaboration among social scientists follows the pattern adopted in this volume: an optimistic if somewhat bland introduction, a series of parallel essays by disciplinary specialists, and a final attempt to draw together some of the loose strands in a few policy recommendations. As the editor himself says: "the essays, taken together, range over a broad canvas." They do not, however, add up to a coherent picture of developmental change (a term surrounded by haze throughout the book).

Two of the essays do represent departures from the commonplace chapter-headings seen in earlier works of this type. The first is an intriguing piece by Morris Opler on "Developmental Change and the Nature of Man," in which he scores the leading theorists of sociology and anthropology for creating an added barrier to development by portraying man as an inert creature caught in the grip of irresistible socio-cultural forces. Marx, Durkheim, Tylor, Sumner, and Radcliffe-Brown all adopt a negative and defeatist view of man's capacity for original thought, planning, and other qualities essential to developmental change. The result is what might be termed the determinist paradox: if human behavior is ineluctably shaped by massive, impersonal forces, how can men rise to harness these forces in the process of development? The debate is of more than scholastic import, as Opler notes, for change agents the world over base their programs on precisely these assumptions about human nature. His analysis also provides a clue to the earlier

fixation of sociologists upon the negative question of "obstacles to development."

Also valuable is Leonard Doob's essay on "Psychological Aspects of Planned Developmental Change." Doob is one of a handful of psychologists who have moved from the laboratory to explore the implications of perception, motivation, learning, and personality theory for developmental change. The discussion contains no "answers" and is, in fact, refreshingly honest about how little the social sciences have to say about precise strategies of change—where to begin, with whom, how far to plan the project in advance, etc. Of particular interest in this chapter are his own incrementalist approach to change and a set of guiding principles distilled from psychological research with suggestions for their applicability to planned change.

The remainder of the book consists of essays by Solon Kimball on education and developmental change; B. F. Hoselitz and H. W. Hargreaves on population growth and economic development; Fred Riggs on political aspects of developmental change; Edward Spicer on developmental change and cultural integration; Wilbert Moore on developmental change in urban-industrial societies; and a concluding statement by Edward Weidner on developmental change in the social sciences. On the whole these chapters are uneven in quality, conventional in approach, and sometimes repetitious of material published elsewhere. The discussion by Hoselitz and Hargreaves, while technically sophisticated, is needlessly abstruse and poorly written for the intended audience. Riggs counsels against an oversimplified linear approach to development, and suggests instead six interlocking dimensions of change (e.g., growth and output levels, cultural diffusion, and self-determination). Spicer, on the other hand, takes the position that developmental change consists essentially of cultural integration. Moore makes the useful point that developmental change is also a conspicuous feature of urban-industrial societies, and supports his argument with data on occupations, income distribution, and education. Weidner offers one of the best statements available on the relevance of developmental change for the social sciences, and pinpoints some of the present barriers to interdisciplinary communication, such as the differential prestige and promotions of doers and researchers in American universities.

Though perhaps half of the essays in this volume repay reading, one can only hope for a movement away from contributory volumes of this type, and greater emphasis upon genuine interdisciplinary analyses of development. Usu-



ally such analyses are best executed in the privacy of a single head, rather than in parallel essays by ten authors.

DONALD P. WARWICK

*Harvard University*

*Toward an Integrated Theory of Development: Economic and Noneconomic Variables in Rural Development*, by WILLIAM F. WHYTE and LAWRENCE K. WILLIAMS, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations, 1963. 89 pp. Paper-bound, \$1.50.

This small volume is an outgrowth of a study of change in 26 Peruvian villages. It reflects the continued interest of the senior author in a wholistic approach to the study of human behavior. Peruvian villages, with their combination of Indian and mestizo culture and concentration of power in the hands of *hacendados* (large land owners), provide an apt setting for this kind of approach to the problem of development.

As the authors note, one of the problems of developing an integrated theory is that economists tend to be concerned with nations or regions as units of study, while sociologists and psychologists are usually concerned with institutions, communities, and individuals. Theories of motivation and influence at the local level are difficult to integrate into theories of economic growth that use the nation as a unit of study, and theories concerned with the interplay of resources and output at the national level are difficult to fit into theories of motivation and interaction as they affect production, distribution, and consumption at the farm and community level. Only recently have economists begun to study production and market systems at the community and the sub-regional levels (see James B. Hendry, *The Small World of Khanh Hau*, and Clifford Geertz, *The Social History of an Indonesian Town*).

For those seeking justification for combining economic and noneconomic variables in development theory, this book provides unequivocal evidence. For example, the use of money for agricultural purposes cannot be understood without knowing about its uses for legal fees in land litigation and for conspicuous consumption in the form of fiestas. The participation of the Indians in the market system is hindered by the mestizo middlemen who force them to sell at low prices and by the unpredictability of agricultural supplies at the local level. Relationships between tenants and the landowners are

based upon power and privilege rather than upon the contribution of the respective parties in the farm enterprise.

The authors propose three ways of integrating economic variables, although they make no pretense that these constitute an "integrated theory of development." Under "motivation theory" the authors discuss the need to take into account the perceived goals (noneconomic as well as economic), the anticipated costs and rewards, and the anticipated time span to payoff (deferred gratification). Under "economic incentives and social organization," an attempt is made to show how incentives for economic change are influenced by the structure of agricultural activities (i.e., whether it be individual, group with equal sharing, or group with differential impact upon the members). The extent and nature of participation in activities and decisions affecting individual members have consequences for the investment and effort put into economic change. But the reader is left with no more than an indication that these considerations need to be taken into account. We are warned that the community development literature fails to take into account the wide range of social structures at the local level and places too much emphasis on informal leadership patterns, but there is little to suggest how economic incentives are affected by power and prestige systems or by relationships between people (i.e., whether contractual or personal and whether trusting or suspicious). Drawing from George Homans and Peter Blau, the editors propose that a "theory of socioeconomic exchange" involving both social and economic variables, might be developed. As noted, exchanges of foods and services follow lines of obligation rather than an open market system. An exchange theory appropriate for development might take into account power and prestige in addition to goods and services.

In short, this little volume is suggestive of what needs to be done to advance our understanding of development at the individual and the community levels, but it does not tackle the larger problem of how decision-making and interaction at the community level relate to the attainment of national goals. Until this is done, theories of decision-making and interaction at the local level will be useful but not necessarily relevant for national development. It is not likely that the authors are unaware of this need. But if we are truly concerned about the development of the total society, we should not be seduced by the formulation of theories at other levels. While theories of development must be based on sound theories of decision-making and interaction at the local level, such theories are

not sufficient for an integrated theory of development.

EUGENE A. WILKENING

*University of Wisconsin*

*Followers of the Faith: Culture Change and the Rise of Protestantism in Brazil and Chile*, by EMILIO WILLEMS. Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967. 290 pp. \$7.50.

It has often been said that Latin America has a Catholic culture which has deeply penetrated into every facet of the life of the people. Nevertheless, Protestants came to form a small minority throughout Latin America in the 19th century, and during the last few decades there has been a rapid expansion of Protestantism, especially Pentecostal sects, in several countries. This book is a penetrating and thoughtful study of proselytic Protestantism in Brazil and Chile by a social anthropologist with long years of research and teaching experience in Latin America. Brazil and Chile offer an excellent comparative framework for the study of Protestantism in Latin America. In the 19th century, both countries received Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist missionaries, as well as a wave of German Protestant immigrants. In the 20th century, Pentecostal sects have grown rapidly in both countries. Yet, despite the fact that there are nearly twice as many Protestants in Chile as in Brazil in proportion to the total population, the more permissive Portuguese-American tradition of Brazil seems to have been more permeable to religious differences than the Hispanic-American tradition of Chile.

In the background of Willems' study is, of course, Max Weber, but the author makes it quite clear that he does not intend "to test Weber's hypothesis affirming a relationship between Protestantism and the emergence of capitalism" (p. 15). Instead, he provides another, but not unrelated, major hypothesis: "Heavy concentrations of Protestants are correlated with changes strongly affecting the traditional structure of the society; conversely, Protestantism may be expected to be relatively weak in areas that have had little or no exposure to such changes" (p. 13). He shows that in both Brazil and Chile Protestantism has thrived in conditions of rapid industrialization and urbanization, as well as in rural agricultural frontiers. He also finds that the historical Protestant sects, such as the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists, suffered schisms in both countries as a result of developing nationalism (i.e., a revolt against foreign missionary thought and control); that Pentecostalism has proven more

adaptable to the needs and aspirations of the masses in both countries and any other form of Protestantism; that a desire to become respectable and to adopt middle class behavior generally accompanies conversion to Protestantism; that being a Protestant often means having economic opportunities not available to non-Protestants (i.e., people tend to prefer Protestants as business partners, employees, and servants); and that Protestantism "has contributed to loosening of the once tight class structure of Brazil and Chile." (p. 251) Thus an urban, industrial, open-class, and rapidly changing social milieu seems most amiable to the growth of Protestantism, regardless of whatever effects it may have on the emergence of capitalism.

The data that Willems draws upon in this study are most varied. He has used historical materials, census data, reports of communities by anthropologists and missionaries, structured interviews and questionnaires, and direct observation and informant interviews of the kind usually associated with community studies. His data and methodology, he readily admits, would not "satisfy 'hard nose' social scientists" (p. VII); but, for the reviewer, the strength of his book lies exactly in its eclectic approach. He has been able to draw upon a backlog of information and research experience that is rare among social scientists specializing in Latin America. As might be expected by those who know something of Emilio Willems' remarkable career (he lived and taught in Brazil for over 20 years before joining the faculty of Vanderbilt University), his study is richer, more erudite, and more perceptive for Brazil than for Chile. The Chilean data, however, provide the needed comparative perspective for the Brazilian situation. Emilio Willems has given us "conclusion-hypotheses" for dozens of intensive research projects in more limited and controlled settings than whole nations.

CHARLES WAGLEY

*Columbia University*

*The Urban Explosion in Latin America: A Continent in Process of Modernization*, edited by GLENN H. BEYER. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967. 360 pp. \$9.75.

As a feature of the Cornell Latin American Year, 1965-1966, a conference was held at Cornell University on "The Role of the City in the Modernization of Latin America." This conference served as the basis for the present volume. During the conference, an interdisciplinary group of specialists—including architects, city planners, demographers, economists, historians,

political scientists, and sociologists—presented their views and debated questions such as “What is the role of the city in the modernization process?” and “How can the advantages of urbanization be enjoyed while its disadvantages are minimized?” The purpose of the conference was to focus on the “positive functions performed by the city in the modernization process, instead of on the usual ‘urban problems’ . . . normally associated with rapid urban growth.”

The editor of this book, who organized the conference, is a professor of Housing and Design at Cornell University. The book consists of papers from the conference, plus some additional materials. These selections cover a broad area, but largely speak to the same main issues. One major issue is the relation of the people to the economy and of the economy to urban problems. Another is the need for guidance on alternatives for urban growth, in terms of such factors as organization, cost of providing facilities, and social integration. Should the growth of the large “primate cities” be encouraged at the cost of secondary and tertiary cities? Still another recurring issue is the need to establish national guidelines for growth and change in place of local policies. The conference participants generally agreed that any viable standards and solutions must be related to the practical situation in Latin America, rather than to different North American and European situations. A positive approach to the modernization of the city was felt to rely heavily on interdisciplinary research, since the process involves so many interrelated factors.

The book is organized into eight parts, each of which includes one or more papers and the editor’s “Summary and Elaboration.” Part I sets the stage with a single paper on “Urban Growth and the Latin American Heritage.” Part II, “The Role of the City in Historical Perspective,” includes an illuminating paper on “The Peruvian City of the Sixteenth Century.” The subsequent parts are titled “The Demography of the City,” “The City and Economic Development,” “The City As An Integrating Mechanism,” “The City as a Crucible for Political Action,” and “The Goals of Urbanization.” The final section is a “Resume” written by the editor, in which he sets forth the main themes and issues that emerged from the conference. He also includes here parts of earlier papers he had written on some of these subjects.

Of special interest to sociologists are articles by Professor Irving Horowitz, “Electoral Politics, Urbanization and Social Development in Latin America,” and by Professor Harley Browning, “Urbanization and Modernization in Latin America: The Demographic Perspective.” Browning argues that if one accepts the neces-

sity for a transformation from an essentially rural to an essentially urban society, then the current high rural to urban migration rates, while creating many problems, do put people where they can potentially make their greatest contribution to the modernization process. Horowitz contends that urban politics in Latin America has a choice of moving in the direction of either reform or revolution. In the latter direction, there is a choice between the “Soviet Model” or the “Chinese Model.” If the former direction is taken the “United States Model” may be followed, but to be successful this would require elimination of the traditional class-mass dichotomy—which would be a difficult task, given the sharp class differentiation still present in Latin American cities.

The book is well organized, and contains professional sketches of the principal contributors at the beginning. Although the purpose of the conference was to focus on “positive functions performed by the city in the modernization process” rather than on the usual “urban problems,” much attention was inevitably devoted to the latter.

The broad inter-disciplinary approach of this book gives it richness and variety, but its diversity does make integration of the various contributions difficult, with the result that the work is eclectic rather than theoretically unified. The fact that the book does hang together, despite the diverse backgrounds and interests of the authors, is a tribute to the editorial skills of Professor Beyer. This is a timely work, and should be of value to all those interested in social change in Latin America, whether academicians or politicians.

EVERETT D. DYER

*University of Houston*

*Organizational Effectiveness: An Inventory of Propositions*, by JAMES L. PRICE. Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, 1968. 212 pp. Paperbound. \$3.75.

In his foreword to this book Harold Guetzkow states that it is now “time for consolidation.” Consolidation in this case means pulling together the findings and conclusions from fifty studies which deal directly or indirectly with organizational effectiveness. Price has attempted to summarize and organize these diverse studies into a coherent set of propositions that treat organizational effectiveness as the dependent variable.

Price’s task is not easy. The studies included employ great diversity in their definitions of the central variables. They also are based in a variety of academic disciplines and approaches, with highly varied methodological and conceptual approaches. Despite these difficulties, Price has

succeeded in presenting a workable and testable set of propositions that go beyond the consolidation suggested by Guetzkow. These propositions can be viewed as advancing the field of organizational analysis, since they are stated in a manner that allows testing through further research. This will hopefully lead to more reliable knowledge regarding the conditions under which, and the extent to which, the propositions operate. This inventory is thus both a consolidation and a starting point.

The propositions are organized around four basic areas. The *economic system* is that part of an organization which is directly involved in producing output. Here Price deals with factors such as the division of labor, specialization, and mechanization. The *political system* involves the nature of, and factors affecting, the decision making process within the organization, as well as relationships between the organization and some aspects of its environment. The *control system* is concerned with mechanisms to insure members' conformity to organizational norms. Sanction and communications systems are the basic focus here. The final consideration is *population and ecology*. This section deals with factors external to the organization which are related to effectiveness.

The propositions developed are supported by evidence from the fifty studies reviewed, which are used as illustrations rather than as proof. Price notes that systematic verification is needed but not available. The diversity of definitions and conceptualizations in these studies is overcome by Price by supplying his own specific definitions of terms and linkages between elements in the propositions. He does an excellent job of defining terms unambiguously, and he specifies that most of the linkages are reversible, stochastic, sequential, contingent, and substitutable. An important strength of the book is that Price makes a specific effort to include exceptions to the propositions he presents and tries to explain why and under what conditions they occur. This is generally a successful effort.

Some of the shortcomings of the book are obvious and perhaps intended. The concept of effectiveness includes such diverse indicators as productivity, morale, conformity, adaptiveness, and institutionalization. While each certainly is a component of effectiveness in specific situations, these indicators can be almost totally incompatible when viewed collectively. Price acknowledges this potential incompatibility, but offers no criteria for selection among the indicators for specific organizational circumstances.

The confusion regarding the effectiveness indicators reflects a more basic flaw in the book. Price uses productivity as the major effectiveness indicator, which is probably correct for

most production organizations. However, many organizations rarely or never engage in productive activities. Productivity becomes irrelevant as an indicator of effectiveness for organizations engaged in non-routine or people oriented activities, and it is obviously misleading to utilize such measures in service organizations. The intent of providing effectiveness propositions for all organizations is admirable, but the mark is missed when the differences between types of organizational activities are not explicitly considered.

The section on population and ecology is weakened by the exclusion of variables beyond those of size and spatial mobility. Factors such as access to resources, availability of a market for the organizational outputs, and inter-organizational arrangements should have been considered. Some attention is paid to interorganizational phenomena in the section on the political system, but the emphasis there is largely on relationships between individuals in the environment and the organization. Little attention is paid to the nature and extent of organizational interactions.

A final criticism is that the book considers consensus and conformity to be both indicators of effectiveness and also means for achieving effectiveness. While there might be difficulties in using the same phenomena as both indicators and means in research, the more basic problem is that there is increasing evidence that internal and external conflicts can contribute to effectiveness in both the short and long run. Although there is some recognition that adaptiveness, as a measure of effectiveness, may be derived from a lack of consensus, the overriding orientation of the book is that conflict should be minimized. The book would have been strengthened if Price had considered those conditions under which conflict in and out of the organization leads to greater effectiveness.

Despite these shortcomings (the perfect book is yet to be written), Price's work stands as an example of the traditional commencement address—a culmination of years of work on the part of many people, and at the same time a place from which to begin furthering our knowledge.

RICHARD H. HALL

*University of Minnesota*

*Organising Men and Power: Patterns of Behavior and Line-Staff Models*, by ROBERT T. GOLEMBIEWSKI. Chicago, Illinois: Rand McNally and Co., 1967. 277 pp. Clothbound, \$6.00. Paperbound, \$3.50.

As an alternative to the traditional model for organizational design prescribed by advocates

of "principles of administration," this book proposes "... to develop a model of line-staff relations that will permit more effective managerial action given what we now know, and to provoke empirical rejection or refinement of that model" (p. 2).

A major component of the traditional model for organization design is the "Neutral and Inferior Instrument (NII) concept" that "... 'staff' in cooperative enterprises should be outside the chain of command, that it should and does provide services rather than exert control, and so on" (p. 1). The author argues that the NII concept represents an unsuccessful attempt to reconcile the frequently noted conflict between two other basic ingredients of the traditional model: specialized competence and unity of command. Drawing on excerpts of literature critical of the traditionally prescribed structure, his own personal experience, and a selection of empirical findings, the author observes that the NII concept and its associated structural attributes (e.g., microdivision and routinization of the work process and a definite hierarchy of legal authority exhibiting unity of command and a limited span of control to permit close supervision of individual performance) create "tensions" (read "dysfunctions") such as anxiety in staff officials and vertical fragmentation of the essentially horizontal work process.

In response to deficiencies identified in the traditionally prescribed structure, the author advocates the "Colleague model" for organizational redesign. It basically proposes the establishment of management teams, each of which is comprised of officials providing the major program and sustaining activities necessary for the production of a discrete subassembly. The teams in the model are self-chosen, and relations among team members are determined collegially by themselves. Each team represents a decentralized organizational unit whose performance is judged and accordingly rewarded by a superior managerial team (similarly structured) using evaluative criteria that emphasize measures of overall team performance. The Colleague model is hypothesized to avoid the disintegrating effects of the traditionally prescribed model by creating an incentive system whereby team members share a common fate contingent on team performance, thereby encouraging the team "... to take advantage of the enormous potential for social control implicit in man's group relations" (p. 137) in order to ensure within-team cooperation and identifications.

This book attempts a creative synthesis of the "lessons" from a diverse body of literature and from recent managerial experience with efforts to incorporate structural changes consistent with the Colleague model. I find the

major outlines of the author's prescriptions credible, although it is difficult to discern the structure of his argument in his laboriously redundant yet, at times turbid, presentation. Fortunately, the author's intentions are made more evident in his illustrative applications of the model.

We are told that the model is based on "what we now know," but one infers that the literature has been neither systematically surveyed nor carefully scrutinized. For example, no use is made of Crozier's *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon* (1964), although the main thrust of Crozier's study and, more specifically, his analyses of relationships among upper managers and between maintenance workers and production workers and foremen, are highly relevant to the major concerns of the present book. At times it also appears that relevant findings from other studies were considered but ignored. For example, the book states:

Straightforwardly, if we must admit to some exaggeration, staff commonly is the last to be hired and the first to be fired. No incontrovertible evidence on the point exists. However, limited personal observation supports our conclusion as a useful rule-of-thumb for many staff activities. (p. 69) [My emphasis.]

While this might be "a useful rule-of-thumb for many staff activities," it appears less useful for others since at least some negative evidence is available on the point, even discounting Parkinson's well-known observation. In a study cited by the author for other purposes two pages prior to the above quote, Haire reports that while a total of 311 persons were "laid off" in the four companies he examined,

... there were actually 325 line workers furloughed; fourteen new staff people were hired during the very layoff period. ... It is clear that the staff is the place to take a job. It seems to have built-in tenure. (p. 293)

These problems may be symptomatic of another. The presentation seems argumentative; the analysis emphasizes the advantages of the Colleague model, while considerably less attention is given to its disadvantages, although the author proposes that "... the product here is not a new dogma but a new point of departure" (p. 29). However, the Colleague model is not advanced as a panacea for all organizations and all technologies. For example, the author suggests that the Colleague model would be inappropriate for a "crisis-oriented" organization, such as the Strategic Air Command, although it would apply to the "knowledge-oriented" Air Force Systems Command (p. 29). He notes later that "... technical factors may restrict the applicability of the [Colleague] model" (p.

125), but he does not specify which technical factors delimit the model's scope.

If this analysis is to provide a point of departure for empirical research (and, for that matter, for an operational statement of a strategy for organizational redesign), unambiguous definitions of some of its major terms (e.g., "tensions") and clear specifications of the model's domain must be supplied. Otherwise we create once more a situation akin in important respects to the intellectual swamp of "principles of administration," with the often subtle and therefore likely fatal commingling of "is" with "ought" found in ambiguously stated ideal types.

JAMES D. LAING

*Carnegie-Mellon University*

*Political Institutions and Social Change in Continental Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, by EUGENE N. ANDERSON and PAULINE R. ANDERSON. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1968. 451 pp. \$10.00.

Writing in the *International Social Science Journal* in 1965, Val R. Lorwin called for historical studies as "the basis for continuing comparative research and theory concerning the processes of nation-building." As this need is no less evident today, the Andersons' volume is a welcome if somewhat limited contribution. The strength of the work lies in the considerable empirical investigation the Andersons have done on the transformation and development of 19th century European political institutions. Their ability to move easily among 19th and 20th century sources enables them to broaden the range of cases usually employed in comparative analyses.

The limitations of the study lie in the relative inattention to the broader task of formulating general propositions about social change and institutional development. Their description of virtually all aspects of political institutions lacks the rigor required for a clarification of systematic theories of development. This is a serious oversight. Since so many different forces affected the growth of 19th century political institutions, it is crucial that the relationships between different variables be clearly specified. The conceptual uncertainty which Lorwin found absent in comparative analyses of nation-building is lacking here as well. But the institutional formalism characterizing the Andersons' work is only a reflection of the methodological difficulties of comparative developmental analysis.

Nonetheless, the work is well worth the close attention of those interested in institutional aspects of modernization. The following three

significant ideas, for example, are among many suggested by the Andersons. First, democracy was, as the analysis makes clear, barely established by 1914. Although the institutional infrastructure of a modern political system was fairly well established on the eve of the War, most of Europe could not reasonably be called democratic, i.e., an open society marked by a legitimately competitive party system. Indeed, the extent of repressive absolutism compels a certain skepticism toward the recent notion that totalitarian systems are a uniquely 20th century form. Both lack of freedom and contradictions between political forms and socio-ideological developments were so extensive that "the twentieth century inherited a social malaise so great that Europeans proved powerless to correct it before resort to violence intervened."

Second, while social and political realities moved uncertainly toward constitutional government, the crystallizing element in each case was violence or the threat of violence. The Old Regime was not about to yield its hegemonic position gracefully to either liberal bourgeoisie or working-class socialists. The Andersons' comments should induce American students of institutional development to reflect anew on the creative role of violence and conflict for social change.

Finally, there is a theoretical point. The Andersons indirectly suggest that models of development based on the Western experience are not wholly relevant to an understanding of nation-building in the Third World. The dissimilarities are so great that a satisfactory theory of modernization will have to draw on many diverse models rather than, following Rostow, refer to universal "stages" of development—unless "stages" is defined too broadly to be of analytic value. Certain common elements, such as increasing structural and functional differentiation, do occur, but these may obscure more than they reveal. In any event, the Andersons have produced more "data" for further research on the subject.

HENRY J. STECK

*Yale University*

*Road to Suspicion: A Study of Modern Mentality and the Sociology of Knowledge*, by GUNTER W. REMMLING. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967. 220 pp. Paperbound. \$3.50.

Current books in theory and metatheory incline toward a central theme or focus; Remmling's *Road to Suspicion* contains two. The professed theme is that the loss of medieval integration has led to the "modern mentality"—

to philosophies that derogate ideas, create intellectual uncertainty, and increase doubt, suspicion, cynicism, and intergroup hostility. The covert theme, giving the book its value, is a sophisticated analysis (from both historical and sociology of knowledge perspectives) of the modern, many-sided, intellectual era. The book would have been better had it been organized around this second theme.

Though little over 200 pages, the book has 17 chapters, divided into three parts, and tries to cover the major post-medieval European thinkers. Part I, "The Social Determination of Ideas," begins with a chapter introducing the intellectual uncertainty and suspicion theme of the book; the four following chapters then develop the sociology of knowledge issue through its French, twentieth century Marxist, Catholic, and modern versions, respectively. The treatment is minimally adequate, catching the spirit of Durkheim, Lukács, Scheler, and Mannheim.

Having begun with sociology of knowledge, the modern and culminating exemplar of idea derogation, the author then devotes the rest of the book to tracing the changing ideas that led to the "modern mentality" and to suspicion. Part II, "Philosophical Presuppositions," gives a chapter each to Kant, Hegel, Dilthey, and, summarily, Husserl. Part III, "Conceptual Presuppositions," supplements the above purveyors of doubt with predecessors and other contemporaries, its eight chapters comprising three centuries and about half the book. It begins with two introductory-analytic chapters, Historicism and Ideology, and follows with chapters on Bacon, the French Encyclopedists, Marx, Nietzsche, and Freud, concluding with an epilogue.

Remmling is at his best throughout much of Parts II and III, particularly in his discussion of Dilthey, the Encyclopedists, Marx, and Freud. His multilingual talent is obvious as he weaves in other thinkers, intellectual currents, and perennial issues such as rationalism and empiricism, idealism and positivism, transcendence and immanence. Sociology of knowledge (and Mannheim) permeates the book: (1) it is given as one example of emerging philosophies that disparage ideas; (2) its issues are frequently and ably discussed; and (3) it appears to be the author's approach.

This book is part of a growing tendency in sociological theory away from Sorokin-Becker-Timasheff-Martindale comprehensive and encyclopedic treatises and toward books with a particular focus. For example, we have had in the 1960's books with a humanistic bent (P. Berger, Cameron, Cicourel, Bruyn, Garfinkel), a formalistic-positivist bent (Coleman, Catton, Berger-Zelditch-Anderson, Engelmann, Willer),

arguments for given theoretic or analytic views (Etzioni, Homans, Rose, Blau, Caplow, Parsons, Manis-Meltzer, Buckley), and a dwelling on crucial concepts (Nisbet, McKinney). Remmling's work falls within humanism (in the classical style of Sorokin, not the "new" or radical variety), and concentrates on a particular issue.

The issue, however, suffers from some problems. (1) The author is too one-sided when arguing that modern philosophies—e.g., empiricism, pragmatism, operationalism, semantics, psychoanalysis, historicism—represents derogation of ideas. They are, after all, also splendid examples of intellectual concern, ferment, and creativity. (2) There appears throughout a plaintive appeal to better human relations and to more integrated and productive social systems, with the author often sounding like a Kurt Lewin. (3) While more than adequate space is given some of the thinkers, hardly any is devoted to critique. (4) The basis for selection and organization of men and philosophies is not clear.

*Road to Suspicion* is valuable for its content, is interestingly written, and can supplement H. Stuart Hughes' *Consciousness and Society*—though marred by a continual plea to note and resolve the movement to doubt, suspicion, and conflict. It is worthwhile to social science and humanities students as a work on social thought, sociology of knowledge, and epistemology.

LEON H. WARSHAY

*Ohio State University*

*Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, Volume 3, edited by LEONARD BERKOWITZ. New York: Academic Press, 1967. 333 pp. \$10.50.

This book of six chapters is the third in an on-going series aimed at presenting overviews of current research programs in experimental social psychology. Unlike the two previous volumes, the present set of essays transcend the narrow confines of the United States and include three chapters by social psychologists from other countries. The editor, Dr. Leonard Berkowitz of the University of Wisconsin, has done an excellent job in bringing these papers together. I wholeheartedly recommend the present volume to sociologists and social psychologists who are concerned with recent developments in their field. Selected chapters could also profitably be assigned in graduate seminars and advanced undergraduate courses.

An article by Feather proposes a structural balance theory of "the consequences that follow the presentation of a communication . . . to a receiver." Experimental evidence is presented in

support of derivations from the theory, some of which address themselves to such questions as when a communication will be accepted or rejected, the conditions fostering attitude change following a discrepant communication, and the characteristics of a communicator that influence the outcomes of his communication.

The cognitive consistency approach to persuasion also dominates Tannenbaum's chapter on "congruity theory." A review of recent findings in the area leads Tannenbaum to conclude that the congruity principle is a viable model of attitude change and the generalization of attitude change. The model was also shown to supplement McGuire's inoculation theory as an explanation of how the individual resists persuasive communications. An important aspect of congruity theory, unlike the other consistency models, is the absence of any assumption about an intervening stress state mediating between the arousal and reduction of incongruity. Tannenbaum is presently investigating whether stress must in fact accompany the presence of inconsistency.

Janis focuses on the effects of cognitive and defensive processes produced by persuasive communications and other social influence. He advances a comprehensive theoretical model designed to reconcile apparent contradictions in his and related experimental work on fear-arousing communications and persuasibility. I found this article the most exciting in the book, but I suppose this reflects, in part, my own research interests. The essay is a delight to read, and in addition provides a survey of Janis' research activities over the past decade. It certainly deserved the AAAS prize in social psychology it was awarded in 1968.

The notions of structural balance and cognitive consistency also appear in Abelson's chapter on "Mathematical Models in Social Psychology." However, the scope of this essay is much broader, including other models concerned with social structure, social interaction, opinion change, and choice behavior. This is not an easy chapter to read for those who are not mathematically trained. Mathematical "sophistication" is not enough; one needs to know at least some advanced mathematics. However, the descriptive (nonmathematical) parts of the article are well worth reading and give the "uninitiated" insight into current trends in the mathematization of social psychology.

The two remaining chapters deal with social interaction from a somewhat broader perspective than that taken in the other papers. The first, by Argyle and Kendon, emphasizes what Goffman has called "focused interaction," or "what people do when they openly cooperate

in one another's presence to sustain some joint form of activity." Examples of these occasions include card games, dancing, and conversation, but the authors' main concern is with social occasions when people talk together. They suggest that behavior under these conditions can be viewed as the performance of social skills, and recent research indicates that this performance is regulated by a variety of cognitive and physical factors, such as the distance between interacting individuals and the speech characteristics of the interacting parties. Sociologists will find Argyle and Kendon's discussion on self-presentation and interpersonal competence particularly provocative.

The final chapter on "Communication Processes and the Properties of Language" was written by Serge Moscovici, a social psychologist from the University of Paris and a member of the Committee on Transnational Social Psychology of the Social Science Research Council in New York. Moscovici introduces the reader to interrelationships between social interaction and language behavior—what is coming to be called "sociolinguistics." The chapter describes a variety of experimental results and theories bearing on linguistic behavior and its role as a medium of social interaction. There has been a marked increase in research on linguistic phenomena during the last decade, and in my view we can expect even more rapid growth during the next five years. Moscovici's article may do much to accelerate such growth, and I recommend it not only to mature scholars, but also to graduate students in search of a new and intriguing area of research.

*Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* is an important work documenting the state of the discipline in the mid-1960's. It should find its way onto the reference shelves of both sociological and psychological social psychologists.

DAVID C. GLASS

*New York University*

*The Antecedents of Self-Esteem*, by STANLEY COOPERSMITH. San Francisco, California: W. H. Freeman and Co., 1967. 283 pp. \$6.00.

To say that the "self" has long been ignored as an object of sustained empirical inquiry is to state the obvious. However, what was obvious is becoming increasingly untrue! One needs only to look at Ruth Wylie's 1961 review of the empirical studies of the self (*The Self Concept*) to see the moderate yet growing volume of research in this area. Furthermore, not only is there a heightened attention to the self, but there is increasing evidence that



it is resulting in a cumulating body of knowledge about this central concept in social psychology. As a case in point, one might look at the present work by Coopersmith and an earlier report by Morris Rosenberg (*Society and the Adolescent Self-Image*).

In many respects, these two volumes overlap in their content and in the manner in which the concept of the self is approached. Both Coopersmith and Rosenberg view the self as an object toward which the individual adopts an attitude much as he does toward any other object, social or nonsocial. Consequently, they bring to bear on studies of the self the increasingly sophisticated analytical tools and substantive knowledge from attitude research. Also, Coopersmith and Rosenberg both chose to deal with only one aspect of self-attitudes: their evaluative component, or self-esteem. This delimitation of the topic to manageable size reduces the confusion and ambiguity that has often surrounded research on the self.

The works of Coopersmith and Rosenberg complement each other in many ways, reflecting the differing emphases of the psychologist (Coopersmith) and the sociologist (Rosenberg). While both, as social psychologists, deal with such matters as the relationship of self-esteem to anxiety and psychosomatic symptoms, their differing professional orientations are evident. Rosenberg uses self-esteem both as a dependent and as an independent variable in relation to the typical concerns of the sociologist: socioeconomic status, religion, occupational goals, the structure of the nuclear family, etc. Coopersmith is also concerned to some extent with basic sociodemographic variables, but he focusses much more on the interpersonal aspects of childrearing in the nuclear family and their consequences for developing different levels of self-esteem.

*The Antecedents of Self-Esteem* is a report of one part of an intensive study of the antecedents and consequences of self-esteem. The over-all research program involved a sample survey of 1748 pre-adolescents (ages 10-12) in public schools in central Connecticut, together with behavioral ratings from their teachers. On the basis of self-esteem scores obtained from the initial survey, a smaller sample of 85 youngsters were selected for the clinical and experimental phases of the research. In addition, the mothers of this more selective group completed a questionnaire and were interviewed about their social backgrounds and their child-rearing attitudes and behavior.

Coopersmith agrees with Rosenberg that self-esteem is mildly related to socioeconomic status, and that "good" attentive parents produce children with high self-esteem. However, Cooper-

smith is more self-consciously theoretical than was Rosenberg, attempting to spell out the major determining variables of differing levels of self-esteem: success, values, aspirations, and defenses. Thus, self-esteem "derives from a subjective judgment of success, with that appraisal weighted according to the value placed upon different areas of capacity and performance, measured against a person's personal goals and standards and filtered through his capacity to defend himself against presumed or actual occurrences of failure." The data provide broad support for this general statement. A more precise delineation of interrelations among the key variables would have greatly improved this volume.

One of the most interesting aspects of this report is the discussion of parent-child interaction. Coopersmith rightly challenges the simplistic notions of what constitutes effective childrearing practices: a democratic home is not an anarchic one, and parents who center their whole lives around their children are not always the "best" parents. The presumed linearity of self-esteem is also challenged. Active and intensive involvement of parents with their children can lead to either high or low self-esteem, depending on the substance of the involvement. In contrast, non-involvement or inadequate feedback leads to moderate self-esteem, or uncertainty of the worth of the individual. Coopersmith argues that many of the characteristics often attributed to low self-esteem are really due to the uncertainty of self-worth.

As is true with almost any review of an empirical study, this reviewer is not completely in agreement with the author's design and analysis. For example, one might question the sampling procedure used in selecting the subsample of 85 youngsters, or taking as a measure of "defensiveness" the discrepancy scores between "subjective self-esteem" and teachers' ratings of inferred self-esteem, or the lack of information on how conflicting views (as revealed by "independent appraisals" and "conscious-unconscious validity checks") were resolved, etc. Nevertheless, this book is more than a competent piece of work in an area that is rife with vague unsupported assertions, naive clinical observations, ideological axe-grinding, and only a small though growing body of empirically-based theoretical probes. Coopersmith's work clearly belongs in the last category, and this reviewer eagerly awaits the companion report on the consequences of different levels of self-esteem.

NORMAN GOODMAN

State University of New York  
at Stony Brook

*Readings in Reference Group Theory and Research*, edited by HERBERT H. HYMAN and ELEANOR SINGER. New York: The Free Press, 1968. 509 pp. \$10.95.

Every so often it becomes necessary for social scientists to take stock of a particular conception which is so much a part of our terminology that we take it for granted. One need not write a book to tell us what is meant by "status," "class," "attitude," or "reference group," yet the very familiarity of these concepts results in our ignoring the sometimes interesting case study of their development and evolution. Hyman and Singer have resurrected the origins of reference group theory, tied them to more recent additions in the field, and demonstrated how the concept has found a variety of uses.

The Hyman and Singer approach leans heavily upon classic studies and essays and the issues raised by them. The general idea posed by reference group theory is that people often shape their attitudes by reference to groups other than their own and that they evaluate themselves by selecting particular points of social comparison. Surely an idea of this breadth can be used to cover a multitude of specific studies. It is worth noting that the editors of this recently published book have selected most of their articles and references from works published in the fifties or before. Within the scope of what the editors are trying to do, however, the compilation of classic works by Merton, Festinger, Newcomb, Kelley, Hartley, Hyman, etc., is very relevant, for the editors seem most concerned with the refinement of reference groups as an abstract theoretical construct pertaining to the basic relationships between individual attitudes and social units.

The text is organized into three parts. The first part, Conceptual Clarification and Elaboration, deals with the widely read Merton and Kitt (Alice Kitt Rossi) reanalysis, in terms of reference groups, of Stouffer's data on *The American Soldier*, and introduces the problems of multiple and conflicting group allegiances, the relation of the reference group idea to the notion of relative deprivation, the question of group salience in judgment, the view of reference groups as a psychological perspective framing experience, and the important distinction between the normative and comparative functions of reference groups. The second and third parts of the text deal, respectively, with (a) selection and acceptance of reference groups, and (b) consequences of reference group selection. The editors have divided the

selections in each part in accord with Harold Kelley's comparative and normative distinction.

While the book tends to be more descriptive than thematic, it does stress several themes both through the selection of particular articles and in the editors' commentary. One such theme is that reference group effects upon judgments are ubiquitous phenomena. Hence to understand reference groups fully we must uncover the principles of how they are chosen, how they change, and how they differ from anticipations based upon primary group affiliations or upon social position. Sociology does not presently hold a complete answer for such questions. But the assemblage of a wide variety of studies, ranging from small group experiments through large surveys and studies within organizations, is well chosen to illustrate the progress of the field. The inclusion of these variations in methodology also serves the useful function of demonstrating the range of techniques for reference group assessment. The differences between them are, of course, important. Reference group selection on the basis of experimental induction differs from a survey of naturally selected reference groups. Hyman's own article on "The Psychology of Status" uses deep, open-ended interviews to produce rich data on the meanings of referent figures and reference groups in people's lives.

The selection of articles is quite broad, covering such divergent topics as workers' job satisfaction, mental disorder, total blindness, parent-peer conflicts, and voting behavior.

As a case record within the development of the social sciences, the book speaks with a painstaking but nondramatic approach gradually bringing order and refinement to speculations of social theorists. It does not, however, present strong theoretical paradigms which provide help in understanding previously insoluble problems. It holds little promise for formal model building (except perhaps through exchange theory or gaming approaches, which are not dealt with), but it never loses sight of its central and original problems. If one asks where the social sciences are going, the study of reference groups provides one answer.

What the book does not attempt to do is to evaluate the approach illustrated by the evolution of reference group studies as a whole and ask whether the effort was worthwhile. As a general theory, it has no counterpart, no alternative foil to inspire critical tests between alien theories. Perhaps the area has suffered from this deficit.

I think also that a number of social scientists now increasingly interested in current and future problems, such as student alienation, black identity, attitude of power elites, community

development, and revolution, would have benefited from specific examples of how reference group phenomena are operating in their own hunting grounds. Lewin's dictum that there may be nothing more practical than a good theory is well taken, but sometimes it helps also to show the ways in which the theory can be applied.

Increasingly, the complex burgeoning of the field of social psychology will necessitate selective readers such as *Reference Group Theory and Research* to replace those which try to cover the entire area. Each such text—on attitudes, on cognitive consistency, on small groups, on bureaucracy—will have to be treated not only as an example of the substance of the field but also as a case study of its development as a science. Books like these, especially when they are well done, as this one is, give us some basis for appraising the directions we as social scientists have been following. Such opportunities for reappraisal should always be welcomed.

MARC PILISUK

*University of California, Berkeley*

*Personality and Social Life: Text and Readings*, by ROBERT ENDLEMAN. New York: Random House, 1967. 624 pp. \$8.95.

Sociologists whose interest in personality has survived the passing of the post-World War II enthusiasm for interdisciplinary collaboration will welcome this combined text and reader. The book bears the impact of the culture and personality anthropologists and covers some of the territory they have staked out, but is focused on the problems of industrialized societies.

Aside from a discussion at the beginning of the book on the origins of language, a topic on which anthropologists have regrettably resumed speculation, the book reflects the prevailing concerns of sociologists interested in personality. These concerns include the areas of socialization and the family, national character, delinquency and drug addiction, the relation of personality to occupation, and the psychodynamics of millennial movements. Although the topical headings are standard, the material covered within them is not always the usual fare. Rather than just another elaboration of current theories of juvenile delinquency we find a delightful discussion by Endleman of the play elements in delinquency. In the section on personality and occupation we find that not only are business executives, scientists and artists given their due, but also shamans and comedians. Shamans are dealt with in a barely comprehensible selection from Roheim, and Lenny Bruce as a modern shaman is discussed in an insightful and amus-

ing article from *Commentary* by Albert Goldman.

Most of the readings in the book are well known articles. Included are the Inkeles, Henry, and Roe discussions of the modal personalities of Russians, business executives and scientists, respectively. We also find Whiting's study of initiation rites and Benedict's essay on the transition to adulthood. There is little to quarrel with in the choice of these articles; they are clear indications that reputations of articles, if not always men, are usually well deserved. Also included are four previously unpublished articles which serve the purposes of the book very well. Unfortunately two of the most prolific research traditions in the area of culture and personality, those of the Berkeley researchers on authoritarianism and the McClelland group on need achievement, are not represented in the readings or text.

The text does not attempt a systematic coverage of all the topics covered, but rather provides very general introductions to them, essays on selected aspects of the topics (e.g., socialization on the kibbutzim), and commentaries on the readings. For the most part the text is provocative and clear. Two of Endleman's favored pastimes, however, seem to be discussing the nature of psychological health, and writing paeans to the glories of mankind. The discussions of psychological health are turgid and tedious, and the paeans to mankind are trite and verbose. The text's major deficiency, however, in light of its intended student audience, is its failure to provide any of the background in psychoanalytic theory and projective testing needed to comprehend much of what Endleman or the other authors have to say. Related to this is Endleman's failure to justify either the assumptions of the psychoanalytic orientation, or its choice as the perspective from which to examine the relations of personality, culture and social structure.

Endleman is not only a Freudian, but is inclined toward what he calls the "radical Freudian" view of the relations of man and society. He rejects the "oversocialized" view of man and sees as inevitable in any society a disjuncture between the social order and the basic needs of many of its participants. Unfortunately, he stresses the costs of this disjuncture for individuals rather than its implications for the functioning of the social system. He also fails to substantiate adequately his claim that the institutions of a society are in part shaped by the personalities of its members. Since Endleman clearly recognizes how crucial an issue this is, it is disappointing that he does not pursue it in greater depth.

In final consideration, the most important

fact about this book is that through Endleman's essays and the other selections we are given an interesting and useful collection of material on the relations of personality, society and culture.

RONALD EFRON

*State University of New York  
at Binghamton*

*Explorations in Sociolinguistics*, edited by STANLEY LIEBERSON. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Research Center for the Language Sciences, 1967. 204 pp. Paperbound. \$4.50.

Originally published as the Spring 1966 issue of *Sociological Inquiry*, this volume consists of thirteen diverse essays. In his introduction the editor admits to the absence of shared perspectives or style, though all the contributions are linked by their common attention to the relations between language and society. A certain amount of continuity is also present in the attention to relations between language behavior and various aspects of social differentiation (especially with respect to occupational and educational status) found in papers by Labov, Levine and Crockett, Heise, Bernstein, Bright, and Grimshaw. Contributions by Kloss, Fishman, Hunt, Haugen, and to some extent Lieberman and Grimshaw, are related in their attention to factors concerning multilingualism and language contact.

In spite of these and other themes which serve to unify this volume, it is essentially a diverse and uneven collection of papers. The editor notes that this diversity is purposive—seeking to stimulate further empirical and conceptual contributions in the infant subfield of sociolinguistics. Perhaps it is an overstatement to assert that these papers include perspectives which should stimulate sociologists of whatever orientation. That there is material here of value to many of the diverse perspectives which characterize our discipline, however, is an indubitable indicator of the success and value of this volume. This reviewer's abbreviated reactions to the individual essays, given below, may serve to suggest potential areas of usefulness.

Heinz Kloss addresses the issue of the dimensions appropriate for analysis of multilingual communities. His paper describes ten relevant variables, though only two are discussed in much detail: types of speech communities and number of languages used by individuals. The interrelations among the ten variables are argely unspecified, and their relative empirical significance must be inferred from scattered illustrations. The paper provides an excellent

starting point for those who would develop theoretical or empirical understanding of interaction patterns in multilingual societies.

Papers by Chester L. Hunt, Joyce O. Hertzler, and Allen D. Grimshaw are also essentially beginnings. Hunt uses data from "linguistic life histories" of graduate students from the Philippines to illustrate Simon Herman's conceptual analysis of factors involved in language choice in multilingual societies. Hertzler describes the reciprocal relations between language uniformity and social uniformity in process terms—coining the term "uniformality" to contrast with differentiation. Grimshaw, in the final paper in the volume, outlines several areas in which the work of established sociologists such as Goffman, Riesman, and Bales can be profitably juxtaposed with the efforts of the sociolinguists. His paper might well be read first, thereby serving to sensitize the reader with little or no linguistic training to some of the potential implications of the other contributions.

The analysis of elaborated and restricted codes presented by Basil Bernstein should be of interest both to sociologists interested in stratification and to those commonly termed ethnomethodologists. William Bright's paper, which builds on Bernstein's work, extends the Whorfian hypothesis relating language and cognitive orientation to the individual level in a call for a "social dialectology," which should interest many social psychologists as well as stratification theorists.

Joshua A. Fishman reviews relationships between linguistic homogeneity and other characteristics of polities reported upon in the worldwide surveys by Banks and Textor and Alker and Russett. He further illustrates the utility of such files through his own analyses and offers a number of caveats regarding this form of secondary analysis. Problems and applications of census data are the central topic of Stanley Lieberman's paper, which suggests approaches to analysis as well as data sources.

Paul Friedrich begins by arguing that social change leads more often to linguistic change than the reverse, and proceeds to illustrate this pattern with data on Russian kinship terminology from Tsarist and Soviet periods. Linguist Einar Haugen focuses upon the abilities, real and fancied, of Scandinavians to communicate with each other while speaking their separate languages: Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish. His data include attitudinal responses to suggestions of implementing language changes to facilitate Pan-Scandinavian communication, as well as data regarding the "semicomunicative" experiences of his respondents.

Papers by David R. Heise, William Labov,

and Lewis Levine and Harry J. Crockett, Jr. relate status to language. Heise employs the semantic differential to explore attitudinal and word-connotative correlates of status. The examination of mobility and linguistic behavior by Labov suggests the utility of linguistic status for urban analyses, or for stratification studies with populations which are relatively homogeneous with respect to traditional criteria of status differentiation. Levine and Crockett's analysis closely parallels some aspects of Labov's—moving the field of study from New York City to a small North Carolina community.

While it is unlikely that all of these papers will be of interest to more than a few members of the sociological fraternity, this reviewer would not hesitate to recommend this volume to graduate students or others seeking new fields to conquer.

R. BRUCE W. ANDERSON

*Duke University*

*Toward a Theory of Minority Group Relations*,  
by HUBERT M. BLALOCK, JR. New York:  
John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967. 227 pp. \$6.95.

There are many ways of stratifying sociology, and one continuum is from a pole of careful, cautious, reasoned statements to a pole of personalistic and highly interpretive feature writing. This book is clearly in the tradition of clean-cut statements and precision in writing. It is not sensationalistic; it does not involve a masochistic request for retribution based on the sins of ancestors; and it does not become involved with social and political action orientations. This volume may consequently never achieve popularity, but it will be a treat for serious students.

The book begins with a chapter on methodological problems. The materials are presented simply and directly, and one could easily develop the illusion that the problems themselves must be well-known to flow so easily. But anyone familiar with the massive writing in this area will recognize innovation in the rigor implied by the models described, by flow charts, and by schema used to describe the theory. The consequences of methodological and conceptual inadequacy are noted well in the following passage: "Being reluctant to oversimplify reality, many social scientists have approached their subject-matter by attempting to provide detailed accounts that would do justice to the complexity of the situation. Unfortunately, the result has been both a bewildering number of facts and an absence of explicit theoretical generalizations or even tentative propositions." (p. 35)

The core of this volume is a set of propositions about minority groups. These are woven together systematically to account for known research, and relevant evidence is provided when available. Gaps obviously exist, of this the author is well aware, but a system is visible. The author does not merely talk around the subject in his formulation, but presents the theoretical propositions clearly and concisely. They are summarized in an appendix for those who wish to examine them without the accompanying empirical evidence.

This volume belongs in the elegant tradition of Robin M. Williams' *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions*. It is a pleasure to see one good work followed by another, even when the time gap is 20 years. The analytical quality of this book is evident throughout, including the short appendicized essay, "A Note on Race Versus Class Prejudice." Because of its small size, this book may not get the attention it deserves. But this would be a pity, as it exemplifies a superb standard of scholarship.

EDGAR F. BORGATTA

*University of Wisconsin*

*The June Bug: A Study of Hysterical Contagion*, by ALAN C. KERCKHOFF and KURT W. BACK. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968. 239 pp. Paperbound. \$2.95.

In June, 1962, 40 of 200 employees at a factory which the authors call Montana Mills became violently ill with a mysterious sickness apparently caused by insect bites. Public health officials found no evidence that any insects were present which could have caused the symptoms, but they were unsuccessful in convincing those affected that the "June Bug" did not exist. To the stricken employees, all women, the bug was real and they had experienced real physical sickness; to them the phrase "hysterical contagion" was meaningless.

On the surface no obvious connection was found between the facts uncovered by public health officials and the equally clear fact that many women became quite ill. All evidence indicated that the illness could be explained best as psychogenic. The authors applied their social psychological research skills to bring order out of a seemingly chaotic and mysterious situation.

Kerckhoff and Back's treatment of these events is well organized. The book commences with a presentation of theory and conceptualization on collective behavior, demonstrating the need for a multidimensional empirical analysis. Next, a carefully conceived, well executed, multifaceted data collection is presented and the

results are cogently delineated. The book closes with additional conceptualization to put the diverse results within a coherent framework.

A total of 185 women were interviewed by two female interviewers associated with the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago. In addition to the interview data, the researchers gleaned information from the medical officer's records, carefully analyzed the news media, and obtained copies of the company's personnel forms on the stricken women.

The main dependent variable was three levels of involvement in the event. Those most deeply involved, labeled Affecteds, had experienced sickness, reported their physical symptoms, and sought medical care. The second group, Self-defined Affecteds, did not seek medical care but did report having felt sick, although generally they reported not feeling as sick as the Affecteds. The Controls did not report any sickness.

Three independent variables, Strain, Social Ties, and Denial, emerged as most significant in the analysis. Strain, which received most attention as an explanatory variable, was measured in four ways: (1) working a great deal of overtime, (2) failing to mention the supervisor as one to go to with a complaint, (3) seeing variation in output among the members of one's own work group, and (4) providing half or more of the family income. Social Ties was measured by the number of close contacts the subject had with others who were affected. Denial, a defensive predisposition within the person, was measured by interview questions as well as selected items from the MMPI.

Multifaceted analyses indicated that most women who were affected by the fictitious bug were concurrently exposed to high amounts of strain or close social ties, and often employed denial as a defense. If the strain experienced was sufficiently great, it alone was likely to lead a woman to become affected during the epidemic. Similarly, if social ties were strong, they alone were likely to lead one to be affected. The combination of denial and moderate levels of strain or social ties measurably increased the tendency to become affected.

Self-defined Affecteds were exposed to less strain than the Affecteds but were more likely than the Controls to have close social ties with some of the Affecteds. The Controls were similar to the Affecteds in their tendency to employ denial patterns but were less frequently socially linked with Affecteds, compared with the Self-defined Affecteds. Neither the Self-defined Affecteds nor the Controls were under a great deal of strain.

This carefully executed empirical study and

refreshingly written monograph deserves careful reading by those concerned with W. I. Thomas's dictum that "if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences."

RICHARD SCHMUCK

*University of Oregon*

*Negroes and Jobs: A Book of Readings*, edited by LOUIS A. FERMAN, JOYCE L. KORNBLUTH, and J. A. MILLER. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1968. 590 pp. Clothbound, \$9.00. Paperbound, \$5.25.

The title of this anthology accurately describes the collection. Improved employment opportunities are regarded by the editors as the key to a permanent solution of urban unrest and the full integration of the Negro into American life. The thirty-three selections (none were published before 1960) were intended to offer a comprehensive discussion of the Negro in the current labor market, the reasons for the existing situation and how it is perpetuated, the consequences of job inequality, and what should be done. The editors' intentions are met. Two good recent collections come to mind (A. M. Ross and H. Hill, *Employment, Race, and Poverty*; and H. R. Northrup and R. L. Rowan, *The Negro and Employment Opportunity*) which overlap with the Ferman anthology but are less inclusive.

Specifically, the editor divided his material into six sections: (1) The economic situation of Negroes in the United States, which quantitatively describes the historical and current employment and income situation of the male and female Negro worker; (2) background factors in Negro inequality in employment, which discusses the community and familial factors underlying attitudes toward work; (3) institutional barriers to employment, in which the impact of technological changes and the educational system receive emphasis; (4) labor market structure and employment, which treats union policies, apprenticeship and employment tests; (5) Negro experiences in the labor market, which deals with migration, job search, and the military experience with "forced" integration; and (6) the equalization of Negro-White employment opportunities. The last section is rightly the lengthiest, treating fair employment legislation at the national, state, and local levels, the outcome of such legislation, the "freedom budget," and various other programs to assure income and create meaningful, not dead end, employment.

The overall argument developed by the articles might be briefly summarized in this manner: The Negro worker is often underemployed when

not unemployed. Although some gains in white collar employment have materialized, they are painfully slow—too slow to overcome the effects of technological change and poor schools. The traditional employment of the Negro in unskilled and semiskilled jobs is being eroded by the loss of these jobs due to technological change, yet the educational “upgrading” of Negroes is not nearly keeping pace with the diminishing type of employment for which the present inadequate school systems once sufficed. Given present trends, the situation will therefore get worse before it gets better. To prevent an explosive situation from materializing, a massive commitment of funds, particularly at the national level, is necessary. These funds, at a minimum, would support a guaranteed income and some form of WPA employment in meaningful jobs. In short, governmental action—both at the level of funds to support those who cannot work, and as the employer of last resort—is needed if the situation is not to deteriorate further. None of the articles, incidentally, indicate whether or not the necessary commitment will be forthcoming. If one accepts Mumford’s cogent analysis (*The Myth of the Machine*) of historical responses by the machinery of government to dilemmas of injustice, it is difficult to muster optimism.

No simple panacea is offered in this collection, nor could it be. The selections merely present the problems and solutions from varying points of view. The editorial introductions to each section are brief, probably on the assumption that the articles make their point without help. For the most part they certainly do, although this reviewer confesses to irritation with the soporific style of the selections from the *Monthly Labor Review* in the first section of the anthology. But this is a minor shortcoming in a collection which is a useful teaching device and belongs on one’s own bookshelf.

CURT TAUSEY

*University of Massachusetts*

*Class, Race and Labor: Working-Class Consciousness in Detroit*, by JOHN C. LEGGETT. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968. 252 pp. \$7.50.

Socialist ideas have played a considerable although rarely mentioned role in the formulation of sociological studies, and much of the stratification research of the past thirty years sought, among other things, to find data that would support or reject socialist conceptions of class. During the 1950’s, much of the academic sociological writing on class, and even more of the

popular variety, rejected socialist notions, arguing that the newly prosperous blue collar workers no longer identified with the working class or thought about their lives in class terms.

Although this analysis was probably correct if socialist notions are defined as Marxist—partly because few American workers ever thought along Marxist lines even during the Great Depression—it was questioned by C. Wright Mills and a handful of other sociologists. Following Mills, Leggett set out to study how aware factory workers were of their class position and how they felt about it. In 1960, he interviewed a fairly random sample of 375 Detroit blue collar workers and found that class consciousness had by no means disappeared. Only about 10 per cent of his respondents were indifferent to class concerns, and another 26 percent seemed mildly class conscious, using class concepts to respond to interview questions. On the other hand, about 10 percent were “militant egalitarians” who favored income redistribution, 23 percent were “militant radicals” who believed in aggressive action to advance their social and economic interests, and another 30 percent were deemed by Leggett to be “skeptical” about the nature of America’s income distribution.

While almost two-thirds of the sample could therefore be considered militant or at least somewhat class conscious, the extent of class consciousness varied widely within the sample, and perhaps Leggett’s most important finding is that race played a much greater role in militant class consciousness than economic condition. Negroes tended to be militant more often than whites, regardless of employment status, income, or union membership. Employed and high income Negroes were as militant as unemployed and low income Negroes, and whites were less militant even when unemployed or low earners. Union membership contributed to militance only among whites. Even background factors seemed to be more important than economic condition; respondents from agrarian backgrounds (whom Leggett calls the uprooted) were more militant than those who grew up in industrialized regions, and among white workers, Poles and Ukrainians were more militant than older ethnics such as Germans and Britons.

In short, Negroes were saying almost ten years ago that they were an underclass, burdened by economic as well as racial inequality. Moreover, about two-thirds of the Negroes interviewed said that if a serious depression hit Detroit, both group and individual violence could be expected. An Epilogue to the book, written after the Detroit ghetto rebellion of 1967, allows the author to say, justifiably, “they told us so.”

Moreover, although some of Leggett's data suggest that the most deprived are more militant than the less deprived, the negative correlation between militancy, income, and employment status explains not only why many employed Negroes participated in the Detroit rebellion, but supports again de Toqueville's thesis that militancy is higher among the better-off, who have been affected by the revolution of rising expectations.

Leggett's study is somewhat thin in empirical data, at least as reported here; the major findings take up only about a dozen tables. Even so, his work is important. It should increase sociological awareness, if this is still necessary today, that class is more important than status and prestige, and that class conflict is not a thing of the past. Having myself found a considerable amount of class consciousness among lower middle class suburbanites in Levittown, I hope that Leggett's work will now be replicated among middle and upper middle class populations.

Leggett's book is less persuasive than his study; it is a reworked collection of articles based on his dissertation, and thus tends to be disjointed and repetitious more often than necessary. One further draft would have made the book much more readable and perhaps increased the audience for a very important subject of research.

HERBERT J. GANS

*Center for Urban Education and  
Columbia University*

*The Intellectuals and McCarthy: The Radical Specter*, by MICHAEL PAUL ROGIN. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1967. 366 pp. \$12.50.

In *The Intellectuals and McCarthy*, Rogin challenges the pluralist theory that has dominated political science and sociology for the better part of two decades. He attempts to show the distortions into which pluralists are forced when they try to account for the rise and fall of Joe McCarthy. And, by extension, Rogin points to the inadequacy of pluralist theory for a full understanding of 'normal' politics.

The pluralists see McCarthyism as an instance of status politics, focusing on the movement's irrationality and its alleged mass character. They trace the seeds of McCarthyism to an earlier agrarian radicalism, and conceive of both movements as destructive of the political order.

Rogin vehemently disagrees with this analysis. He minimizes the importance of status discontent. Instead, he presents a political explanation of McCarthyism, stressing political issues,

the role of political activists, and the importance of the political structure.

He argues that there is no link between the agrarian radicalism of the Populist period and the radical right of the 1950's. Though detailed analysis of the politics of Wisconsin, North Dakota and South Dakota—states in which both Populism and McCarthyism were important forces—Rogin attempts to show that the bases of support for the two movements were quite different. Indeed, he suggests that the types of people who *opposed* agrarian radicalism—mainly Germans and Catholics—were *most* likely to have supported McCarthy.

Rogin questions the mass character that has been attributed to McCarthyism. Unlike the agrarian radical movements which held hundreds of meetings and organized for innumerable electoral campaigns, there were few attempts to mobilize active support for McCarthy at the grass roots. Again, unlike the agrarian radicals who created new voting patterns that lasted long after the movement itself had disappeared, the Wisconsin Senator failed to uproot voters from their traditional political loyalties.

In the early 1950's public opinion pollsters found large numbers of Americans holding favorable attitudes toward Senator McCarthy. This support was especially strong among the ignorant, the deprived, and the lower classes. For pluralists, this finding confirmed a fear of mass movements. But for Rogin the datum was the beginning, not the end, of the investigation. Why, he asked, did McCarthy attract such a large following, and what impact did such support have on political behavior? In answer, Rogin suggests that the Wisconsin Senator's popularity was based wholly upon his identification in the public mind with the fight against communism. For many politically unsophisticated Americans, approval of McCarthy meant simply opposition to the Communists. Few of these people were willing to vote against their other interests in support of McCarthy, however. Attitudes were not translated into action.

Rogin argues that a portion of the political elite sustained McCarthyism. The movement "reflected the specific traumas of conservative Republican activists." Furthermore, the Wisconsin Senator gained the protection, and even for a time the backing, of political moderates in the Republican Party who saw in him a way back to national power.

Despite the pluralists' insistence on looking for multiple causes rather than monistic explanations, they were curiously blind to the complexities of the political structure that facilitated the rise of McCarthy. According to Rogin, their general theory oversimplified the character of mass



movements, the relation between leaders and followers, and the role of political issues. Behind all these matters lurked a particular view of politics, "one involving suspicion of the people, fear of radicalism, and friendliness to established institutions." The pluralists' fear of mass democracy distorted not only their efforts to understand McCarthyism but their perception of "normal" American politics as well.

ROBERT FEINBAUM

*University of California at Santa Clara*

*The Lorry Driver*, by PETER G. HOLLOWELL.  
New York: Humanities Press, 1968. 263 pp.  
\$6.50.

During the past decade British industrial sociology has broken away from its largely empiricist orientation and a preoccupation with factory situations to take a wider and more theoretical view of its subject matter. Hollowell's study of lorry (truck) drivers reflects both these welcome developments. He contrasts the work situation and social relations of this occupational group with those typical of factory workers, and develops the central theme that "actors are alienated by structural constraints upon them which remain and persist even though they are unwelcome to the actors" (p. 2-3).

The basic explanatory framework relates alienation and job and work satisfaction to the expectations of those who become drivers, to the overall socio-technical system, to the organizational control structure, and to discrepant expectations of others in the driver's status set. Hollowell argues that through processes of self-selection and/or socialization at work, lorry drivers tend to be individualists who wish to have a large area of discretion in their job. The socio-technical system of lorry driving provides the basis for relatively high levels of job satisfaction. Drivers are free from direct supervision for much of the working day and have to make their own decisions in performing their work roles. On the other hand, their employers and external authorities, like the Ministry of Transport, impose constraints on them, which makes for lower levels of work satisfaction.

The nature of the occupation makes it difficult for drivers to meet their expected roles as husbands and fathers, or as citizens. In a majority of cases family strains are accommodated by an effort to compensate for absence from home, but at times "non-legitimated dissociation" between driver and home eventually leads to family breakdown. Due to the highly visible nature of their role and to their partially deserved reputation as deviants from accepted

norms, drivers are not accorded the occupational status they expect from private motorists and others with whom they interact, and they have been unable to organize effectively to press their claims. Drivers remain "alienated" from the wider society despite, and partly because of, the relative freedom of their job situation.

Hollowell's analysis is strengthened by the contrasts between three types of drivers—shunters, trampers, and trunks—and two types of employers. The typical career pattern of a driver is from "shunting" to "tramping" to "trunking," and finally back to "shunting" again. The "shunter" works only in one local area; most drivers start as shunters to gain experience and many return to what is a less well paid job in later life because it does not take them away from home. The "tramper" may be away for a week or more, working to no fixed route; he works long hours and sacrifices home life for higher earnings and considerable autonomy in his job. The "trunker" works at night, driving regularly on a fixed route, and is typically accorded the highest status in terms of both autonomy and job satisfaction. His is an intermediate position, however. The highly bureaucratic and nationalized British Road Services provides good conditions of employment but limits the driver's area of discretion at work. The smaller, private firms provide greater freedom from rules but tend to demand longer hours of work under worse conditions. Hollowell suggests that, for the majority, relatively better conditions do not compensate for loss of autonomy at work, and that the driver particularly resents a management which does not treat him as an expert and an equal.

This study, originally carried out for a doctoral thesis, is inevitably based on somewhat limited data. But the evidence, which is derived from interviews and observation, is used with care, and statistics are combined with quotations from interviews to provide a lively and convincing picture of the lorry driver. The concern to make the work theoretically relevant is apparent throughout, but the theoretical discussions are at times too brief and cryptic to be entirely clear or sufficiently precise. To take a particular example, Hollowell misuses and confuses the concept of an "open socio-technical system." He defines this as "one where the actor has some degree of choice in his behavior" (p. 91), but also uses it in its original sense as referring to the nature of the relationship between the system and its environment. Nevertheless, such defects do not detract seriously from a study which provides a convincing portrait of an unusual occupation, and is a very useful addition to the growing body of material

relevant for the comparative study of occupations.

RICHARD BROWN

*University of Durham, England*

*The Dynamics of School Integration: Problems and Approaches in a Northern City*, by DONALD H. BOUMA and JAMES HOFFMAN. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1968. 158 pp. Clothbound \$3.95. Paperbound, \$2.25.

This case study of the attempt by one middle-sized mid-western community to integrate its schools contributes very little to our understanding of the "dynamic of school integration." The book combines most of the weaknesses of the case study method with few of its advantages, and has little or no scholarly value. There is no discussion of methodology, no in-depth investigation of the key elements of the particular case, and no comparative data from other cases. There are teachings on the evils of segregation, the need for integration, and the naive view that the solution of school integration problems depends on getting the right articles "into the hands of the right people. . ." The book offers little for serious students of education, school integration, or public policy. It is, in fact, simply a recapitulation of some previous literature regarding the problems of ghetto schools and a superficial tracing of the history of the school integration issue in "Community X."

School integration may be our newest anachronism. Four years ago civil-rights protestors, calling for integrated education, triggered major school boycotts in most American cities. Now it appears that such demands for integration have all but disappeared. This decline in public enthusiasm for school integration has been accompanied by increasing research evidence bearing directly upon some of the issues at hand. The general consensus is that integration improves the academic performance of black students, while not diminishing the performance of whites. Moreover, compensatory education, the alternative to integration, has by and large failed to significantly raise the achievement level of ghetto students. Research findings aside, the issue of school integration cannot be considered solely, or even primarily, as an issue of relative academic achievement. School integration is a problem of public policy. Consequently, strategies of change must be considered in a political context. Unfortunately, this book all but ignores the politics inherent in community decision-making on an issue as volatile as school integration.

Although the authors claim they will provide an analysis of community decision-making, their discussion of the actual events that transpired in Community X is vague. Great emphasis is given to a citizens' committee report containing thirty-one recommendations that was presented to the local board of education. However, the report embodied only traditional suggestions: adopt a policy of open enrollment, maintain racial balance when designating future school sites, integrate the teaching and administrative staffs, lower teacher-pupil ratios, emphasize vocational education in inner-city schools, and explore the possibility of educational parks. And with all this clamor, we do not even know the outcome of the school integration issue for Community X. As for the report itself, "the questions of implementation remain."

Hoffman, an educator (Bouma is a sociologist) has written the strongest chapters: those on children, schools, and teachers. But even here, the authors' failure to acknowledge the political considerations involved in the dynamics of school integration leads them awry. They maintain that what is needed are teachers trained as "research analysts" (so they can comprehend the research) and then "... a way to get the right articles into the hands of the right people. . ." But this is naive; the right people will read the right articles if they are sufficiently interesting and to the point, i.e., if they deal not only with IQ scores and reading levels, but with demands, threats, vested interests, bureaucracy, local control and power. Because these latter issues are not discussed the book is for social scientists theoretically irrelevant as well as methodologically unsound. For ghetto residents it is simply irrelevant.

R. DAVID CORWIN

*New York University*

*Poverty and Politics: The Rise and Decline of the Farm Security Administration*, by SIDNEY BALDWIN. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1968. 438 pp. \$10.00.

This well-written research report rises far above the typical "case study" because of the thorough treatment and the theoretical insight that Professor Baldwin brings to his interpretation. He has made maximum use of diaries and interviews with the participants, and the text is extensively footnoted to these and other references. Its treatment of the rural poverty problem is excellent and very applicable to current policy questions.

The theoretical argument of this book revolves around goal displacement and goal suc-

cession and their supposed contribution to organizational maintenance. Baldwin rejects the biological or life history analogy, in which organizations follow a pattern of growth and decay determined solely by their own internal logic. Instead, he proposes an analytic paradigm: the internal drives and purposes of an organization are to be considered in a context provided by the temper of the times and the substantive nature of the problem being dealt with. Equilibrium of the organization within its environment over time is taken as an implicit norm, and the analysis of any individual case seeks to explain deviations from this norm.

There are some difficulties with the concept of equilibrium as used by Baldwin. First, it may not provide a valid description of behavior. Equilibrium may be an appropriate norm for analysis of organizational dynamics, but it is not necessarily the best strategy for organizational leaders as they seek to maintain their organizations. Given the uncertain tenure of agencies whose funding is controlled by legislatures, all "common sense" strategy for leaders of such agencies would be to strive for maximum influence and control over their programs. Each year they should ask for as much money as possible, seeking increased resources and responsibilities if they can get them. In this way they are protected against serious cutbacks when the legislative mood turns against them. In short, expansion rather than equilibrium seems to be an essential part of organizational vitality.

A second and more serious difficulty is that political reality is rarely as neatly structured as suggested by the mechanical connotations of "equilibrium." Especially during a period such as New Deal when change and experimentation predominate, constraints on most new agencies and programs would be so loose that a semblance of equilibrium would be very easy to achieve. The ultimate explanation for the demise of the Farm Security Administration, as Baldwin presents it, is simply that its leaders persisted in following courses of action which were "intendedly rational" in terms of their personal goals rather than in terms of organizational survival. Their ambitions eventually exceeded the very broad limits set for the FSA, in part because these limits were gradually being narrowed in favor of the overriding military goals of World War II.

In seeking to account for organizational survival, therefore, Baldwin falls back eventually on the goals pursued by bureaucrats and the elements in their personal makeup which lead them to pursue these goals rather than others. If we wish a new agency to achieve equilibrium, we should establish it during a time of crisis and policy experimentation; if we wish to insure the

survival of such an agency, we should select as its leaders men committed to organizational survival rather than to programmatic goals.

That these conclusions are not revolutionary is not a fault of Baldwin's analysis, but rather of his "case." Analysis of cases where the personal element was not so important would provide a valuable foil to this study of the FSA. What Baldwin has done most successfully is to outline an excellent framework for comparative analysis of agencies by pointing out the theoretical significance of various kinds of events and choices in the career of an agency. Additional cases of differing kinds would offer a further test of his tentative conclusions in this book.

ROBERT EYESTONE

*University of Minnesota*

*Children and Poverty: Some Sociological and Psychological Perspectives*, edited by NONA Y. GLAZER and CAROL F. CREEDON. Skokie, Illinois: Rand McNally and Co., 1968. 328 pp. Paperbound. \$3.95.

Students interested in the issues of poverty, especially as they involve the Negro in American society, will benefit from exposure to this excellent reader. The confrontation with poverty involves a social-forces emphasis rather than a symptom-treatment orientation. Designed to supplement undergraduate contemporary problems courses, the reader attempts to incorporate significant articles from both sociological and psychological sources.

The articles, drawn largely from 1964-1965 materials, are organized into five parts. The editors provide adequate integrating and elaborating introductions for each part. "Theoretical Perspectives," the initial section, establishes an analytic emphasis which is reasonably maintained throughout the reader. Two excerpts from Robert K. Merton's discussions of relative deprivation and the self-fulfilling prophecy initiate the "theory" section. They are followed by Dennis H. Wrong's essay on the oversocialized man and J. McVicker Hunt's assessment of "Changing Psychological Conceptions of Development." Part two of the reader is entitled "They Speak for Themselves" and includes brief excerpts which personalize the experience of poverty, such as Claude Brown's "Manchild In The Promised Land" and Warren Miller's "The Cool World." Part three, "Some Views of the Poor," includes such excellent articles as an assessment of historical aspects of poverty by Harold G. Vatter, Hyman Rodman's Middle Class Misconceptions about Lower-Class Families," S. M. Miller's typology of

American lower class, and Frank Riessman writing on the strengths of the poor.

The fourth part, entitled "Psychological Perspectives," could more appropriately be called "Socialization Perspectives." Emphasis is placed on the social context of child socialization. This section includes several literature reviews, such as "Sociological Correlates of Child Behavior" by John A. Clausen and Judith R. Williams, and "Socialization of Cognitive Modes in Children" by Robert D. Hess and Virginia C. Shipman. Part five—"Sociological Perspectives," begins with one of the most cogent articles in the reader, "Crucible of Identity: The Negro Lower-Class Family," by Lee Rainwater. The concluding selection, "War on Poverty—Political Pornography" by Saul D. Alinsky, emphasizes the recurrent theme that much of our current policy efforts concerning poverty is simply inappropriate.

The consistent quality of this book should hold student interest and set a format for sophisticated intellectual encounter with the issues of poverty. The book warrants consideration as a supplemental reader not only in a "problems" course and those dealing directly with Negro-poverty data, but also in courses and seminars dealing with personality development, the community, and the family.

GILBERT D. NASS

*University of Connecticut*

*Deviancy: The Psychology of Being Different*, by JONATHAN L. FREEDMAN and ANTHONY N. DOOB. New York: Academic Press, 1968. 158 pp. \$6.75.

This volume, by two psychologists, provides a refreshing view of deviancy in contrast to the traditional sociological treatment which tends to focus almost entirely on antisocial behavior. The authors conceive of deviancy as a "universal attribute" and define it as "being very different from the surrounding cultural and statistical norms." As such they argue that everyone at one time or another will be, and/or will feel, deviant.

Much of the literature concerning deviancy concentrates on specific types—mental illness, prostitution, drug addiction, etc., and is based on observations of individuals who have already become deviant. Furthermore, sociologists rather implicitly assume that all deviants have something in common, even though specific variables have yet to be isolated. The treatment here is almost unique, in that the focus of study is the effect of deviancy per se, without regard to any particular deviant characteristics.

The authors report a series of laboratory ex-

periments in which subjects are made to feel deviant through experimental manipulation, after which their behavior is compared with that of control individuals. This research analyzed the individual who perceives himself as deviant, the reactions of others to the deviance, and the effects on the deviant's affiliation, attitude change, compliance, and aggression.

High school and college students were paid by the hour to be subjects in the experiments and were run through in groups of five or six. To induce feelings of deviancy the subjects were given a complex series of "personality tests." After a waiting period for scoring, the investigator convinced some of the subjects that their scores indicated that they were quite different from most people, and others that they were quite similar to most people. Evidently the experimental manipulation produced the desired results. The authors report that they had difficulty in convincing some of the subjects after the experiment was completed that they were in fact not deviant.

The description of the experiments and the analysis of the data are interestingly and concisely presented. The main conclusions drawn from the experiments may be summarized as follows: 1) deviants will attempt to avoid contact with others when their deviancy has not been made public; 2) deviants tend to prefer associating with other deviants more than with non-deviants; 3) non-deviants tend to mistreat deviants.

While the results of the study are neither surprising or profound, the authors' approach to the study of deviant behavior, their use of the controlled experiment, and their careful and cautious analysis and interpretation of data make this short volume a contribution to the field.

In reading through this research report, three questions kept running through my mind: Is there anything left to be gained from a narrow definition of deviant behavior tied down to a social problems orientation? How much longer can sociologists afford to ignore experimental design both in the laboratory and in the field? Why is it that research monographs written by sociologists tend to be so much more verbose in comparison to those written by psychologists?

JAMES K. SKIPPER, JR.

*Case Western Reserve University*

*Drugs and Society*, by BERNARD BARBER. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1967. 212 pp. \$6.50.

*Drugs and Society* is a comprehensive research inventory of what is known (and ought to be

known) about the social uses of a wide variety of chemical substances. It includes a chapter on research and development in the drug industry, a chapter on the formal as well as informal educational processes by which physicians and laymen learn about drugs, and a chapter on the role conflicts of physicians and pharmacists as they use drugs in professional activity. In short, this monograph is concerned with an aspect of the sociology of health.

At what audience is the book directed? The blurb on the jacket says, "Policy-makers, social scientists, and laymen will find Professor Barber's book a key to understanding, guide for action, and a directive for research." This is a broad target, and perhaps should be narrowed. The book could easily become required reading in medical schools and colleges of pharmacy, giving these students an understanding of the social context in which drugs are developed, made known to the relevant professionals, prescribed, dispensed, and used. As such, it could be a vehicle for bringing sociological viewpoints as well as specific research findings to these professions.

Sociologists will probably find Chapter 5 ("Some Social Problems Connected with the Use of Drugs") most interesting. In it Professor Barber discusses (1) addiction, (2) "the problem of illegitimate control of behavior and thought," and (3) the problems resulting from the high cost of prescription drugs. Particularly in his discussion of the last topic, Barber draws together some of the threads of the earlier and more specialized chapters. Thus the reader can see how the social organization of American medical practice and of the pharmaceutical industry produces a \$4 billion expenditure for drugs annually, which is 20 to 25 per cent of the cost of all medical care. The tone of this discussion, as of the entire monograph, is studiously nonpartisan—as though the author felt an obligation to present all sides of every issue. Thus, Barber explains how promotion by drug firms of their particular brands of a generic drug leads to waste of money for the consumer, excessive inventories for the retail pharmacist, and confusion for the physician. But he is reluctant to condemn the pharmaceutical industry. "Certainly, given the place of advertising in our socio-economic system as a whole, there is nothing intrinsically bad about drug advertising, nor are there necessarily bad consequences from a 'large' volume of advertising. Many medical scientists and doctors are, however, disturbed by the advertising and have voiced strong, but empirically unsupported, complaints" (p. 56). Barber quotes statistics cited by one critic (Goodrich), showing that pharmaceutical firms spend more than \$1000 a year for each Ameri-

can physician in an effort to promote their products to the 200,000 doctors who write prescriptions. "Goodrich seems to think this is too much, but just how much would be enough is not clear" (p. 126). The book would have provided more lively reading if Barber had taken stands on some of these implicit policy issues.

JACKSON TOBY

*Rutgers University*

*Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society*, by ARTHUR NEIDERHOFER. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1967. 242 pp. \$5.95.

There is little doubt that we have entered a period of great interest in, and skepticism about, all things concerning the police. If the constable's lot has never been a happy one, it is due for a stretch of even greater unhappiness as virtually everyone turns cold, appraising eyes on the police role. Confronted on the one hand with a serious crime problem, which many persons think is getting more serious, and on the other with nationally televised examples of police crowd control and riot response, some very tough questions are being put to the men in blue about the appropriateness of their common practices and policies for our time. Like it or not, the police have become a pawn in current national elections and no candidate can fail to take a position about the police or about policing.

In this climate, now that television cameras have penetrated the "blue curtain" of secrecy that traditionally surrounds the police, social scientists of various sorts have found it timely and respectable to investigate and report on diverse aspects of the so-called police problem. In what was literally a desert of scholarly research and writing a few years ago, has now appeared a motley collection of oases in the form of books, monographs, research articles, law review notes, pamphlets and reports of training grants, all dealing in some measure with police matters. By and large, this new literature and new research falls into one of two general categorical approaches with, normally, little attempt to bridge them. The first has to do with police *status*. Here the concerns are primarily with who the police are, where they come from, the types of personalities attracted to police work and the kinds of attitudes and values—toward self and toward others—developed within the occupational role. The second general approach has to do with the nature of the police *function*, relating to issues in policing rather than to issues in becoming and

remaining a policeman. The focus here is on what police do and do not do, how they make decisions, establish policies, develop practices, and in general how they respond to crime, disorder, and related enforcement problems in abstraction from the personal characteristics of policemen.

The Neiderhoffer book is squarely in the first of these two categories. It is a study and analysis of factors involved in becoming and remaining a policeman, with its concomitant effects on attitudes and personality. It makes no attempt to systematically analyze police conduct or decision-making, or to describe the way the police operate in meeting day-by-day enforcement problems. The world of conflicting demands, operational decisions, and the reality of discretion and judgment are implicit as background for the Neiderhoffer analysis but they act primarily as reference points for his study of police "cynicism."

Now it can be forcefully argued that what everyone is calling the problem of "Police in a Democratic Society" can most meaningfully be approached by studying what the police do rather than who they are. It seems somewhat esoteric to focus on the police psyche before taking a close and systematic look at police operational behavior. Ranking policemen on an authoritarianism scale or correlating class background with job satisfaction can only lead to the rather specious conclusion that it would be nice if better people became policemen (with the "better" pretty much undefined). If we accomplish recruitment of better educated policemen (assuming this is the goal), each with an "aggressive but not too aggressive" personality, have we really spoken to issues of street control during political conventions, patrol in the ghettos, arrest and interrogation of suspects, the use of wiretap, or the many other controversial but critical issues in law enforcement? Can we indeed recruit "better" policemen until we analyze, evaluate and agree upon the dimensions of these operational problems?

While the analysis of the policeman's status is not my particular cup of tea, I must say that Neiderhoffer does this in an engaging and interesting manner. For one thing, he writes extremely well. One gets the feel of the New York recruit going through the academy and then hitting the streets on his own in the tough world of the precincts. Cynicism indeed. And Neiderhoffer includes as an appendix a study he conducted of the development of cynicism in young officers as they enter and progress in the force and the reduction in this cynicism as they approach the end of their careers as police officers. There are some anomalies in the book. His analysis of discrimination against Jewish police

officers is surely a local problem. He inserts a gratuitous chapter dealing with some recent Supreme Court decisions up through *Escobedo v. Illinois* including, of all things, *Mallory v. U.S.*, a case with implications only for Washington, D.C. and other federal police. This chapter, though brief, is virtually irrelevant to the rest of the book, but does give Neiderhoffer an opportunity to say that, unlike many of his counterparts, he feels that many of the recent Supreme Court decisions were correct.

The book is worth reading, primarily because it is interesting, but it does not make a serious contribution to the analysis of policing issues. In fairness, it must be said that it did not intend to do this and therefore did not fail. But for this very reason, the focus on status rather than function, it lacks impact. It probably will remain of most value to those persons who are interested in analyzing occupations outside the context of decisions and consequences of the decisions made by members of these occupations.

DONALD J. NEWMAN

State University of New York  
at Albany

*Crime and Industrial Society in the 19th century*, by J. J. TOBIAS. New York: Schocken Books, 1968. 288 pp. \$11.00.

This interesting and well-documented study begins with a brief general introduction which places the history of crime in the nineteenth century in historical perspective and explains why the author chooses to concentrate on qualitative evidence rather than on quantitative analysis. The main body of the book deals with the criminal scene from 1815 to about 1900.

After examining the appositeness of the nineteenth-century term "criminal class"—"a class of a separate and distinct character from the rest of the community"—the author vividly describes aspects of juvenile and female crime and the "institutions" upon which criminals depended. Whether or not these institutions constituted a "regular system" is perhaps more open to doubt than the author or many contemporaries have suggested. The subsequent chapter on "changes over time and differences between places" is not as searching as it might be. However unsatisfactory the quantitative evidence, there is more to be said about the "rhythms" of criminal activity than is stated here, and the account of the similarities and differences between cities—Leeds, Manchester and Birmingham, for example—would have been strengthened had more attention been paid to other social indicators besides crime.

Nearly a hundred pages follow on "factors

affecting crime", all of which are treated briefly (sometimes too briefly) and separately. These include poverty, population growth (the sections on the effects of urbanization are not sufficiently critical), education, housing, drinking, "the gulf between classes", transport, machinery, money, punishment, changes in the criminal law, the extension of the police services, the poor law and "legal and administrative change generally." The order is not convincing, and little attempt is made to compare the different factors, some of which obviously operated in reverse directions. The detailed references are more interesting than the generalizations, many of which are tantalizingly vague. The author emphasizes throughout that he is dealing with "probabilities and possibilities," and his conclusions are tentative.

Crime was at a high level (by later standards) during the first half of the nineteenth century, which was a period of high birth and death rates, substantial internal migration, urban congestion, and inadequate education. It fell from the 1850's onward, however, as employment opportunities and real incomes rose, as urban dwellers became accustomed to town life, and as the police system was established. As a result, the "criminal class" diminished in size. In the last three pages, references are made for the first time to the conclusions of Dr. Downes on "delinquent sub-cultures" in contemporary America, and it is claimed that British nineteenth-century experience is "at least consonant" with Dr. Downes's thesis. Doubt sets in again, however, in the last paragraph, where the author remarks that "it is impossible to be sure what really happened, let alone why it happened." An appendix on "the use of statistics" is more forthright: it claims, on the basis of evidence collected from Leeds, that "the statistics of crime in the nineteenth century are of very little use for the purpose of this book."

This final claim is more forthright than it should be, just as some of the earlier analyses are too sketchy and incomplete. As Barbara Wootton has argued in her *Social Science and Social Pathology*—not cited by the author—statistical patterns of crime may be extremely misleading, and nineteenth-century statistics, in particular, are particularly hazardous despite the immense effort made by contemporaries to collect and explain them. Nonetheless, they should not be completely ignored in an account of what happened or why it happened. Moreover, if qualitative evidence is to be the sole basis of historical speculation, studies at greater length and depth, covering shorter periods and more limited areas than those studied by Dr. Tobias, must be conducted. This book, with all its deficiencies, is a valuable and highly readable

survey. Its best parts are those in which the author lingers over anecdotes relating to juvenile criminals or describes with admirably chosen quotations the work of the men who trained them or the fences who made possible the operation of the thieves' market. The later nineteenth century, however, deserves much fuller treatment.

ASA BRIGGS

*University of Sussex*

*Suicide*, edited by JACK P. GIBBS. New York: Harper and Row, 1968. 338 pp. Paperbound. \$3.75.

Many readers in social problems are not worth the time it takes to request a complimentary copy. There are too many of them; they contain no systematic theory or empirical research; they are not text books; and most of the contributions have been published elsewhere. Happily, Jack P. Gibbs' *Suicide* is an exceptional social problems reader. I am taken by Gibbs' candor and critical commentary; he is his own reviewer. Gibbs originally did not believe the book was needed, since too much had already been written on this subject. What changed his mind was the pressing need for continuity in assessing theory. Paradoxically, since much has been written on the sociology of suicide, more is needed.

Accordingly, Gibbs asked sociologists Porterfield, Labovitz, Martin, and Rushing to write original chapters for this volume, stressing the development of both the theoretical and empirical study of suicide. These chapters, together with Gibbs' commentary, make the book a success. Porterfield provides an almost overwhelming mass of information on various approaches to the study of suicide. Labovitz argues that no theory can adequately explain variation in the suicide rate in terms of single classifications like marital status, occupation, age, or urbanization. An adequate general theory of suicide has yet to be developed. Martin adds that most general theories of suicide cannot be tested, because they cannot be falsified. An imaginative critical analysis is made of Durkheim's, Henry and Short's, and Gibbs and Martin's general theories of suicide. One pregnant suggestion is that future research should focus on the sociological past of suicides—what I would call "suicidal careers"—to help merge psychiatric and sociological approaches. Rushing claims an interpersonal causal sequence to suicide, reminiscent of the symbolic interaction perspective of George H. Mead and, more recently, Howard Becker. He states that "suicide is most probable when others view an individual's situation

as hopeless, expect him to attempt suicide, and evaluate him negatively."

The major question of the book is what characteristics distinguish suicides from non-suicides—as groups and as individuals. Part II focuses on individual suicides. Hendin claims that suicides are distinguished by their attitudes toward death, as revealed in dreams immediately before their suicides, and advises interviewing serious suicide attempters about their dreams. Adler's paper is very weak—what more can I say? Kilpatrick maintains that suicide occurs only in severely neurotic individuals. Dorpat, Jackson, and Ripley present data which show that death of a parent in one's childhood predisposes one to later completed suicide. Farberow, Shneidman, and Neuringer argue that suicides tend to be "dependent-dissatisfied" types; i.e., continually complaining, demanding, insisting, and controlling.

Part III includes material on rates associated with particular social statuses, other types of violence (e.g., homicide and assault), as well as anthropological, legal, and prevention essays. Breed's well-known paper on the inverse relationship between social class and suicide and the direct relationship between downward social mobility and suicide is included. Pokorny's and Palmer's papers come to opposite conclusions about the relationship between homicide and suicide. Shneidman argues that suicides tend to be depressed, disoriented, defiant, and dependent-dissatisfied. Finally, there is an essay by Dean on the legal aspects of suicide.

Gibbs' general conclusion is that suicides are distinguished from nonsuicides by variation in disruption of social relations. More exactly the general thesis of the book is that "(1) the greater the incidence of disrupted social relations in a population, the higher the suicide rate of that population; and (2) all suicide victims have experienced a set of disrupted social relations that is not found in the history of nonvictims" (p. 17). Gibbs stresses that he is asserting a thesis, not a theory. As a matter of fact, the statement dealing with suicide rates is simply a rephrasing of postulate number one of Gibbs and Martin's status integration theory ("The suicide rate of a population varies inversely with the stability and durability of social relationships within that population"). This raises two interesting questions. First, if postulate one can be tested directly, why is the theory of status integration necessary? Second, is "disrupted social relations" really a differentiating variable? One could argue convincingly that the greater the incidence of disrupted social relations in a population, the higher the homicide rate, the alcoholism rate, the prostitution rate, the narcotic addiction rate, etc., etc. The

thesis is much too general, in a negative sense, to be very helpful. Furthermore, I think that the second part of the thesis is false. My study of New Hampshire suicides revealed that suicide attempters were far more socially disrupted than suicide completers.

Nevertheless, Gibbs does critically assess the contributed articles and posit a thesis. His uncompromising self-criticism, the four fine original articles, and the quality and representativeness of the reprinted selections all make this book superior to most readers in social problems.

RONALD MARIS

*Dartmouth College*

*Crisis at St. John's: Strike and Revolution on the Catholic Campus*, by JOSEPH SCIMECCA and ROLAND DAMIANO. New York: Random House, 1968. 213 pp. \$5.95.

Ostensibly the concern of *Crisis* is to "describe the Roman Catholic community whose social, educational, and religious needs are served by St. John's University, and to draw some implications about the mentality that the community and the university share." Unfortunately, neither the substance nor the boundaries of this "community" materialize, and the implications drawn are typically judgmental, even accusatory, rather than interpretive and tentative.

*Crisis* has several foci, usually fuzzy. It has elements of a study of a social movement; it makes provocative comments on Catholic higher education, its history, its quality, its prospects; it explores explanations for authoritarian personalities and conservative political ideologies; it reviews the response of the Irish Catholic minority to a predominantly Protestant culture. But, for the most part, these subjects are introduced in discrete essays. The strike by the faculty, which began in early 1966, recedes into insignificance in several of the chapters.

The authors are both faculty members who participated in the strike, but they fail to take advantage of their participant observer opportunities. Rather, the report of the dismissal of thirty-one faculty members and the description of the ensuing strike become a backdrop for a series of rebukes of American Catholicism in general and Irish Catholics in particular.

Although the authors state that their "emphasis will be sociological and therefore will obviously refrain from judgments on theological and dogmatic issues," their decrees deny their stated intention. One reads, not as an hypothesis but a declaration, that St. John's is "the culminating instrument in the establishment of an



authoritarian view of reality"; or, "The concept of change is not readily available to the average Catholic mentality"; or, "The Roman Catholic Church demands of its believers a high degree of intellectual acquiescence and obedience"; or, "At St. John's civil libertarians are equated with civil libertines."

Nowhere in the book are there more than fragmentary data on the attitudes of St. John's students or faculty, or anything other than impressionistic accounts of teaching methods and mechanisms of isolation and control. The portrayal of the student body is that of Irish Catholic youths from working class families who aspire to work in insurance company offices. Are there no Italian Catholics, or non-Catholics, or out-of-state students?

The reader gets smatterings of historical information about the University, but hardly enough to understand its heritage and its dynamics. It is reported that the enrollment more than doubled (6,000 to 13,000) in the decade before the strike, but reasons for the growth are not given. Although the role of the family is emphasized, one learns little about the employment rates, voting behavior, welfare needs, family composition, or the ethnic composition of proximate neighborhoods.

The authors charge that St. John's "works with, instead of on, the narrowness, prejudice, and social irresponsibility which the students bring with them." These charges may be redirected toward the authors. They also insist that "The Christian ideals of love, brotherhood, and charity get short shrift at St. John's"; charity is notably missing in the book.

Surely the strike by almost two hundred members of the university faculty was an epochal event. The current crisis in Catholic higher education has profound implications for both religion and education in America. For publishing certain documents, for capturing certain moods, and especially for even daring to study sociologically a faculty in crisis—no one to my knowledge, for example, has undertaken a study of faculty responses to the Free Speech Movement of 1964–1965 in Berkeley—this book, despite its several weaknesses, merits close study and some praise.

LEONARD D. CAIN, JR.

*Sacramento State College*

*Prayer in the Public Schools: Law and Attitude Change* by WILLIAM K. MUTR, JR. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1967. 170 pp. \$5.95.

This is a before-and-after study of attitudes and behavior of 28 school system officials in a

medium-sized city, oriented around the Supreme Court's 1963 school prayer decision. The author melds four patterns of attitudinal change (derived from classic legal sources) with cognitive dissonance theory, creating an approach which emphasizes the background, personality, and cognitive factors affecting responses of individual actors. The four patterns of attitude change are *nullist* (retention of previous attitudes and exaggeration of the coercive effect of the law), *backlash* (accentuation of the original attitude and derogation of the law), *conversion* (change of attitude to that consistent with the spirit of the law), and *liberation* (solving a conflicted attitude situation by adopting the stance of the law). Persons holding law-approved attitudes from the beginning are called *vindicated*.

The data are derived from two sets of interviews based on the same schedule of questions. The first interviews took place a few months before the Supreme Court decision, while the second set was collected a year or more later, after the school board had banned devotional activities from the schools. The 28 respondents included all seven school board members, the superintendent and his deputy, and a one-in-two sample of the city's school principals. The city is characterized as Midwestern, with a chiefly working-class population of 200,000, of whom 60% are Catholic and 15% Jewish.

The "before" interviews yielded four distinct categories of attitude which the author conceptualizes as "self-images," since they reflect basic viewpoints concerning how public school system should conduct itself in regard to religion. These are a "unionist" view, signifying a desire to give children religious uplift; the "trustee" position, holding that the schools should respond to parental preferences—in this case, apparently continuation of devotional services; the "patriot" view, which sees religion as a commonplace element of American culture and thereby an integral part of the schools' functions; and the "separatist" position, a more or less complete exclusion of religious activities from the schools. Individual policy preferences of the respondents were not always consistent with their views on the proper function of the school system, except in the case of the "separatists." Attitudes toward the law and the Supreme Court also diverged from policy preferences, and the author neatly identifies equivocation and conflict in internal attitude structures prior to the Supreme Court's decision.

The second series of interviews uncovered modifications of both "self-image" and private policy preferences. In general, respondents' attitudes moved toward one of the two poles of approval-disapproval, with the majority devel-

oping more affirmative views toward the Court and the ending of prayers in the schools. But some who had previously been indifferent or even mildly affirmative "backlashed" and took an opposition stance, and others found it convenient to mask their acquiescence by accentuating the compulsion of the law. Despite highly personalized reasons for individual responses, the author organizes the results into typologies of attitude change roughly commensurate with the four original patterns, and finally generates several propositions about the relationship of law to attitude change.

Muir's credentials include experience in the practice of law as well as a Ph.D. in political science, and he has employed the skills of both with imagination and profit in this study, one version of which won the 1966 Edward S. Corwin Award of the American Political Science Association. Acknowledging the exploratory nature of his microinquiry, he has creditably extracted maximum mileage from his data. As he suggests, future investigations will have to pay greater attention to social, structural, and behavioral factors which establish the context in which attitude change may occur. For example, the relative saliency of schoolhouse religion is not examined, despite occasional references to a contemporary controversy over the school board's program to end *de facto* segregation; at least some of the considerable attitude shift found might be attributable to relatively low intensity of commitment in regard to religion. Nor are respondents' social and political reference groups explicitly analyzed in the same manner as are individual views toward the law and the Supreme Court—although the author concludes (p. 125) that friendship and work groups were the most crucial determinant in resolving equivocated attitudes. Little provision is made for differences in respondents' concepts of their official roles (the use of "self-image" overlaps to some extent with role concepts, but is distinctive in that it pertains to preference for the public school system's policies and not to the respondent's obligations as an officeholder), but the data indicate that school board members are very different from principals in their predecision attitudes, decisional processes, and post-prayer-ban behavior. Also, some additional attention is due the actual events which form part of this context; practices in the city's schools are never carefully defined, nor is there any indication of the impact of the school board's prayer ban.

Finally, a note might be entered concerning the manner in which the site of research is "masked" in published reports. Social scientists have clear obligations concerning the sociopolitical consequences of their work, but they

also run some risks of undermining the explanatory power of their analyses if they change important characteristics of the context in order to conceal the identity of the community involved. This study seems to approach some sort of boundary in this respect. The author's commendable concern for the privacy of his subjects led him to construct a fictitious "Midwestern" city with rare, if not startling population characteristics, history, and surrounding circumstances. For example, where in the Midwest could one find a community that was 75 percent Catholic and Jewish, so that the school personnel on whom the study is based included 18 Catholics (11 Irish, 6 Italian, 1 Polish; 14 of the 19 principals and both superintendents are in this group), six Jews, and only four Protestants? Those concerned with the importance of context and political culture might well feel that the substance and the mix of explanatory variables was substantially altered in the process of masking.

As a means of demonstrating the complexity of personal factors which bear upon behavioral and attitudinal change in response to authoritative stimuli, however, this study is timely and instructive. It provides valuable insight into an aspect of local officials' responses to the Supreme Court and the law which has not elsewhere been examined in this detail or from this perspective. Indeed, the subject of school prayers has inspired most of the existing and in-progress research on compliance processes, and perhaps we may look forward to more comprehensive theory as a result.

KENNETH M. DOLBEARE

*University of Wisconsin*

*Readings in the Sociology of Religion*, edited by JOAN BROTHERS. Long Island City, New York: Pergamon Press, 1967. 237 pp. Clothbound, \$6.50. Paperbound, \$4.50.

This compact British volume is mistitled. Not a "reader" in the usual American sense of a collection of short articles on various subjects to supplement an undergraduate textbook, Brothers' work would be better entitled "How Sociologists of Religion See Themselves: A Symposium on the Condition of the Field." This book, which is really written for graduate students and professional sociologists of religion, presents representatives of the best theoretical and methodological thinking in the field over the past ten years. It is a must for anyone who wants to go beyond the traditional Durkheim-Weber-Troeltsch approach and get a sense of the state of the field in 1967. Emphasis is on

theoretical approaches rather than specific studies, as explained in the editor's lucid introduction.

The major problems considered are the nature of sociology of religion, the relation between sociology of religion and other areas of sociological theory, and the three major types of research now underway: "religious sociology," "institutional analysis," and "religion and society." Continental, British, and American sociologists contribute their differing points of view. P. H. Vrijhof, a Dutchman, and J. A. Banks, an Englishman, deal with the problem of defining sociology of religion, which in large part means the problem of defining religion itself. Both writers point out that emphasis has changed from studying how religion affects social behavior to an analysis of how social factors determine religious behavior. Vrijhof, in fact, suggests that perhaps our religious ideas should be constructed from the point of view of sociological research, such as a reinterpretation of the theological doctrine of incarnation.

Articles by Talcott Parsons, Lord Simey, and Edward Vogt discuss the relation of sociology of religion to other fields of sociological theory, and re-examine Weber's "value-free" approach. All three writers consider it unreal to separate facts from values in the social sciences, pointing out that each sociologist's own background is very likely to affect his conclusions.

Half the volume is devoted to six articles on the three major types of research currently being conducted. (1) "Religious sociology," the collection of religious statistics of various kinds, usually concerned primarily with their practical applications to pastoral work, is associated chiefly with research institutes in France, Belgium, and Holland. It is represented by an article by its founder, Canon Gabriel Le Bras, followed by critical articles by E. Poulat and H. Carrier, S. J. Their major criticisms of this approach are its repetitiveness, lack of fresh direction, and emphasis on immediate practicality relating to some particular pastoral problem.

(2) "Institutional analysis," conducted mostly in the United States and England, is an empirical analysis of how religious institutions work, particularly the parish. It is basically similar to studies of non-religious institutions, requiring no prior knowledge of the group on the part of the investigator (though most are members of the church bodies they study). A selection by J. H. Fichter, S. J. on "the urban parish" represents this approach.

(3) The "religion and society" approach, represented by Herberg and Lenski, is peculiarly American, taking into account our increasing secularism. In the last article, however, Lenski notes that religion is as strong an influence as

social class in affecting behavior, thus reversing the majority view among sociologists of religion.

This reviewer highly recommends this volume of "readings" to anyone desiring an overview of the field, particularly with reference to the works of Continental and British authors who less frequently find their way into American journals.

DOROTHY (CORBETT) WERTZ

*Rhode Island College*

*Readings in Social Problems*, edited by JOHN SCANZONI. Boston, Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon, 1967. 463 pp. Paperbound. No price indicated.

Dead and dying collections of readings on social problems already burden dusty bookshelves and tired minds. They are aimed at a trapped and unreceptive audience, the undergraduates, who naively demand the kind of up-to-date relevance which professional sociology can rarely provide. On this battlefield arrives yet another book of readings; it demonstrates the present difficulty of making social problems both professionally respectable and practically relevant.

John Scanzoni's reader achieves its professional, marketing aim. The student is exposed to a wide spectrum of current research on social issues, defined as "some specific area(s) over which there is significant disagreement or conflict as to 'proper' values and behavior." Individual articles are broadly organized to give examples of social issues which arise within major institutions, the stratification system, and over the question of deviance. The range of selections gives an overview of the style and content of sociological writings from the empirical (survey research on attitudes toward war and sex) to the speculative (discussions of leisure, mass society, and automation). Major issues of population pressure, war, race, and students are touched upon in various sections. The student will even find that the last chapters contain advice on the merits of dropping acid (to see God or to have brain damage or both).

Although professionally representative and respectable, the Scanzoni reader is only remotely relevant to an understanding of current social problems. Like most current texts in the field, this one has two major and related flaws: fragmentation and the ideology of value-free sociology. Both encourage confusion, obfuscation, and the conviction that social problems are too complicated to act upon in the large.

Twenty-five years ago, C. W. Mills complained that social problems texts presented a

piecemeal, fragmented view of society (non-fragmented being ever suspected of totalitarianism), as exemplified by a low level of theoretical abstraction, atomization, and little emphasis on total structural issues. Scanzoni's reader shows how much the field has remained the same since that time. None of the individual pieces fit together. The promising framework is more a professional facade of hollow concepts than a genuine organizing principles. Abstract concepts of institution and differentiation provide no conceptual unity, no substitute for a theory of conflict or some slight indication of what structural features might be crucial for an understanding of social issues. In short, the reader has no sense of the essential or the whole; its organization is merely semantic.

Equally specious and semantic is the editor's stated professional orientation to the question of science and values. He proposes the fairy tale of value-free sociology, a tale belied by his logic and selections. We are told that "present-day sociologists bend over backwards to avoid being tagged as social ameliorists. They want to be known instead simply as social scientists . . . the scientific method demands a value-free approach . . . . Instead of identifying certain norms of behavior as either 'desirable' or 'undesirable,' both researcher and student take the position of the observer, objectively witnessing processes of social conflict and controversy." Rhetoric is apparently sufficient to equate "objective" and "value-free," but Scanzoni gives no clue to the meaning of either. Students looking in the text for proof of value-free sociology will find proof only of fraud. Where is the non-partisan sociologist objectively witnessing social conflict? Is he Seymour Martin Lipset, who is selected as the sole interpreter of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement? His interpretation is clearly one-sided and administration-oriented. Is he W. Lloyd Warner, who tells us that we must understand the inevitable hierarchy of classes in order to adjust to it? Is he the editor who has made a dispassionate selection of articles? Why then does he take the very controversial and partisan McCone commission report as objective evidence on Watts? More generally, if a book on social issues is to show many sides of conflict, why is there not a single study of the more powerful forces in society which can label and determine what in fact is a "social issue"? The bewildered student might be forced to conclude that (1) the organization and contents of this book are "establishment liberal," for the author carefully points out values only in selected leftist and rightist positions; (2) "value-free" exists less as a scientific norm of objectivity than as a justificatory part of liberal ideology.

As Scanzoni himself suggests, the social pathologist of yesterday with his ameliorist ideology has today evolved into the "objective" and "value-free" social scientist. Professionalized and totally assimilated to the large-scale marketing organizations of industry, government, and the university, he is still writing texts, not out of conviction and passion, but out of professional duty and monetary gain. In face of this scientific progress, the individual sociologist may prosper, but the discipline suffers, and the student must continue to waste his money and time on unprofitable professional irrelevancies.

JOHN HORTON

*The University of California,  
Los Angeles*

*Social Psychology: Individuals, Groups, Societies*, by JOHN W. McDAVID and HERBERT HARARI. New York: Harper and Row, 1967. 479 pp. \$10.00.

This book contains the hodgepodge of tenuously-related topics common to introductory texts. The usual classical (old) theories and studies are reviewed perfunctorily and dispassionately. Students will depart with an armament of simplistic, naive, and even anachronistic statements useful for dormitory bull-session assaults.

One problem lies in the authors' aim to write a psychologically-biased text. From this perspective they recognize in the introduction three basic models: psychoanalytic, cognitive, and behavioral. Symbolic interactionism and exchange theory are purposely ignored. In actual practice, though, much of the book's discussions invoke a fourth perspective: an antiquated, Victorian sociology.

In particular, the sections on socialization and deviance display a simplistic, thoughtless view of social process. The simplicity lies in tendencies to hypostatize groups, to resurrect Oversocialized Man, and to treat with reverence the dubious notion of national personality type. These errors are thoughtless in view of a later chapter's discussion on group structure and dynamics. Why do the authors conceptualize groups as amorphous masses until page 272?

There are other recurrent annoyances for the sociological reader. Roles are defined as "typical behavior"; norms are equated with values. The only noted source of deviance is held to be "inadequate socialization." There is a peculiar chapter on collective behavior, in which the origin of racial riots is placed with "certain lawless and criminal elements" who proved too seductive for "law-abiding citizens."

Perhaps most serious is a failure to treat variable phenomena. (Indeed, "variable" is not listed in the index and appears once, in an appendix on methodology.) That is, the predominant forms of presentation are definition, typology, and generalization concerning modalities (individuals tend to . . .). To illustrate, the chapter on leadership defines power and discusses in detail French and Raven's typology. Generalizations are on the level of "effective leaders display sensitivity, flexibility, and responsibility." The result is a word-game too characteristic of texts, in which the reader thinks that he has been given explanations for human behavior. On a trivial level, he has. Yet he has also been deceived as to the complexity and richness of social interaction, as well as presented a distorted image of the intent of scientific endeavor. The unsophisticated reader is hardly likely to consider that better questions could possibly be raised.

Stylistically, the book is dull and humorless. It is unlikely to meet McDavid and Harari's goal to "excite and enthuse" students. In imitation of others, there are sets of annotations which interrupt chapter development. The popularity of this technique is puzzling. First, it misplaces emphasis upon experimental results, to the neglect of theoretical concerns and questions of methodological adequacy. Second, as for the motivating value of annotations, would you have become a sociologist had your first exposure been through abstracts?

McDavid and Harari do make an important contribution, one which raises a provocative question for theorists. Specifically, they develop the notion of a "Cheeseburger Self"—the cheese of self-conception melted upon the burger self. *Quelle intrigue!* What is the bun?

CLARICE S. STOLL

*Johns Hopkins University*

*Statistics in Social Research: An Introduction*, by ROBERT S. WEISS. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1968. 369 pp. \$8.95.

Robert Weiss' *Statistics in Social Research* is designed to coordinate "statistical ideas and techniques to the problems of social research," and to serve "as a guide to the management of quantitative social research" (p.v.). Although the author's intent is to reach a wide audience—consisting of undergraduate and graduate students as well as professionals—the text's primary utility will be found in introductory sequences in social statistics.

Contained in this volume are discussions of descriptive and inferential statistics, ranging from basic estimates of central tendency and

dispersion to an introductory statement on the uses of analysis of variance designs. Both parametric and non-parametric measures receive consideration. Generally, the coverage of statistical techniques is sustained at an informed, interesting and readable level; particularly worthwhile are the statements on descriptive techniques, probability and measures of association. In addition, many instructors will find the code sheets appended to the volume, covering interviews from a sample of one hundred urban women, highly useful in developing sensitivity to the concrete uses of statistical analysis.

The apparent thrust of Weiss' volume is to place the issues of statistical analysis into the broader concerns of methodology and research. Hence, the heart of the text, namely the chapters on statistics, are prefaced with statements on measurement and data processing and followed by the proverbial chapter on writing *The Report*. Interspersed are comments on J. S. Mills' methods of agreement and disagreement, on the role of test factors in survey analysis, on causality and on other interesting vignettes. The intent of the juxtaposition of statistics and methodology is, of course, most admirable: to impart to students not merely statistical techniques or bland rules of research but rather a coordinated perspective on the acquisition of verified knowledge about the social world. Yet, this juxtaposition is not without its costs. Chief among them is a question on the possibility of coordinating a reasonable discussion of methods and statistics—in the confines of a three hundred page volume—without some injustice to both topics. How many undergraduates, for example, will fully understand the brief comments in the second chapter on the unfolding technique and latent structure analysis or be able to follow Weiss' injunction—after seven pages of introduction—"to describe the technical problems . . . [of] measurement, sample selection, data processing, analysis of data, and communication of results" in prominent journals of sociology? While I would not defend professional journals as bastions of esoteric knowledge, and while I would be interested in the results of a novice's gaining appreciation of technical sociological reports, I question whether the resulting experience could be anything less than bewildering. Similarly, some standard topics—as for example, multiple and partial correlation—are omitted, and other issues—as for example, an extended discussion of the differences between parametric and non-parametric statistics, as well as the flexibility in their respective assumptions—are covered only in passing fashion. It is not clear whether such omissions are limitations; that is a point for instructors to decide.

I do not mean to detract from the quality of this volume, for it does offer a clear introduction to statistics and is a welcome relief from frequently perplexing discussions of the subject. However, the book should not be mistaken for an advanced text in statistics or a comprehensive discussion of methodology and social research. Within the modest aims of an introductory sequence in statistics, Weiss' volume should fit in very well, and for this use, I would heartily recommend its adaptation.

JOEL I. NELSON

*University of Minnesota*

*Population and People*, by EDWARD G. STOCKWELL. Chicago, Illinois: Quadrangle Books, 1968. 307 pp. \$6.95.

*Population and People* is one in a series of works issued by Quadrangle Books on the problems of American Society. In reviewing this book, I will focus on two questions: First, does Stockwell achieve the objectives he sets for himself? Second, how useful is the book for beginning population courses, which is the level at which the material is presented?

Stockwell hopes to accomplish three objectives: "(1) to acquaint the reader with the most significant population trends in the United States; (2) to give him an appreciation of the very close relationship between population trends and a wide variety of problems which society must face; and (3) more important, to stimulate the reader to pursue the various topics more thoroughly on his own" (p. ix-x). Stockwell accomplishes his first objective to a much greater extent than he does the other two. He presents one of the best popular reviews of the American demographic structure available. The presentation is organized around a rather standard conception of demography, with separate chapters devoted to Mortality (Ch. 2), Fertility (Ch. 3), Migration and Mobility (Ch. 4), Population Size and Growth (Ch. 5), Population Composition (Ch. 6), and Population Distribution (Ch. 7). The discussions go beyond a dry recounting of facts and attempt to tie demographic change into the broader spectrum of social change. Normative, behavioral, and ecological factors in their relationships to population phenomena are all stressed. Thus the reader is led to the conclusion that the demographic structure is one of the most basic elements of the human social condition.

Stockwell's second objective is to show the relationship between aspects of population and pressing social problems. The achievement of this objective is hindered by two factors. First,

from the general nature of the discussions it would seem that population is related to *every* social problem from air pollution to juvenile delinquency. While each of the social conditions discussed certainly have demographic aspects, Stockwell fails to show clearly what is uniquely demographic as opposed to social organizational or social psychological. Second, and perhaps more serious, is the limited attention given to important social issues—such as urbanization, race, and poverty—to which demography is relevant. Although the discussion of urbanization is comprehensive, the treatments of both race and poverty are rather brief and general and, therefore, inadequate in terms of their importance as social issues. Demography has more to say about these subjects than Stockwell allows.

Stockwell's third goal is to stimulate the reader to follow up various topics on his own. To accomplish this, he states: "To this end, suggestions for further reading will be found at the end of each chapter" (p. x). Even though these chapter bibliographies list all of the standard demographic source materials, it is doubtful that simple listing of additional references will provide the necessary motivation to read further.

How useful would this book be for beginning demography courses? For three reasons I think it would be poor pedagogy to use this book as the only reading in such a course. First, the discussions of demographic methodology are too brief. For example, there is almost no discussion of the various alternative fertility measures and related measurement and interpretation problems. Second, the book generally lacks a comparative perspective. With the exception of a few topics, there is no attention given to non-American populations. And, third, there is an uncritical use of demographic theories. Demographic explanations seem to be rather cut and dried. The reader does not get the notion that population theory is in a state of evolution with many interesting, challenging, and still unanswered questions.

In summary, *Population and People* is well written, well organized, and presents a comprehensive picture of the American population, but its usefulness for beginning demography courses is somewhat limited.

KENT P. SCHWIRIAN

*Ohio State University*

*Population in Perspective*, edited by LOUISE B. YOUNG. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968. 460 pp. Clothbound, \$10.00. Paperbound, \$4.95.

In the last few years governments have in-

creasingly sponsored birth control programs. On the other hand, conservative cultural and religious groups continue to condemn the use of contraceptive devices. In view of these facts a book that aims at helping "the [lay] reader achieve perspective on the population problem" should be especially useful (p. vi).

The selections in this book are divided into four parts: relationships between population variables and biological factors (Part I), economic and political factors (Part II), religious and social factors (Part III), and prospects for the future (Part IV). Part I includes discussions of Malthus' theory and accounts of the birth control movement (including a report by Margaret Sanger). In Part II are readings on relationships between population and prosperity, power, and policies. Part III contains several sections, one of which deals with "Religious Beliefs on Parenthood and Marriage." Here the editor presents pronouncements of Pope John XXIII, the minority and majority reports of the Papal Panel on birth control, and a statement—not the most recent one—by Pope Paul VI. In another section of Part III are discussions on the changing size of the voluntary family, which include, in addition to the usual fare, a poem by Stephen Vincent Benet and a cartoon essay by James Thurber. Two of the topics covered in Part IV are the effect of overcrowding on animal populations and the pros and cons of government control of family size. A statement by Dostoevski's Grand Inquisitor is also included here.

An editor has several responsibilities to his readers, especially if they are lay readers. He should select readings which adequately yet economically cover his topic. He should integrate these readings and qualify their conclusions where this is necessary. Louise B. Young has not always met these responsibilities fully. The comments of Dostoevski, Thurber, and Benet on the population problem could have been summarized in three lines; the other 48 pages devoted to these authors could have been used more profitably. The editor might then have presented findings of U.S. fertility surveys on the characteristics of contraceptors and non-contraceptors, the percentage of the U.S. population using contraception, and the change in this percentage over time. She might also have included a discussion of the difficulties and achievements experienced by birth control programs in underdeveloped countries. Perhaps she should also have presented estimates of the population capacity of the earth. These topics would have broadened the reader's perspective on the population problem.

In general, the editor has not integrated the readings in each part of the book. This fact

does not seem adequately justified by the editor's statement that ". . . editorial comment [has been] kept to a minimum to encourage the reader to think for himself. . ." (p. vii).

It should also be noted that the editor is occasionally guilty of errors. For example, she states that "It is reassuring to notice that [in recent years] the birth *rate* in the United States has decreased *in spite of* a steadily growing population. . ." (p. 112) [my emphasis]. The substitution of the word "births" for "birth rates" would make this statement correct. Finally, it should be noted that the title of this book is much more general than its contents. A more appropriate title might be "The Population Problem in Perspective."

Despite these shortcomings, however, this book comes close to reaching the goals set for it. The readings cover a wide range of relevant topics and opinions with very little editorial bias. (Especially interesting are the statements by Margaret Sanger, John Rock, and high Catholic officials.) In general, the selections are well written and can easily be understood by the layman. In sum, this book is useful in helping the lay reader achieve perspective on the population problem.

DAVID PHILLIPS

*Johns Hopkins University*

*Old People in Three Industrial Societies*, by ETHEL SHANAS, PETER TOWNSEND, DOROTHY WEDDERBURN, HENNING FRIIS, POUL MILHØJ, and JAN STEHOUEW. New York: Atherton Press, 1968. 478 pp. \$15.00.

This report of a cross-national survey presents a plethora of comparative data from each of three samples of about 2,000 people over 65 years of age living in private residences in Denmark, Britain, and the United States in 1962. The interviewers inquired about health and medical care, the integration of older people into their families, welfare services, work, retirement, and income level. By and large, they found cross-national differences to be small.

The first third of the report is concerned with the respondents' accounts of their physical health and with the health services available in the three countries. Shanas had previously discovered that 95% of older Americans live in private homes, and most of them enjoy tolerably good health. In Britain and Denmark the pattern is much the same, although there are interesting differences between the countries in attitudes toward health.

The second third of the book is concerned with the integration of older people into their

families. Again, there is an over-riding finding for all countries: old people are effectively contained within their kinship systems. In finer detail, however, Britain resembles the United States more than either country resembles Denmark. In Denmark, fewer old people reside with children and other relatives; there is less mutual aid, and less visiting among family members. Despite this appearance of a lower level of family integration, however, a smaller proportion of the Danish group reported loneliness. The authors suggest that a much longer tradition of public responsibility for the aged has made Danish old people more independent than their counterparts in the United States and Britain.

The third section of the book reports on work, retirement and income. A minority of already retired men were found to want to return to work, and a minority of those still working expected never to retire. The majority of older people in all three countries were found to have more than one source of income. Nevertheless, in both Britain and the United States the aged received incomes that were low compared to other segments of the population. This was particularly evident among the very old and the non-married.

In general, this study has provided a mine of useful new information, most of it in well-designed tables. Anyone concerned with problems of the aged, as well as those interested in such subjects as kinship, the life cycle, or the labor force will find this book most valuable. The book's strengths, however, are accompanied by certain weaknesses. In such a broad survey, a certain shallowness is almost inevitable, but beyond this, there is some conceptual fuzziness. A short chapter on "isolation and desolation," for example, uses such concepts as isolation, alienation, inactivity, disengagement, and the experience of loneliness almost as synonyms. Again, in the discussion of income, the word "government benefits" is used to describe both public assistance, (transfer payments) and Social Security Benefits (contributory pensions), and there is a suggestion that receiving money from a government treasury indicates "dependency on the Welfare State." Had the authors grouped income received from all contributory pensions, both private and public, and called it income from retirement insurance, which it is, a very different pattern of dependency would have emerged.

Finally, while the book is cross-national, it is by no means cross-cultural, and some interesting interpretations based on value differences have been touched upon but not exploited. It is, of course, unfair to criticize an author for not writing a book that he never intended to

write, and in this case, these authors have produced a work that will be a valuable reference source for years to come.

ELAINE CUMMING

*State of New York*

*Department of Mental Hygiene*

*Old and Alone: A Sociological Study of Old People*, by JEREMY TUNSTALL. London, England: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1966. 344 pp. \$8.50.

Old people are *not* lonely people. It has often been assumed that old age is characterized by dull and meaningless activity. The aged are pictured as living out their retiring years in a progressive state of gloom and despair. Alienated from the current affairs of the day, ignored and full of self-pity, they sit awaiting death.

Since 1900, the aged over 65 in England and Wales have increased three-fold to over 6 million. Ninety-four percent live in private households. Of the 78 percent who live alone, 72 percent declare that they have never experienced loneliness. From statistics of this kind, researchers have concluded that the accepted versions of the crippling effects of old age and retirement on the social relationships and psyches of the elderly have been greatly exaggerated. Rather, the old and lonely represent a minority of the aged. The study under review argues eloquently that this minority, because of low visibility, has been woefully neglected. Society should feel a responsibility to consider them a social problem and give them security and substance in their twilight years. This study acts to increase their visibility by asking: Who are they? What kinds of lives do they lead? How do they differ from the majority of the elderly? What remedial actions would be most effective?

The book is based on a larger study of the aged in Britain, the United States, and Denmark. Interviews were conducted with a sample of 538 persons whose names were taken from doctors' lists. Four forms of aloneness were studied: living alone, social isolation, loneliness, and anomia. A category of "at risk" persons—those most likely to be lonely, including the never married, the recently widowed, the housebound, the socially isolated and those who described themselves as lonely—were then identified and re-interviewed ( $n=195$ ). The present volume is concerned primarily with this "at risk" group of old people.

Among the findings were the following: The proportion of aged living alone is increasing in Britain, but remains below that of the U.S.A.



and Denmark. Women, those of advanced age, and urban residents are especially likely to be living alone, but only a few aged people live in complete isolation. Widows are most likely to feel lonely. High anomia is evident among males and persons in the manual class. The major leisure pursuit is newspaper reading. Of all the "at risk" persons, those who never married—mostly spinster retired teachers—show the best adjustment to old age. They are accustomed to loneliness, experience fewer major disruptions such as death of spouse, are avid readers, and engage in more activities outside the home.

Money is a constant problem. Although expenditures decrease with old age, the average income of the elderly barely exceeds the costs of basic necessities. Few have substantial savings. As age increases total income decreases, for savings become depleted and part-time work is no longer possible. A majority of the aged draw State pensions, but few have work pensions and many who could qualify for welfare are unaware of National Assistance. The well-to-do retired are underrepresented in this sample.

The empirical measures used are incomplete and their purported connections with theoretical concepts are not clear. Although the discussion of the measuring instruments used is thorough, little forethought is evident in their selection. They represent different levels of abstraction, and leave untapped many important dimensions of aloneness. We can agree with the author's own criticisms that he moved too rapidly into questionnaire design without adequately conceptualizing his variables. The use of the Srole anomia scale is particularly unconvincing, normal adjustment for the aged may in fact demand considerable disengagement from others.

Because few specific *a priori* hypotheses were formulated, Tunstall relies on after-the-fact interpretations. These analyses are not particularly enlightening, as they rarely go beyond common sense, and show a lack of sufficient thought. The paucity of the findings admittedly dampens the spirit of interpretation, but the data are not entirely without value. The ten case studies of the "at risk" aged, for instance, demonstrate the heuristic usefulness of good qualitative data.

The last chapters on personality, social theory, and social policy—in which the processes of aging and the culture of the age are discussed—are provocative and rewarding. Tunstall speculates that studies of aged personality types may give meaning to data not interpretable at the sociological level. However, a better conceived sociological design might prove to be more productive than the expediency of

settling for possibly facile psychological explanations.

With the exception of the Cumming-Henry disengagement theory, the book presents no theoretical models for explaining the aged. Tunstall simply calls for a "broad theoretical approach to such typical crises of old age as retirement, widowhood, and illness" (p. 261), set within the wider perspective of society's attitudes toward the aged. Most present research, including this study, focuses on single aspects of old age without employing more encompassing concepts.

Within a few years the aged population in many countries will reach 25 percent. The functional importance of these people is limited, especially in a highly mobile and rapidly changing society in which yesterday's skills and values become today's curiosities. Tunstall humanely charges society with overseeing our retirement years, but other more critical problems often take greater priority. It seems that old people can safely be ignored, at least until they start pressing for "aged power."

The sociology of the aged remains in a state of adolescence. The appropriate sociological categories have yet to be discovered. The issues have not gone beyond help-directed social welfare queries of the genre, "Can you cut your own toenails?". Nonetheless, American social gerontologists can profit from a reading of the recent British studies, including this volume, as long as they are cautious in generalizing the data to the somewhat different American experience.

MICHAEL A. LA SORTE

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*The Social Programs of Sweden: A Search for Security in a Free Society*, by ALBERT H. ROSENTHAL. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1967. 193 pp. \$6.00.

Countries sometimes get reputations that other countries need, and it may well be that Sweden's image in the United States reflects our own anxieties more than it does Swedish realities. In any event, Sweden provokes American curiosity in many ways. Professor Rosenthal deals with some of this curiosity by describing the main features of Swedish social legislation, which he also compares with American programs.

His central chapters examine four groups of programs: old-age insurance, health insurance, public health, and true welfare assistance. These chapters are useful, but laborious, summaries of the formal character of the laws which constitute the Swedish welfare state.

Together with a chapter of direct comparison, these show, as most writing on Sweden does not, that the Swedish and American welfare states resemble each other in many ways. The most important difference in current programs is that the United States has no equivalent to the Swedish system of national health insurance, which is universal and compulsory. Otherwise, the two welfare states are quite similar. In regard to old-age insurance, which is the largest single program in terms of money spent and people affected, the two countries provide nearly identical benefits.

Professor Rosenthal's demonstration of this similarity is valuable, but he somewhat exaggerates the resemblance by treating the Swedish welfare state as a disembodied collection of laws and their administrative apparatus. This perspective is evident in two ways: the book has no interest in the causes or effects of the welfare state, and it refuses to consider the welfare state as a political instrument. As a result, Professor Rosenthal's comparison between Sweden and the United States is insensitive to variations in the historical timing and the impact of particular programs.

For instance, the author neglects to observe that Sweden often adopts new forms of social legislation thirty or forty years before the United States. An innocent reader of this book, assured that the Swedish and American welfare states are much alike, would surely be surprised to learn that while the United States was still astonishing itself with its inquiries into drug prices the Swedish government was already preparing to nationalize the pharmacies, and bolder Swedes were advocating state ownership of the pharmaceutical houses. This difference in willingness to innovate is concealed by a comparison which neglects the history of social legislation and the forces which have brought it about.

Just as Professor Rosenthal ignores these causes, so he fails to examine the effects that the welfare state may have on the lives of Swedes. The fundamental economic goal of welfare programs is to reduce poverty by redistributing wealth, but he nowhere discusses how much poverty once existed in Sweden, how much has been eliminated by the programs he describes, or how much remains today. In one cursory section of six pages he does discuss the tax system, but as usual he considers only its formal provisions without trying to assess the extent to which it transfers wealth from the rich to the poor. To be sure, he does observe that the marginal rates on income are markedly progressive, but he does not ask whether in Sweden, as in most other countries, the redistributive effects are much slighter than the rates themselves suggest. The result is that he cannot

even ask whether Sweden and the United States have equally effective programs, although it would seem that this comparison is most important.

Professor Rosenthal finds it hard to come to grips with the practices of the Swedish welfare state partly because he treats it as a non-political apparatus operating in a nonpolitical context. When he offers a list of the conceivable causes of the Swedish programs, he does no more than propose "the traditions, interests, needs, resources, and, possibly, politics" of the country. It is an odd list indeed. Here is a political scientist saying that politics may only possibly have something to do with the creation of laws which threaten to redistribute wealth. But it is politics that finally brings a welfare state into being and politics that fashions its changes. A thorough analysis would at least ask what kinds of groups exercise political power in Sweden. At the minimum, it would surely note that the Swedish welfare state has been created largely by a government aligned with a labor movement which for various reasons was relatively militant at the time it first achieved political success. Once these historical and political considerations were admitted, Professor Rosenthal would have to ask such questions as who benefits and who suffers from the various programs. He would certainly not be content merely to let the laws speak for themselves.

Though he ignores these kinds of consequences, there are others which he does find worth comment. These are the secondary moral effects of the welfare state. With the greatest sobriety, he allows himself to be diverted by questions about whether the welfare state destroys economic incentive and promotes sexual laxity. On a casual review of the scant evidence, he concludes that modern industrial society, not the welfare state, is to blame for these sins and graces. In a similar manner he disposes of the Eisenhower hypothesis that Sweden has a high suicide rate because it is socialist. But must we continue tilting at these windmills, even if it was Mr. Eisenhower who last gave them a turn? And why is Professor Rosenthal concerned with these effects, rather than with the more fundamental question of whether the various programs actually work?

The answer seems to be that for all its refusal to consider politics, this is a book which means to defend the Swedish welfare state against conservative criticism. This desire would account for the assurances that free enterprise still prevails in Sweden; for the insertion of a nine-page excursus on the *ombudsman* showing that the government is responsive to its citizens despite the reach of its programs; and for the inclusion of a full chapter on public health,

asserting that despite all the giddy publicity they receive the Swedes are "progressive but sane" about sex education, birth control, and abortion. This would be a much better book if such political concerns were turned inward to become part of a still-needed analysis of the causes and effects of the Swedish welfare state and others like it.

SAMUEL W. KAPLAN

*University of California, Berkeley*

*A Decade of Health Services: Social Survey Trends in Use and Expenditures*, by RONALD ANDERSEN and ODIN W. ANDERSON. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1968. 244 pp. \$13.00.

It is rare to see such long-range research reported in sociology. Perhaps Newcomb's follow-up study of the Bennington students 25 years later is the most notable example. The work of Alexander Leighton and his associates in Nova Scotia is another example. The present work reports on three essentially comparable national surveys done in 1953, 1958, and 1963 on problems of personal health services and their financing.

It is hard to fault the work methodologically. Great care was taken to define terms, specify indices, and obtain comparability in the three studies. Departures from these standards are clearly indicated and the gains and disadvantages are noted. This is not to say that there are no methodological problems with the study. For instance: The 17 percent of the sample which was not interviewed in the 1963 survey differed in some respects from the other 83%, in that more of these non-respondents were located in the Northeast and Northcentral sections, lived in the ten largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, and were estimated by interviewers to have a "low average" level of living. Again, the processing of data included a procedure for estimating quantitative information which was not obtained in the interview. These estimates "were based on other data from the interview and on information related to 'going rates' in the community from which the sample family came." This may seem a questionable procedure to some. Nevertheless, the investigators lay out clearly what they have done; and, in general, it is well done.

The study constitutes a very valuable (even if expensive) resource giving trend data with regard to illness experience, use of health services, health expenditures, methods of paying, and certain social background data in relation to these problems.

It is fascinating to learn, for example, that

while low income people seem to be catching up with middle and upper income people in the use of health services, in certain categories, such as dental care and seeing a physician in the first three months of pregnancy, this is not the case. It is also important to see the extent to which hospitals have become the main source of health care, as opposed to independent practitioners. A much larger proportion of medical expenditures has been going to hospitals and a decreasing proportion to physicians. One must note, however, that the 70 percent increase in mean expenditure per person for health services between 1953 and 1963 was due primarily to price increases, not to greater utilization of health services.

The book is weakest in the areas of theory and interpretation. Only in their summary chapter do the authors introduce the important concept of "health system," and suggest research that would link together to the treatment received by patients and their families as they are shunted through various components of the health system. This concern for continuity and comprehensiveness of care apparently was not incorporated in the design of the surveys reported here.

In addition, the authors offer some unnecessary justifications for the present health system. This orientation occasionally leads them to interpret data as evidence of progress, where another writer would see problems. For instance, among people with voluntary health insurance in 1963, only 31 percent of their medical services were covered by this insurance. Even though this proportion had increased between 1953 and 1963, such coverage is still problematic from this reviewer's point of view. The fact that the authors offer the hope that "Medicare" (Title XVIII) and "Medicaid" (Title XIX) will save the voluntary health insurance by enabling it to limit coverage to the low-risk portions of the population indicates what deep trouble the entire system is in. It also suggests that these authors are willing to go only part of the way toward fully rationalizing the health services system.

The book offers no attempt to explicate or apply sociological theory to any of the phenomena observed.

RAY H. ELLING

*University of Connecticut*

*The Halfway House Movement: A Search for Sanity*, by HAROLD L. RAUSH and CHARLOTTE L. RAUSH. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968. 247 pp. \$5.50.

The concept of the halfway house has become

increasingly significant with regard to the study of deviance, social control and, more specifically, rehabilitation. Halfway houses in America and England are designed to provide a stepping stone between certain total institutions or isolated subcultures and "normal," open, and nonstigmatized communities, thus returning serious deviants to society and acceptable behavior. The Raushes describe the recent development of those halfway houses which are intended to help mental patients move toward life (especially occupational and residential) in open American communities.

Of 71 such facilities nominated for their survey, they obtained just 40 useful responses. Sixteen of these were affiliated with the Veterans Administration. Because of these biases and the problem of defining their population, the study failed to elicit responses that can be generalized. Nevertheless, their data set forth certain themes which are consistent with other studies of halfway houses serving ex-prisoners, drug addicts, skid rowers, and various alcoholics, as well as mental patients. The halfway house, while it helps persons adjust to community life, is also a recognition of the failure of institutionalization in the treatment of deviant populations. It is, as the Raushes show in the case of mental patients, an integral part of the contemporary trend from institutional to community-focused mental health programs, and it parallels the use of parole (and even probation) in place of imprisonment.

The Raushes document a gradual departure from asylums with chained "inmates" that began with Pinel and gained impetus in psychoanalysis and in social science studies. Rural houses were established long before their urban parallels, but each type has inherent advantages (though clients with urban backgrounds seem to prefer the facility enmeshed in the city as opposed to the rural retreat). Urban houses provide more complete opportunities in their communities with fewer work and recreational activities. The Raushes found that varied approaches are effective in funding halfway houses (though most of their respondents started with financing by an inspired individual or group, rather than by a government or foundation grant), and in gaining community toleration and support (some houses have wide publicity, others begin covertly).

Halfway houses occupy a very wide range of structures (even hotels and motels), but most often they utilize large old houses, and have from six to fifteen beds. Most accept either men or women, but, surprisingly, over a third serve both. Ten per cent of their populations had never been in mental hospitals, suggesting that

halfway houses serve a preventive role. Five houses also contained "normals"—students who were there to give balance and assistance. Most had professional staffing, separating them from "room and board" places which accept former mental patients, but only a third had the daily service of a professional. Admission was based on staff and/or residents' decision, vaguely designed to "eliminate those too severely disturbed to be handled." A code of rules, mostly unwritten, had developed in each house, and there were very few serious transgressions despite the predominance of those labeled "schizophrenic."

There appeared to be a good deal of feuding and griping in halfway houses observed by the Raushes, including personality clashes, conflicts between newcomers and senior residents, avoidance of unpleasant tasks, and questioning of the legitimacy of "straw-bosses." But very few serious incidents such as fights or drinking orgies occurred. Most persons leave the house before becoming involved in such activities. Labeled as deviants, these people nevertheless have a clear and accepted definition of the halfway house subculture. Group pressures, which enhance deviance outside, provide much support for "good behavior" inside. Halfway houses that fail develop serious conflicts between staff and clients who may, for example, establish a system of smuggling in alcohol, drugs or sexual partners.

The Raushes found that work was provided in the houses, but there were strong pressures to get outside (paying) jobs since those who did would be among the minority who paid a realistic fee to the house. Most therapy was conducted outside the house in order to preserve a home-like atmosphere. Twin problems were raised concerning those who leave halfway houses too soon, thus being labeled as "failures," and those who "adjust too well," thus staying on and limiting available service. Most persons left the house voluntarily, though many of these left in anticipation of a formal request.

The Raushes are confident of an expanding halfway house movement, emphasizing their judgment that these facilities are working and that more are needed. They provide a useful exploration of halfway houses for mental patients, which could be very helpful to those operating or planning such programs (who are, sadly, unlikely to read it). They do not succeed in conceptualizing the over-all role of halfway houses (ranging from Salvation Army Residences to Synanon). Nor do they (1) fully consider halfway houses as a preventive of institutionalization or (2) see such facilities as providing the best permanent (or cyclical) situation for many persons who have no "normal" communities

available to them, should they be "rehabilitated."

RONALD VANDERKOOI

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*Comprehensive Medical Care and Teaching: A Report on the New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center Program*, edited by GEORGE G. READER and M. E. GOSS. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1968. 391 pp. \$11.00.

This belated, but timely, report contains something of interest for practically any discipline concerned with the processes of higher education and their evaluation. It is belated in the sense that the data on which the evaluation is based were collected more than ten years ago. The report is timely in that, despite the delay in publication, the results may yet serve as guideposts for other schools of medicine whose curricular evolution is just now getting underway.

The Comprehensive Care (CC) and Training Program (TP) began in 1952 and, while it continues today with a relatively similar format, the evaluation was conducted from 1952 to 1957. As the title suggests, this program for clinic patients was initiated to provide medical care that was "complete, continuous, coordinated and compassionate" and simultaneously to give medical students both experience in diagnosis and treatment of frequently encountered conditions and some understanding of the social, psychological and environmental facets of problems presented by patients. In addition, students would learn how to work with other members of the health care team.

Fourth-year students were rotated through CC and TP for 22 weeks, during which time they were exposed to the concepts and practices of comprehensive care in innovative as well as standard ways. There were the usual conferences, lectures, and seminars, but also one-way screens, tape-recordings, practice in professional writing, increased contact with medical consultants and increased responsibility for care of "his" patient.

In collaboration with the Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research, the CC and TP conducted a rather thorough-going, five-year evaluation of the outcomes of their program with respect to its intended goals. For example, the program was judged relatively successful in providing medical students with

patients who had a wide variety of disease entities, but not so many patients that genuine continuity of care could not be achieved; in encouraging students to accept responsibility for patient care; and in utilizing medical consultants adequately. The program was less successful in encouraging the use of ancillary specialists such as social workers or nurses.

Changes in student attitudes and standards were also evaluated as part of the program's impact. The results indicated that the program had influenced the students' interest in helping patients, as opposed to an exclusive focus on learning; increased their professional detachment; and developed in them a tendency to view patients as persons rather than carriers of disease. The program had less effect on standards of care since they were initially high and allowed little room for improvement. Compared to conventional learning situations, CC and TP did not inhibit the acquisition of factual knowledge.

The evaluation extended to the range and quality of services provided by students in the program and to methods of teaching, including the use of special techniques and special programs such as family care and home care. Here, as with other aspects of evaluation, the program combined with other factors was judged effective to some degree.

This report is, of course, directed mainly at medical educators and those responsible for the development and implementation of medical school curricula. It therefore contains a great deal of detailed discussion of course content and procedures for operation of conferences, seminars and other methods of teaching. Nonetheless, the report contains more or less specific information of use to medical center personnel whose primary function is not teaching, but who are called upon from time to time to make contributions to the education of medical students, since the concept of comprehensive medicine includes their expert skills. This is particularly the case for ancillary personnel such as social workers, nurses, and laboratory technicians. This report is also of much interest to sociologists. Certainly there is a contribution to methodology in the design and implementation of program evaluation. Just as important, however, is the less explicit substantive contribution to our understanding of the processes of professional socialization and ways in which these processes can be influenced by social scientists.

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*The present paper investigates the effect of selected situational variables on the relationship between a verbal attitude and overt behavior toward the object of that attitude. It provides data which suggest reformulation of two theoretical schemes describing the relationship between prejudice, discrimination and the situation of action. In a relatively large-scale field experiment in a university setting, two multidimensional factors, "social constraint" and "social distance," were systematically introduced as intervening conditions in order to assess the degree to which they reduced correspondence between verbal attitudes toward Negroes and overt acts of acceptance or rejection of Negroes. Generally, these intervening factors had different mediating influences on different types of subjects.*

THE issue of how much correspondence exists between attitudes and action has been widely debated. At present, there appear to be three rather distinct views. For convenience, these can be called (1) the postulate of consistency, (2) the postulate of independent variation, and (3) the postulate of contingent consistency. The principal ideas represented in each of these views are summarized below:

*The Postulate of Consistency:* Each year numerous studies are designed to probe attitudes through the use of standardized scales. Such research is frequently premised upon the supposition that verbal attitude assessments provide reasonably valid guides for predicting what action people would take if they were confronted with the object of their attitude.<sup>1</sup> Turner has recently summarized critically the attitude-action relationship as seen within this perspective:

"The commonsense meaning of attitude is some psychic unit which corresponds exactly with a category of behavior. Given opportunity, the absence of counter-vailing attitudes, and an appropriate situation, one predicts behavior from attitude on the basis that behavior is a direct reproduction of attitude." (Turner, 1968:3).

*The Postulate of Independent Variation:* Perhaps the best-known challenge to the postulate of consistency in the area of racial attitudes was that of Robert K. Merton (1949). In a theoretical analysis of the relationship between prejudice and discrimination, he noted the gap between creed and conduct which Myrdal called the "American Dilemma." Merton maintained that this gap was a function of three variables: (1) the cultural creed honored in cultural tradition and party enacted in law; (2) the beliefs and attitudes of individuals regarding the principles of the creed; and (3) the actual practices of individuals with reference to it. Within this system of variables, he stated that there was no reason to assume that attitudes and behavior would be con-

<sup>1</sup> The reader is directed to a recent article by Deutscher (1966) for a detailed discussion of this issue.

sistently related: "Stated in formal sociological terms, this asserts that attitudes and overt behavior vary independently. Prejudicial attitudes need not coincide with discriminatory behavior." (Merton, 1949: 102-103). Merton did note that in different regions of the country where distinctive normative climates prevailed, one might expect different probabilities of discrimination, depending upon initial attitude. Thus, he also suggested that attitudinal variables could be important.

*The Postulate of Contingent Consistency:* An impressive number of studies have accumulated which seriously challenge both the postulate of consistency and the postulate of independent variation. A clear cut conclusion from the data which have emerged from all of these studies seems inescapable: neither postulate adequately describes the ways in which attitudes and actions are linked. Fortunately, much of the research which has led to this conclusion has also been aimed at exploring various "situational" concepts and their influence on attitude-related behavior. The results strongly suggest that such interactional concepts as norms, roles, group memberships, reference groups, subcultures, etc., pose *contingent* conditions which can modify the relationship between attitudes and action.

The nature and extent of consistency and inconsistency between attitudes and action have been explored in empirical studies of differing degrees of sophistication. Perhaps the best known early work is the classic study by LaPiere (1934). During the early 1950's, papers such as those by Minard (1952), Lohman and Reitzes (1954) and Kutner et al. (1952), reported on a variety of social settings in which behavior presumed to be related to attitudes was observed. It was not possible to predict the directions of these actions from the information used as indicators of the participants' attitudes. Although these studies lacked precision and control (Campbell, 1963:159-162 and Rokeach, 1967), they raised serious doubts about the correspondence between attitudes and action.

The experimental approach of DeFleur and Westie (1958), Linn (1965), and Fendrich (1967) placed subjects, whose attitudes had been carefully assessed, into more rigor-

ously controlled situations where they were afforded "behavioral opportunities" to act in accord with their known attitudes. It was clear from these studies that there was no simple way in which actions toward an object could be accurately predicted from knowledge of relevant attitudes alone.

Clearly, an adequate theory of attitude must take into account the intervening situational variables which modify the relationship between attitudes and action. As a step toward this in the area of ethnic relations, Yinger (1965) has developed a theoretical model of the relationship between prejudicial attitudes and overt discrimination which is based in part upon the earlier analysis by Merton (1949). In Yinger's view, discriminatory behavior for both the prejudiced and the nonprejudiced is contingent upon the surrounding subcultural system within which action takes place. This model is illustrated in Figure 1.

Although, like Merton, Yinger did not provide data to support his model, it appears to clarify the issues which Merton pointed to earlier; and it also appears to be consistent with the findings of most of the research which has accumulated during the intervening years.<sup>2</sup>

In summary, we may assume that the weight of evidence indicates that neither the postulate of consistency nor that of independent variation is tenable. A number of intervening variables operate to alter the contingencies of action for persons with given attitudes. Thus far, this set of situational variables and their influence on action has not been fully identified.

#### *Social Constraint and Social Distance as Situational Variables*

It is toward a better understanding of the influence of two specific types of situational variables on the relationship between attitudes and behavior that the present paper is addressed—namely, "social constraint" and "social distance." The ways in which these two terms are actually being used are clarified below.

<sup>2</sup> The study by Lohman and Reitzes (1954) provides a good empirical example of structural supports which support discrimination and those which do not.

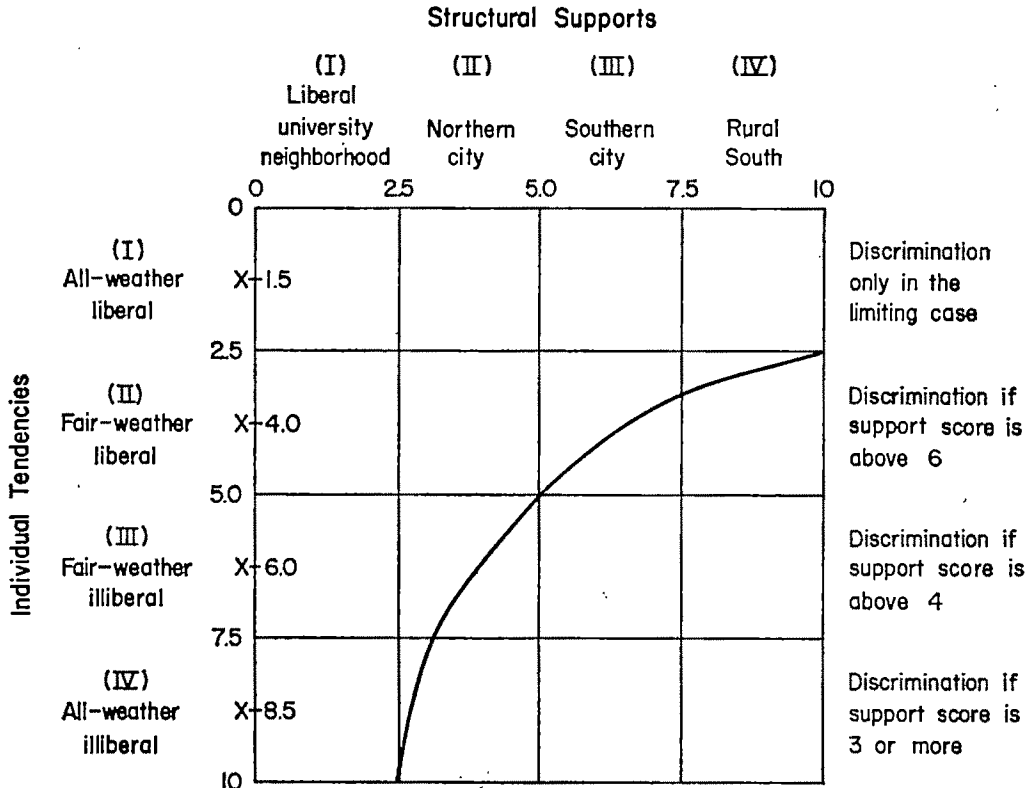


FIGURE 1. YINGER'S MODEL OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PREJUDICE, DISCRIMINATION AND "STRUCTURAL SUPPORTS"

*Social Constraint* refers to potential influences on behavior which are introduced into a situation of action because the nature of that behavior is likely to be known to others whose opinions and reactions are important to the actor. The term "constraint" was used by Durkheim (1950) to indicate that "ways of acting, thinking and feeling," collectively shared by others, have a "power of coercion" over an individual as he behaves in social situations. As Durkheim notes, "These ways of thinking and acting therefore constitute the proper domain of sociology." (1950:3-4). The concept of social constraint is a fundamental one. Sociologists hold it to be axiomatic that a person acting in relation to others is directly and indirectly compelled to *behave as others expect*. In other words, the presence of others, either in the immediate sense or in the actor's psychological definition of the situation, exerts pressure to act in accordance with what those others are perceived to feel as appropriate and desirable conduct.

We may use the probability of exposing

one's acts to significant others as an index of the degree of social constraint which is present in a situation. Thus, as defined in the present study, a situation of high social constraint is one in which the individual's behavior takes place under conditions where it is likely that his reference groups (or others significant to him) will become aware of it. A situation of low social constraint would be one of relative anonymity, in which the individual's actions would be unlikely to be subjected to such potential surveillance.

*Social Distance* is based upon sociological considerations of status-position and role expectations in a social relationship.<sup>8</sup> Park (1924:339) noted that interaction can be cordial and informal between the lady of the house and her cook because each occupies a *well-defined position* in the structure of the group, with clearly understood role expectations. As long as these role expectations are

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of social distance as a cultural factor in prejudice, see Simpson and Yinger (1958: 150-164).

fulfilled, the relationship can be permitted to be personal and intimate. Beneath their pleasant exchanges, however, lie the realities of differential status positions. Even the most intimate type of relationship can be entered into while social distance is maintained.

If underlying considerations of ascribed positions are ignored by an actor in entering into a social relationship with another from a lower status category, he *reduces* social distance between himself and the other. A denial of social distance considerations which others hold to be important may result in the application of sanctions. It is for this reason that, in a situation which requires a decision concerning acceptance or rejection of a person in a lower status category as a partner in interaction, social distance, social constraint and attitude form a single system of interactional considerations, a *gestalt*, confronting the actor. That is, they are experienced by a subject as a single system of variables impinging upon his decisions concerning acceptance or rejection of the attitude object.

The importance of these variables in mediating attitude-linked behavior became apparent in prior research. Subjects have reported these considerations as meaningful *gestalts* at the moment of contemplation of an act of acceptance or rejection of Negroes within the framework of sociological experiments and studies (DeFleur and Westie, 1958; Linn, 1965; DeFries and Ford, 1968). In spite of their complexity from a conceptual point of view, therefore, both social distance and social constraint are meaningful considerations within the perspectives of an ordinary person who must decide how to behave in an attitude-action situation.

### *Overview of the Procedures*

Verbal attitude data and information for controlled assignment of subjects to experimental conditions were collected from several hundred college students (mostly freshmen) in a border state university at the beginning of their spring semester 1967. The overt behavior data were collected toward the end of the same semester. The factors of social distance and social constraint were varied within a simple experimental design in such a way that several kinds of action

situations were provided. Finally, fifty follow-up interviews were conducted by telephone with a sample of subjects in order to check on their perceptions of the "realism" of the study.

In the present field experiment, the attitude under study is prejudice toward Negroes.<sup>4</sup> Using this attitude topic permits the present research to build upon a tradition of prior studies in which this particular issue has been used in the investigation of attitude-action relationships (cf. Fendrich, 1967 for a discussion of these studies). The overt behavior under observation consists of responses to a *letter* which was received by each subject. This letter, which came in several different versions, requested the recipient to *sign a pledge* and to *mail this pledge* back to the sender. These pledges committed the subject to engage in one of several varieties of behavior involving Negroes. These behaviors ranged from dating a Negro to making an anonymous contribution to a Negro educational charity. The use of signatures as a form of overt behavior builds upon earlier studies of attitude-action correspondence (DeFleur and Westie, 1958; Linn, 1965; DeFries and Ford, 1968). The details of these techniques, the instruments used, and the methods of control employed are discussed more fully in the sections which follow.

### *Measuring the Verbal Attitude*

The verbal attitude data were collected by means of a standard Likert scale. This scale was constructed from items which had been used in previous research (Middleton, 1960; Westie, 1965; DeFries and Ford, 1968). Data for a pretest of these items were collected from 60 students during the semester preceding the larger study. An item analysis was performed on the original 34 items in order to select those 16 items which best distinguished subjects who had prejudiced attitudes from subjects who had non-prejudiced attitude (cf. Edwards, 1957; chap. 6).<sup>5</sup> A split-half reliability coefficient

<sup>4</sup> A basic assumption underlying the present research is that the normative environment is hostile toward integration. For a summary of evidence to support this assumption see Westie (1964:581-603).

<sup>5</sup> *Verbal Attitude Scale:*

1. Negroes ought to have the same access to swimming pools as whites.



was then calculated ( $r=.84$ ). Application of the Spearman-Brown Prophecy formula as a correction factor yielded a coefficient of .97.

The refined items were placed in an elaborate "Public Information Questionnaire," which was presented to 731 students enrolled in sections of Introductory Sociology during the first week of the spring semester. This questionnaire was portrayed as part of a routine study of public opinion concerning "topics which have been found to be of interest to college students like yourself." The topics covered in the twelve-page questionnaire ranged from the war in Viet Nam to questions about education, civil rights, the war on poverty, the draft, politics, and the American Negro. This device provided a context wherein the attitude scale "made sense" within the framework of opinion topics being probed.

After completion of the gathering of questionnaire data, the subjects were divided into four quartile groupings on the basis of their attitude scores. The first two quartiles constituted the "least-prejudiced" group, while the third and fourth quartiles constituted the "most-prejudiced" group. Further

details will be presented in the section on the experimental design.

### *Measuring Overt Behavior and Controlling Situational Variables*

A unique method was used for collecting data on overt behavior toward the attitude object. As has been indicated, a letter was sent through the mail to subjects who had filled out the "Public Information Questionnaire" earlier in the semester. There were eight different letters. These letters were designed to elicit behavioral responses under varying social distance considerations. While each subject received only one version, every letter requested the recipient to participate in some form of action involving Negroes. The subject was to sign a pledge that he would engage in the action at a later date. Or, if he chose, he could sign indicating that he disapproved of the action being solicited. In either case, he was to return the signed document to the sender in an enclosed, stamped and self-addressed envelope.

In order to establish some outside criteria for the selection of the social distance considerations to be used in the letters, preliminary testing was done on 83 students during the semester preceding the major study. Eight items which posed various kinds of acts that the subject could indicate he would or would not perform were selected for inclusion in the "Public Information Questionnaire."<sup>6</sup> The data collected in the questionnaire were used to obtain ratings on the items in order to evaluate their po-

2. The reason so many Negroes are on "relief" is that they do not want to work.

3. I would be willing to invite a Negro into my home for lunch.

4. White candidates can do a better job than Negroes in political office.

5. I would be willing to sit in public (for example, the Student Union) with a Negro.

6. Negroes seem to learn a little slower than whites.

7. I would be willing to have a Negro family live next door to me.

8. Negroes do not make good workers because they are lazy.

9. If I had children, I would not mind if they were taught by a Negro school teacher.

10. Negroes cannot be trusted in positions of responsibility.

11. There is nothing wrong with both races attending the same church.

12. Most Negroes would become overbearing and disagreeable if not kept in their place.

13. It is unimportant to me if an elected official is Negro or white, as long as he is capable and honest.

14. I would not be willing to invite Negroes to a dinner party at my home.

15. I would be willing to have a Negro as my supervisor in my place of work.

16. I prefer to see white and Negro children attend different schools.

### <sup>6</sup> Behavioral items:

1. If you were asked for a date by an attractive Negro college student, in order to participate in an evening of dancing, good music and good fellowship, what would you do?

2. If you were asked to contribute a very small sum of money (like 25¢) to a Negro civil rights organization, what would you do?

3. If a campus organization asked you to endorse an appeal to both political parties to seek out qualified Negro candidates for public office, what would you do?

4. Even today some local restaurants and hotels discriminate against Negro clients. If you were asked to sign a petition urging a local hotel or restaurant to serve Negroes, what would you do?

5. If you were invited to a dinner being held to welcome new Negro students to campus, what would you do?

6. The State Board of Education is considering a new policy of giving more complete treatment to the contributions of Negroes to American History

tential use in the letters. The intent was to obtain a set of items which would provide implications of either reducing or maintaining social distance for a person *performing the acts* described in the items.

After the collection of the study data, the responses of the main body of subjects were analyzed to determine if the items met the criteria established for a Guttman scale (Edwards, 1957: chap. 7). A good ranking was obtained with respect to the level of social distance implied in the items.<sup>7</sup> For simplicity, however, this ranking was dichotomized. In the items listed in Footnote 6, Items 1 through 4 represent forms of action in which lowering of social distance is implied. That is, they all require a dropping of informal barriers which are culturally established by admitting Negroes to equalities of status which are not widely accepted by whites. These items, in other words, pose situations of action in which a *reduction* of social distance is implied.

Items 5 through 8, on the other hand, portray situations of action in which a reduction of social distance is not implied to the same degree as that of the first four items. That is, these forms of action can be engaged in by whites without a lowering of informal barriers, or the abandonment of established status distinctions. Thus, these items pose situations of action in which social distance can be *maintained*.<sup>8</sup> It should

and our society. If you were asked to endorse such a policy, what would you do?

7. If you were asked to volunteer to go into the home of a Negro family of potential college students and tell them about your experiences as a college student, what would you do?

8. There are several outstanding charitable groups organized to give aid to Negro college students who otherwise could never attend college. If you were asked to donate a very small sum of money (like 25¢) to such a charity, what would you do?

<sup>7</sup> The Guttman analysis was used to obtain information concerning social distance implications, as explained above, and data on the ordering of the items as forms of overt behavior for use in the letters. The coefficient of reproducibility was .89; the minimal marginal reproducibility was .70; the coefficient of scalability was .72 (Menzel, 1953).

<sup>8</sup> One could conclude that any noted attitude-behavior discrepancy would occur because of the difference between measuring a general orientation toward Negroes (the attitude scale) and measuring specific actions toward Negroes (responses to the letters). However, a separate analysis using responses to the eight social distance items included

be noted that all these latter items involve acting with respect to Negroes within an educational framework. Apparently, these subjects defined participating in actions involving Negroes as "acceptable" as long as the framework of action pertained to educational matters. This interpretation is consistent with the findings of Westie, who in a recent study noted that "... people tend to go along with intergroup arrangements that are *faits accomplis*." (Westie, 1965: 538).

In addition to the inclusion of social distance considerations, each letter was prepared in two forms: (1) a "private" form, which assured the subject of anonymity in the later action (and in the signed statement) and (2) a "public" form, which advised the subject that his pledged actions would be disclosed to others via the campus newspaper and other media. These two forms of the letters provided the high and low conditions of *social constraint*.

The letters were sent under the auspices of a fictitious campus student organization, the "Henry Clay Club," and signed by one of the authors as "President." The return envelope was addressed to a cooperating faculty member identified as "Faculty Advisor." There was, of course, no such club; it was strictly a creation of the research plan. The name of the club in our judgment has no significance concerning race relations. The name was widely known locally and provided a simple neutral cover. In spite of the elaborate prearrangements with the student newspaper, the campus office governing student organizations, and others, none of the subjects who received a letter questioned the club's authenticity or inquired about the nature and purposes of this fictitious organization.

#### *Application of Controls in the Selections of Subjects*

##### The initial "Public Information Question-

naire in the questionnaire as a more specific scale did not yield results significantly different from those found using the more general scale. It should also be noted that, because of the multiple correlation features of Guttman scales, one should not expect to find a closer correspondence between attitudes and behavior by relating the questionnaire response on a given action to actual willingness to engage in that same action.

naire" included both the attitude scale described and information pertaining to social distance implications of various kinds of behavior, plus a number of background variables to be used as controls. The subjects were assigned to attitude quartiles, depending upon their score on the verbal attitude scale. The subjects in each quartile were then matched on the following control variables, using the technique of frequency distribution control:<sup>9</sup> age, sex, education of father, education of mother, education of subject, marital status, social class (based upon father's occupation), residential history and group membership. Residential history was composed of two indices: a regional index and a mobility index. The regional index was based upon the area of the country (Southeast, Northwest, Southwest, etc.) in which the subject had spent the greater part of his life. The mobility index was based upon the degree to which the subject had moved from one region to another. Group membership refers to an index based upon the number and type of campus groups to which the subject belonged.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of this technique, its advantages and disadvantages, see Sellitz *et al.*, (1965:107-109).

<sup>10</sup> The controls are obviously elaborate. It was felt that every effort should be made to minimize

The application of these controls resulted in reducing the number of subjects participating in the experiment. The availability sample for the study was originally composed of 731 students. After the application of the controls, a total of 537 subjects remained. However, the procedure yielded reasonably homogeneous groupings of subjects for the purpose of experimental design.

### *The Experimental Design*

The experimental design used in the present study brings together the several factors and variables which have been discussed in previous sections. These include: (1) the subject's verbal attitude, (2) the control variables,<sup>11</sup> (3) the implications of social distance reduction or maintenance in the behaviors requested of the subjects, and (4) the level of social constraint pertaining to the requested behaviors.

A schematic representation of the experi-

influences of variables which could potentially disturb the dependent-independent relationship under study. It is recognized, however, that in a complex field experiment there still remain many variables that are not under rigorous control.

<sup>11</sup> The only control variable found to be significantly related to the subject's initial attitude was the sex of the subject. Females were generally less prejudiced.

| VERBAL<br>ATTITUDE<br>QUARTILE  | SOCIAL CONSTRAINT            |             |                              |             |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------|------------------------------|-------------|
|                                 | High (public condition)      |             | Low (private condition)      |             |
|                                 | SOCIAL DISTANCE IMPLICATIONS |             | SOCIAL DISTANCE IMPLICATIONS |             |
|                                 | Reducing                     | Maintaining | Reducing                     | Maintaining |
| Least<br>Prejudiced<br>Subjects |                              |             |                              |             |
| Most<br>Prejudiced<br>Subjects  |                              |             |                              |             |

FIGURE 2. GENERAL DESIGN FOR THE COLLECTION OF OVERT BEHAVIOR DATA

mental design is shown in Figure 2. On the left side of the diagram it can be noted that the subjects were stratified into quartile groupings based upon their initial attitude. Once this step was completed, the subjects in each quartile were *randomly* assigned to one of the two social constraint conditions (high or low). The resulting groupings within a given quartile received the different forms of the letter (public or private), according to their assigned cell. The factor of social distance was handled in a similar manner. Within each social constraint condition, and for every quartile, the reducing and maintaining implications of social distance were appropriately represented.

Each cell in the design was balanced by assigning to it a proportionate number of males and females. Equal numbers of those who had indicated on the initial questionnaire that they would or would not engage in the behaviors under study (see Footnote 6) were also assigned to each cell.

Obviously, a number of hypotheses could be generated from Figure 2, which has the general form of a factorial design. However, the data were organized around several general propositions rather than around a large number of specific hypotheses. There is, after all, no tightly articulated theory underlying the present research in the sense of an interrelated set of generalizations from which theorems can be derived with the aid of a logical calculus. The research is inductive rather than deductive. Therefore, the following three broad propositions can be stated as a framework within which to discuss the results.

First of all, our interest centers on the relationship between attitudes and action. A general proposition can be stated in the following terms:

*Proposition 1:* There will be a significant relationship between initial attitude and overt behavior. However, the proportion of explained variance will be low because of the impact of situational variables.

Secondly, the factor of social constraint should have a substantial influence on attitude-action consistency. There is no reason to assume, however, that this influence will be uniform under all conditions indicated within the experimental design. We may state the following general proposition:

*Proposition 2:* There will be a significant

relationship between social constraint and overt behavior. The proportion of explained variance will be low because of the impact of attitudes.

Finally, the factor of social distance should influence attitude-behavior relationships. The following proposition can be used as a guide in interpreting the data.

*Proposition 3:* There will be a significant relationship between social distance considerations and overt behavior. The proportion of explained variance will be low because of the impact of attitudes.

In addition to these general propositions, each cell of the experimental design places several variables in interactive conjunction with each other. Hypotheses could be formulated for each of these. Since there is no rigorous basis for predicting the direction of these influences, these combinations will be discussed in an *ad hoc* manner.

### *Results:*

The results of the experiment are summarized in Tables 1, 2, and 3. Table 1 shows the percent of subjects in each of the major conditions who elected to *comply* with the request posed by the letter they received. That is, they signed the letter pledging that they would engage in the requested attitude-related act and they returned the letter to the sender. The rates of compliance differed greatly under the various experimental conditions. For example, for the most-prejudiced subjects under the combined conditions of "high" social constraint and an act requiring a "reducing" of social distance, the rate of return for a signed pledge of compliance was only 1.5% of the letters originally sent out to subjects in this experimental condition.

Table 2, on the other hand, shows the percent of subjects who refused to comply with the request in the letter they received. These subjects signed the letter indicating refusal and returned it to the experimenters. Examination of Table 2 indicates that refusal rates also varied substantially among the several conditions of the experiment. For example, the cell which corresponds to the illustration above, with the "most-prejudiced" subjects under the combined conditions of "high" social constraint and an act requiring a "reducing" of social distance, the rate of signed refusal was 22.4% of the

TABLE 1. NUMBERS OF LETTERS SENT UNDER EACH EXPERIMENTAL CONDITION AND PERCENT WHICH WERE SIGNED AND RETURNED TO COMPLY WITH REQUESTED BEHAVIOR

|                                                       | Social Constraint                    |                     |             |                     |           |                                     |             |                     |           |                     |  |
|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------|---------------------|--|
|                                                       | High<br>Social Distance Implications |                     |             |                     |           | Low<br>Social Distance Implications |             |                     |           |                     |  |
|                                                       | Reducing                             |                     | Maintaining |                     | Reducing  |                                     | Maintaining |                     | Total     |                     |  |
| Verbal<br>Attitude<br>Quartile                        | n<br>sent                            | percent<br>compiled | n<br>sent   | percent<br>compiled | n<br>sent | percent<br>compiled                 | n<br>sent   | percent<br>compiled | n<br>sent | percent<br>compiled |  |
| Least Prejudiced<br>(Q <sub>1</sub> +Q <sub>2</sub> ) | 67                                   | 9.0                 | 77          | 15.6                | 64        | 17.2                                | 75          | 12.0                | 283       | 13.4                |  |
| High social<br>constraint:                            | .....(n sent=144; 12.5%)             |                     |             |                     |           |                                     |             |                     |           |                     |  |
| Low social<br>constraint:                             | .....(n sent=139; 14.4%)             |                     |             |                     |           |                                     |             |                     |           |                     |  |
| Social distance<br>reducing:                          | .....(n sent=131; 13.0%)             |                     |             |                     |           |                                     |             |                     |           |                     |  |
| Social distance<br>maintaining:                       | .....(n sent=152; 13.8%)             |                     |             |                     |           |                                     |             |                     |           |                     |  |
| Most Prejudiced<br>(Q <sub>3</sub> +Q <sub>4</sub> )  | 67                                   | 1.5                 | 59          | 6.8                 | 69        | 13.0                                | 59          | 6.8                 | 254       | 7.1                 |  |
| High social<br>constraint:                            | .....(n sent=126; 4.0%)              |                     |             |                     |           |                                     |             |                     |           |                     |  |
| Low social<br>constraint:                             | .....(n sent=128; 10.2%)             |                     |             |                     |           |                                     |             |                     |           |                     |  |
| Social distance<br>reducing:                          | .....(n sent=136; 7.4%)              |                     |             |                     |           |                                     |             |                     |           |                     |  |
| Social distance<br>maintaining:                       | .....(n sent=118; 6.8%)              |                     |             |                     |           |                                     |             |                     |           |                     |  |
| Combined<br>Quartiles                                 | 134                                  | 5.2                 | 136         | 11.8                | 133       | 15.0                                | 134         | 9.7                 |           |                     |  |
| High social<br>constraint:                            | .....(n sent=270; 8.5%)              |                     |             |                     |           |                                     |             |                     |           |                     |  |
| Low social<br>constraint:                             | .....(n sent=267; 12.4%)             |                     |             |                     |           |                                     |             |                     |           |                     |  |
| Social distance<br>reducing:                          | .....(n sent=267; 10.1%)             |                     |             |                     |           |                                     |             |                     |           |                     |  |
| Social distance<br>maintaining:                       | .....(n sent=270; 10.7%)             |                     |             |                     |           |                                     |             |                     |           |                     |  |

letters originally sent out within these conditions.

To interpret these findings within a probability framework, a third table was constructed. Table 3 is based upon only those who returned a signed letter, either agreeing to comply or refusing to comply. These letters were classified into the percent complying and the percent refusing. It must be noted that correspondence between attitude and action is indicated by compliance for the non-prejudiced and by refusal to comply for the prejudiced. If only chance factors were operating in a situation of this type, 50% of the returned letters should indicate compliance and the other 50%, refusal. There-

fore, where the conditions imposed by the experiment had no influence on the results, subtracting the number of letters indicating refusal from those indicating compliance (in any given cell of the table) should yield results not significantly different from zero. On the other hand, if the conditions used in the experiment had some influence on the relative proportion of compliance and refusal, subtracting the percent who refused from the percent who complied should yield difference in percents which are significantly different from zero. Thus, the cells of Table 3 show plus and minus percentage values which were obtained by this procedure. A plus value indicates an excess of compliance

TABLE 2. NUMBERS OF LETTERS SENT UNDER EACH EXPERIMENTAL CONDITION AND PERCENT WHICH WERE SIGNED AND RETURNED REFUSING TO COMPLY WITH REQUESTED BEHAVIOR

| Verbal<br>Attitude<br>Quartile                        | Social Constraint                    |                    |             |                    |           |                                     |             |                    |     |       |  |
|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------|--------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|-------------|--------------------|-----|-------|--|
|                                                       | High<br>Social Distance Implications |                    |             |                    |           | Low<br>Social Distance Implications |             |                    |     | Total |  |
|                                                       | Reducing                             |                    | Maintaining |                    | Reducing  |                                     | Maintaining |                    |     |       |  |
|                                                       | n<br>sent                            | percent<br>refused | n<br>sent   | percent<br>refused | n<br>sent | percent<br>refused                  | n<br>sent   | percent<br>refused |     |       |  |
| Least Prejudiced<br>(Q <sub>1</sub> +Q <sub>2</sub> ) | 67                                   | 17.9               | 77          | 3.9                | 64        | 14.1                                | 75          | 5.3                | 283 | 9.9   |  |
| High social<br>constraint:                            | .....(n sent=144; 10.4%)             |                    |             |                    |           |                                     |             |                    |     |       |  |
| Low social<br>constraint:                             | .....(n sent=139; 9.4%)              |                    |             |                    |           |                                     |             |                    |     |       |  |
| Social distance<br>reducing:                          | .....(n sent=131; 16.0%)             |                    |             |                    |           |                                     |             |                    |     |       |  |
| Social distance<br>maintaining:                       | .....(n sent=152; 4.6%)              |                    |             |                    |           |                                     |             |                    |     |       |  |
| Most Prejudiced<br>(Q <sub>3</sub> +Q <sub>4</sub> )  | 67                                   | 22.4               | 59          | 20.3               | 69        | 10.1                                | 59          | 8.5                | 254 | 15.4  |  |
| High social<br>constraint:                            | .....(n sent=126; 21.4%)             |                    |             |                    |           |                                     |             |                    |     |       |  |
| Low social<br>constraint:                             | .....(n sent=128; 9.4%)              |                    |             |                    |           |                                     |             |                    |     |       |  |
| Social distance<br>reducing:                          | .....(n sent=136; 16.2%)             |                    |             |                    |           |                                     |             |                    |     |       |  |
| Social distance<br>maintaining:                       | .....(n sent=118; 14.4%)             |                    |             |                    |           |                                     |             |                    |     |       |  |
| Combined<br>Quartiles                                 | 134                                  | 20.1               | 136         | 11.0               | 133       | 12.0                                | 134         | 6.7                |     |       |  |
| High social<br>constraint:                            | .....(n sent=270; 15.6%)             |                    |             |                    |           |                                     |             |                    |     |       |  |
| Low social<br>constraint:                             | .....(n sent=267; 9.4%)              |                    |             |                    |           |                                     |             |                    |     |       |  |
| Social distance<br>reducing:                          | .....(n sent=267; 16.1%)             |                    |             |                    |           |                                     |             |                    |     |       |  |
| Social distance<br>maintaining:                       | .....(n sent=270; 8.9%)              |                    |             |                    |           |                                     |             |                    |     |       |  |

over refusal. A minus value indicates the reverse, an excess of refusal over compliance. The probabilities for these differences were obtained by applying the (two-tailed) t-test for the significance of differences between proportions, where n's were greater than 20, or the (two-tailed) binomial distribution where n's were smaller than or equal to 20.

This analysis provides no interpretation of the impact of the experimental conditions for those subjects who did not return a letter. We may note that there was no expectation that the majority would return a letter. The interest was in the relative predictability for

those who complied versus those who refused. The technique used should not be confused with the usual "mail-back" procedure for data-gathering, where the objective is to infer population parameters from mailed returns. The present research aims at inferences concerning the comparative importance of conditions within a specific experimental design. It does not attempt to estimate population parameters. In this respect, it is quite similar to a laboratory experiment. A separate study of those who did not return a letter would be important and would undoubtedly produce interesting results. Because of limitations of

# SOCIAL CONSTRAINT AND DISTANCE

163

TABLE 3. PERCENT COMPLYING MINUS PERCENT REFUSING, CONSIDERING ONLY THOSE WHO RETURNED THEIR LETTER

| Verbal<br>Attitude Quartile                           | Social Constraint            |             |                              |             | Total  |
|-------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------|------------------------------|-------------|--------|
|                                                       | High                         |             | Low                          |             |        |
|                                                       | Social Distance Implications |             | Social Distance Implications |             |        |
|                                                       | Reducing                     | Maintaining | Reducing                     | Maintaining |        |
| Least Prejudiced<br>(Q <sub>1</sub> +Q <sub>2</sub> ) | -33.3                        | +60.0*      | +10.0                        | +38.5       | +15.2* |
| High social constraint:                               | ( +9.1)                      |             | ( +21.2)*                    |             |        |
| Low social constraint:                                |                              |             |                              |             |        |
| Social distance reducing:                             |                              |             | (-10.5)                      |             |        |
| Social distance maintaining:                          |                              |             | ( +50.0)*                    |             |        |
| Most Prejudiced<br>(Q <sub>3</sub> +Q <sub>4</sub> )  | -87.5*                       | -50.0       | +12.5                        | -11.1       | -36.8* |
| High social constraint:                               | (-68.8)*                     |             |                              |             |        |
| Low social constraint:                                |                              |             | ( +4.0)                      |             |        |
| Social distance reducing:                             |                              |             | (-37.5)*                     |             |        |
| Social distance maintaining:                          |                              |             | (-36.0)*                     |             |        |
| Combined Quartiles                                    | -58.8*                       | +3.2        | +11.1                        | +18.2       |        |
| High social constraint:                               | (-29.2)*                     |             |                              |             |        |
| Low social constraint:                                |                              |             | ( +13.8)*                    |             |        |
| Social distance reducing:                             |                              |             | (-22.9)*                     |             |        |
| Social distance maintaining:                          |                              |             | ( +9.4)                      |             |        |

\* Indicates p less than .05.

space, the present report does not pursue this task.<sup>12</sup>

Proposition 1 stated that there would be

<sup>12</sup> A typical way of dealing with the problem of non-response is to compare the characteristics of those who fail to respond with those of the respondents. If no systematic differences between these appear, then one concludes that the effects on the dependent variable are negligible. Since the present study commenced with a rather homogeneous sample of subjects, this problem is not of the same magnitude as it is for the survey researcher who has very little initial information concerning the characteristics of specific respondents. Nevertheless, attempts were made in the present study to investigate this problem. The control variables were cross-tabulated with the subject's overt behavior response to determine if the composition of the groups was affected by differential response rates. There was no relationship between any of the nine control variables and overt behavior responses for the total group. The overt behavior responses for the subjects in each of the four groups were then cross-tabulated with the control variables. One relationship out of thirty-six was significant at the .05 level. Since one would expect at least one out of twenty relationships to be significant on a chance basis, this occurrence is considered to be due to random fluctuation. In addition, a stratified random sample of those who returned the letter and those who did not was interviewed; data indicated that the subjects viewed the letter as a realistic request.

a significant relationship between initial attitude and the direction of overt behavior, but that it would be weak because of the influence of intervening situational conditions. From Table 3, the influence of attitude on behavior is apparent. For the least prejudiced subjects, taken as a whole, the value in the right hand margin is +15.2 percentage points, indicating a significant excess of compliance over refusal. For the most prejudiced subjects, the marginal value of -36.8 indicates a significant excess of refusals over compliance. These findings lend some support to the idea that a person with a positive attitude will tend to act favorably toward the objects of that attitude while a person with a negative attitude will tend to refuse to engage in an act which is inconsistent with that attitude. These data may appear to support the postulate of consistency between attitudes and action. However, if this postulate were completely tenable, values of plus and minus 100 percent would be required in these marginal cells (assuming valid assessments of both attitudes and behavior). They are considerably less than that. Therefore a large amount of consistency is not present.

Since the postulates of consistency and of

independent variation are not tenable, we may turn to the intervening variables of social constraint and social distance to assess their importance in the attitude-action relationship. Proposition 2 stated that there would be a significant relationship between social constraint and behavior. The impact of social constraint can be seen by examining the marginal values in the bottom of Table 3. The value of  $-29.2$  percentage points, associated with high social constraint, indicates a significant excess of refusals over compliance. Thus, regardless of whether the subject was among the most or least prejudiced, the factor of high social constraint (disclosing his actions to others) tended to inhibit his willingness to comply with the requested behavior. For the condition of low social constraint, and regardless of initial attitude, the corresponding marginal in the table is  $+13.8$ . This indicates a significant excess of compliance over refusal. A condition of anonymity, in other words, led to increased probabilities of compliance with the attitude-related act. Subjects were more willing to pledge themselves to engage in the requested behaviors when they were assured their actions were not visible to others.

Finally, Proposition 3 stated that there would be a significant relationship between social distance considerations and overt behavior. The impact of social distance implications can be seen by examining the bottom marginals of Table 3. In situations which required a reduction of social distance, there was a significant excess of refusals over compliance. The difference is  $-22.9$  percentage points. Thus, regardless of initial attitude, subjects tended to refuse to engage in the requested behavior in situations in which a reduction of social distances was implied; where social distance could be maintained, however, no clear relationship to behavior was noticed. That is, the  $+9.4$  excess of compliance over refusal is not significantly different from zero. Thus Propositions 1, 2 and 3 were generally supported.

Proposition 2, however, suggests that the direction of one's attitude is an important factor. To assemble evidence on this issue, we may examine Table 4 (derived from Table 3) which shows the relevant data in convenient form,

TABLE 4. PERCENT COMPLYING MINUS PERCENT REFUSING, HIGH AND LOW SOCIAL CONSTRAINT ONLY

| Verbal<br>Attitude  | Social Constraint |        |
|---------------------|-------------------|--------|
|                     | High              | Low    |
| Least<br>Prejudiced | +9.1              | +21.2* |
| Most<br>Prejudiced  | -68.8*            | +4.0   |

\* Indicates  $p$  less than .05.

As can be seen, high social constraint had a substantial inhibiting effect upon the least prejudiced subjects. Since the requested act was one generally disapproved within relevant norms, the exposure to potential surveillance provided by the condition of high social constraint produced inconsistency between attitudes and action for the least prejudiced subjects. In fact, there was no clear relationship under these conditions between attitude and action as indicated by a nonsignificant value of  $+9.1$  percentage points. For the most prejudiced subjects, on the other hand, a condition of high social constraint tended to produce substantial consistency between attitudes and action. The general norms surrounding the act, the potential surveillance resulting from high social constraint and the initial attitude all combined to produce a very high level of refusal over compliance ( $-68.8$ ). This indicates consistency between the negative attitude and rejection of the attitude object.

Low social constraint had a somewhat opposite influence. Here, the protections of anonymity permitted the least-prejudiced subjects to act more favorably toward the attitude object. They tended toward consistency in their attitudes and actions, under the conditions provided by low social constraint. The most prejudiced subjects, on the other hand, showed no significant relationship between their attitude and actions, under the conditions provided by low social constraint. Thus, in a relatively constraint-free environment, the most prejudiced subjects did not uniformly reject the attitude-object.

Overall, Proposition 2 appears to be tenable. High and low social constraint did indeed have differential effects upon the most and least prejudiced. These were, however,



rather complex. The direction of initial attitude was clearly important, but the social constraint factor operated rather differently under specific interactional conditions.

The third general proposition, concerning the influence of social distance implications, also suggests that the direction of one's attitude will modify the relationship between social distance consideration and behavior. Evidence on this broad hypothesis can be derived from Table 3. The relevant data are summarized in Table 5.

For the least-prejudiced subjects, under the condition where the act implied a reduction of social distance, only a change-like relationship is observed between attitudes and action (a  $-10.5$  percentage points excess of refusal over compliance). Where social distance could be maintained while performing the requested act, however, there was a significant excess of compliance over refusal ( $+50.0$ ), indicating substantial correspondence between attitude and behavior. For the most prejudiced subjects, where the act implied a reduction of social distance, the excess of refusal over compliance was  $-37.5$ . Under conditions in which the act did not imply a reduction of social distance, the most-prejudiced subjects still exhibited a significant excess of refusal over compliance ( $-36.0$ ). This may be attributable to the confounding influence of high social constraint. Thus, social distance implications would seem to have substantial effects among both the least-prejudiced subjects and the most-prejudiced subjects. In particular, consistency between attitudes and action was sharply reduced for the least-prejudiced subjects when the act implied a reduction of social distance. Thus, the general idea expressed in Proposition 3 appears tenable.

TABLE 5. PERCENT COMPLYING MINUS PERCENT REFUSING, SOCIAL DISTANCE IMPLICATIONS ONLY

| Verbal Attitude   | Social Distance Implications |             |
|-------------------|------------------------------|-------------|
|                   | Reducing                     | Maintaining |
| Least Prejudiced: | $-10.5$                      | $+50.0^*$   |
| Most Prejudiced:  | $-37.5^*$                    | $-36.0^*$   |

\* Indicates  $p$  less than .05.

The three-way interactions between social constraint, social distance and initial attitude are presented in Table 6. We may first observe the relationship between situational variables and behavior for the least prejudiced subjects. Under conditions of high social constraint in which a reduction of social distance is implied, there is an excess of refusal over compliance ( $-33.3$  percentage points). However, because of small  $n$ 's, this relationship is not significantly different from zero (indicating no relationship between attitudes and behavior). Under conditions of high social constraint in which social distance can be maintained, there is a significant excess of compliance over refusal ( $+60.0$ ), indicating a high degree of correspondence between attitudes and action. Under conditions of low social constraint, there is little or no relationship between attitudes and behavior (possibly due to the small  $n$ 's in these cells). However, the trend appears to be in the same direction as that observed under conditions of high social constraint.

These interactional situations seem to have had a somewhat different effect for the most prejudiced subjects. Under conditions of high social constraint, where the act implied a reduction of social distance, there is a significant excess of refusal over compliance.

TABLE 6. PERCENT COMPLYING MINUS PERCENT REFUSING, SOCIAL DISTANCE AND SOCIAL CONSTRAINT CONSIDERED JOINTLY

| Verbal Attitude   | Social Constraint                 |             |                                  |             |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|-------------|
|                   | High Social Distance Implications |             | Low Social Distance Implications |             |
|                   | Reducing                          | Maintaining | Reducing                         | Maintaining |
| Least Prejudiced: | $-33.3$                           | $+60.0^*$   | $+10.0$                          | $+38.5$     |
| Most Prejudiced:  | $-37.5^*$                         | $-50.0$     | $+12.5$                          | $-11.1$     |

\* Indicates  $p$  less than .05.

Thus, the figure —87.5 percentage points indicates a high degree of consistency between a negative attitude and rejection of the attitude object. Under the conditions of low social constraint, the relationship between attitudes and behavior does not appear to be significant.

In summary of the foregoing examination of the results of the experiment, the following empirical regularities were observed:

1. For the *most-prejudiced* subjects, taken as a whole, there is a significant relationship between attitudes and behavior (Table 3).

2. For the *least-prejudiced* subjects, taken as a whole, there is a significant relationship between attitudes and behavior (Table 3).

3. Regardless of initial attitude, the factor of *high social constraint* tends to inhibit the subjects' willingness to comply with the requested behavior (Table 3).

4. Regardless of initial attitude, the factor of *low social constraint* tends to promote the subjects' willingness to comply with the requested behavior (Table 3).

5. Regardless of initial attitude, a situation which implies reduction of social distance tends to inhibit the subjects' willingness to comply with the requested behavior (Table 3).

6. Under conditions of *low social constraint*, there is a significant correspondence between attitudes and behavior for the least-prejudiced subjects (Table 4).

7. Under conditions of *high social constraint*, there is a significant correspondence between attitudes and behavior for the most-prejudiced subjects (Table 4).

8. Under conditions which imply either a *reduction of social distance* or *maintenance of social distance*, there is a significant correspondence between attitudes and behavior for the most-prejudiced subjects (Table 5).

9. Under conditions which imply *maintenance of social distance* there is a significant correspondence between attitudes and behavior for the least-prejudiced subjects (Table 5).

10. Under conditions of *high social constraint* in which *social distance* can be *maintained*, there is a significant correspondence between attitudes and behavior for the least-prejudiced subjects (Table 6).

11. Under conditions of *high social constraint* in which *social distance* is *reduced*,

there is a significant correspondence between attitudes and behavior for the most-prejudiced subjects (Table 6).

### Discussion:

The experimental conditions used in the present study are composed of various combinations of the social constraint and social distance dichotomies discussed previously. Both of these rather complex factors relate directly to norms in the following manner. First, disclosure of an act (high social constraint situation) makes it possible for others to administer external sanctions upon one's behavior. Presumably, when one's behavior is open to surveillance by others, the individual is subject to possible negative sanctions if his behavior deviates from the expectations that others hold or the norms to which they give approval.<sup>18</sup> Secondly, social distance considerations have implications for interaction. If one denies social distance considerations which others define as normative, he risks potential sanctions—provided these others discover the nature of his act. It is therefore necessary to make assertions as to whether norms are favorable or unfavorable toward certain types of interaction. As was pointed out earlier, an underlying assumption of the present study is that the normative environment is hostile toward integration (see Footnote 4). In view of these statements, the findings of the present research are reasonably consistent with what one might expect. Thus, the least-prejudiced subjects tend to be most consistent when they are not exposed to potential sanctions which support norms that are unfavorable toward integration. That is, their attitudes and actions tend to correspond under low social constraint (anonymity protected) and social distance maintaining situations. When, however, they are asked to behave favorably toward the attitude object in situations in which they would be violating norms (social distance reduction) and directly disclosing their acts to others (high social constraint), a great

<sup>18</sup> The early study by Schanck (1932) offers a demonstration of compliance to norms when one is under surveillance by others and violation of norms when the individual is not under direct surveillance. Kelman (1958) also discusses three processes which influence conformity to norms.

deal of inconsistency can be noted between their attitudes and behavior.

For the most-prejudiced subjects, on the other hand, norms which are hostile toward integration are *supportive* of their attitudes. Thus, for the most-prejudiced subjects, one would expect the greatest correspondence between attitudes and behavior under conditions of surveillance (high social constraint) and for those acts which are normatively prohibited (reduction of social distance and hence lowering of barriers to interaction). The results of the present study seem to support these interpretations quite clearly.

In general, the present data and the interpretations are consistent with a "field view of prejudice and discrimination." (Yinger, 1965:244-266). This viewpoint specifies the joint implications of individual tendencies (attitudes) and structural supports (norms) for behavior. Or, stated differently, these data support the postulate of contingent consistency.

In spite of this general support for the point of view represented by Yinger, it can be suggested that a more adequate formulation of the way in which behavior is linked with attitude in the area of ethnic relations would combine: (1) Merton's original types of discriminators, (2) Yinger's model of the differential probability of discriminatory acts which are contingent upon varying socio-cultural environments, and (3) the theoretical implications of the data assembled in the present paper.

Merton's categories, of course, are little more than locations of individuals on a dichotomous measurement of attitude, combined with a two-fold classification of conformity or non-conformity to official creeds (of non-discrimination). Although Merton maintained, as we noted earlier, that attitude and action vary independently, his verbal discussion did little to clarify the issue.

The strength of Yinger's formulation is that he attempted to specify for each of Merton's types the kind of socio-cultural system within which discrimination was or was not likely to occur. This clarified the relationship between attitudes and action by subsuming it under the postulate of contingent consistency rather than that of independent variation.

Unfortunately, Yinger's model is not satis-

factory in all respects. For one thing, it was generated (as was Merton's original work) on the basis of hypothetical data. Furthermore, it makes certain logically inconsistent predictions. (For example, it provides a cell representing the "all-weather illiberal" who does *not* discriminate in a "liberal environment." Such a person would scarcely be an "all-weather" discriminator.) Finally, the model depicts rather specific socio-cultural environments which may not be in tune with the contemporary climate of ethnic relations. (For example, a "northern city" may now be a highly prejudiced cultural environment.)

For these reasons, a modified and somewhat more general model, suggested in part by our present data, has been formulated to describe ideal-typical relationships prevailing between types of discriminators (following Merton) and the situational variables within which discrimination is to be predicted. This formulation is portrayed graphically in Figure 3:

The relationships suggested in Figure 3 constitute an oversimplified representation of the general shape which a more adequate theory of discrimination will eventually take. The Merton typology is still a simple two-fold system which should be replaced with more sophisticated continua. There may be a number of "individual tendencies" in addition to attitudes which can be identified. Rokeach, for example, suggests that beliefs and values play an important part in the attitudinal behavior of the individual (Rokeach 1967). Numerous other individual variables can be suggested (inner and other directedness, need for approval, alienation, status anxiety, etc.). The situational variables, which are lumped together into a simple four-fold system, can obviously be broken down into a multiplicity of interactional and cultural concepts. These may alter the probabilities that a person with given individual tendencies will engage in an act of discrimination. The present research has indicated in empirical terms the way in which two such variables can be important (social distance and social constraint, as defined). Numerous other potential situational variables have been or can be suggested (reference groups, significant others, voluntary organizations, peers, roles, subcultures, etc.).

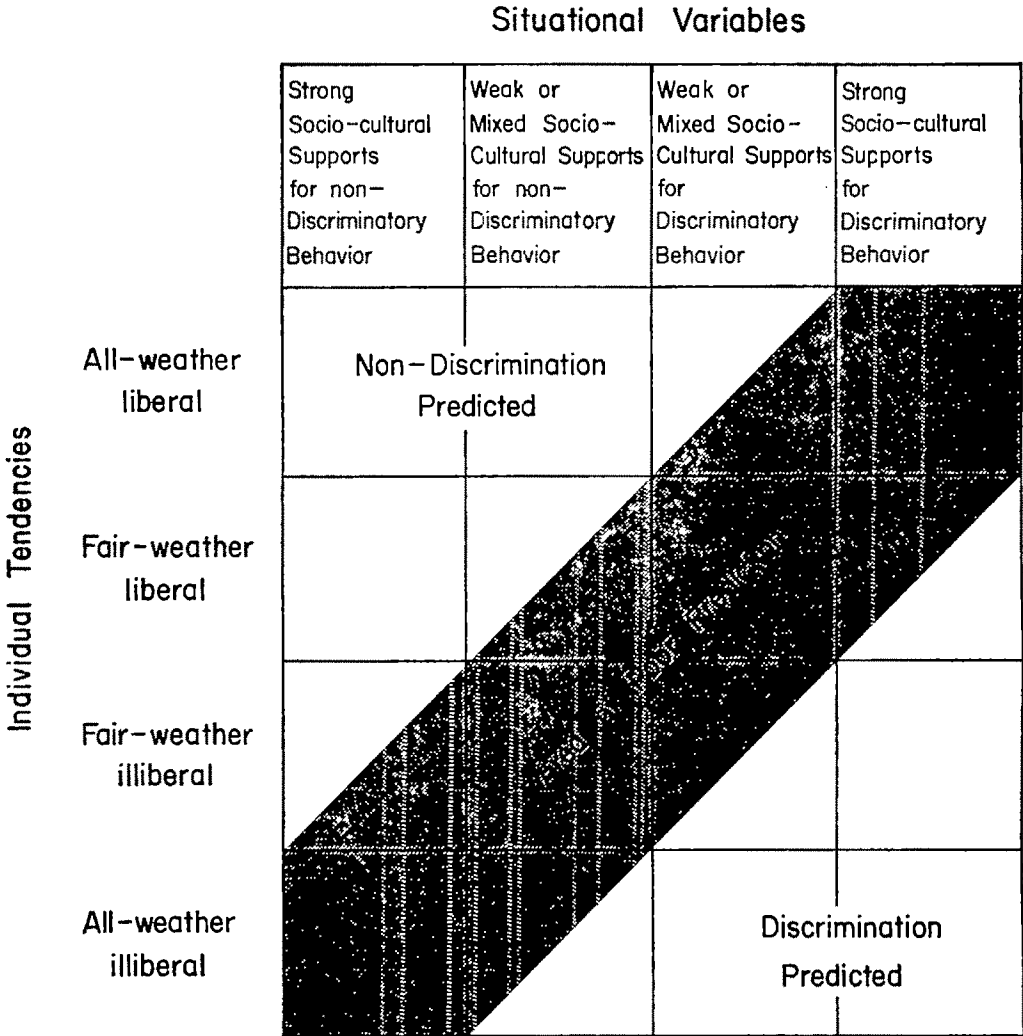


FIGURE 3. SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF HYPOTHESIZED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTITUDES, SITUATIONAL VARIABLES, AND OVERT BEHAVIOR

As research accumulates, these factors can be placed in multivariate systems which should provide causal models explaining and predicting the probability of discrimination under a wide variety of personal, social and cultural situations. Hopefully, the over-simplified scheme suggested in Figure 3 will soon become obsolete.

Perhaps more than anything else, the implications of the present research pose a warning for sociological researchers who are interested in the problems of ethnic relations. There is a danger that *fundamental* research on minority relations will turn away from the sources, nature and consequences of prejudice to focus on the more dramatic

riots, social movements and other collective behavior issues of the moment. Although these dramatic events are significant, the basic task of theory building concerning the manifestations of prejudice remains far from completion. Providing explanations of why one human being holds antipathies toward another in such a way that he commits acts of discrimination in a society deeply devoted to democratic principles is still the heart of the research task.

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# DISRUPTION, SOCIAL LOCATION AND INTERPRETIVE PRACTICES: THE CASE OF WAYNE, NEW JERSEY \*

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*The responses of the Jewish residents of a New Jersey community to religious allegations that arose in the course of a local election were investigated by means of a questionnaire mailed to all known Jewish families in the community. The data indicated that Jewish participation and identity were positively related to a response of increased ethnocentrism; cross-ties were negatively related to increased ethnocentrism and positively to response of anomie; localism was positively related to a response of anomie. An attempt was made to specify these relationships by introducing the variable "discussion with Gentiles." Discussing the issue with Gentiles had an important effect on the way in which Jewish residents reacted to the events in question.*

MERTON (1957:456) has defined the sociology of knowledge as primarily concerned with "... the relation between knowledge and other existential factors in the society or culture." In its widest sense this would include all that passes for knowledge in a society, from abstract theories to everyday "common-sense" meanings and ideas. Merton has also provided a paradigm that directs the researcher in posing theoretical questions in this area of investigation. This paradigm has been adhered to in our research, which attempts to find the social determinants of beliefs concerning the motives and behaviors of one group from the perspective of another. In response to Merton's question, "What mental products are being sociologically analyzed?" (1957:461), the answer in its briefest form would be, "the typification of others."

The "existential bases" of such typifications (1957:460) involve primarily what we shall name "variables of social location,"

variables that concern the nature of one's group ties. To explain such "existentially conditioned mental productions" (1957:461), a social-psychological theory of meaning will be utilized. In this way social location will be related to the manner in which typifications are acquired and maintained.

Relationships between groups are normally routinized through the stereotypes or typifications that each has of the other. Such typifications provide a group with a stable framework of interpretation in analyzing the behavior and motivations of other groups in its environment. Similarly, individuals are able to structure their social worlds by drawing upon the "recipes" that their own groups provide (Schutz, 1962:348). Theoretically, therefore, we can expect individuals to interpret the behaviors and motivations of other groups by drawing upon either the perspectives of their own group(s) or of those other than their own. Also, it is possible that neither one's own group nor any other provides a satisfactory interpretation of an event.

Of interest are those situations where routine relations between groups become fractured. In such cases, reciprocal typifications surface; they become points of reference for interpretations that seek to structure the now unstructured situation.

A situation in the community of Wayne, New Jersey, provided an instance of the disruption of the routine relationships between two groups—the Jewish and the Gentile residents of the community. This study

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examines the reactions of the Jewish residents to the incident.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE CASE OF WAYNE, NEW JERSEY

Wayne, New Jersey, is one of many "bedroom communities" in the New York Metropolitan area. A total of twenty-seven square miles in area, it could be considered a community in name only. A fitting description of Wayne is provided by Stark and Steinberg (1967:6):

The reality behind the name is a conglomeration of a half a dozen distinct residential communities, each committed to its own name. There is not even any real physical unity to Wayne. Several of its communities are separate geographic units set apart by highways that meander through the suburban sprawl called Wayne. There is no downtown. Instead there are several shopping centers, small islands of commerce and parking adrift in a residential sea. Public buildings, schools, and churches are similarly dispersed, standing alone amid houses. Thus the town lacks any common center, and its physical disunity both reflects and sustains the deeper social chasms that divide the community.

Wayne's lack of social integration as a community is related not only to this highly fragmented and decentralized ecology, but also to the rapid growth in population and high turnover of residents in recent years. It has grown from a community of 11,822 in 1950 to a population of 29,353 in 1960; 42,000 in 1965; and 47,000 in 1966. These recent migrants included a large number of Jewish families that split the community into Jewish and non-Jewish sectors. In 1958 Wayne had only 15 Jewish families; by 1967 the number of Jewish families had increased to an estimated 850.

The presence of Jewish residents was a new experience for Wayne, as was their later prominence in the civic life of the community. Over the years incidents of bigotry erupted—e.g., a "Nazi Regime of America" was uncovered in 1959 at the local high school, and a swastika was carved into the door of the temple; in 1965 a cross was burned at a Jewish industrial site and threat-

ening calls were received at the temple. Two of the large residential areas in Wayne also became known, through court actions, for maintaining restrictive covenants.

Social segregation did much to prevent these isolated incidents from erupting into an overt conflict between Christians and Jews. In fact, before the school board election incident, which is the subject of this paper, there was a prevailing belief in the tolerance and brotherhood of the community by all parties. The school board issue shattered this belief.

In February, 1967 the residents of Wayne were about to vote for three members to the school board, and on a proposal to increase the school budget. The mood of the electorate was against an increase in the budget despite support for it from most community leaders. However, since in the past budgets had eventually passed, the officials were optimistic. Of the five candidates for election to the school board, four favored the budget proposal; of these four, two were Jewish (the lone dissenting candidate was non-Jewish and had been running a very ineffective campaign). The vice-president of the school board, Newton Miller, was opposed to the budget increase, although all the other members of the board favored it. A week before the election, when the electorate appeared to be becoming more positive toward the increase, Miller publicly attacked the two Jewish candidates in the local newspaper. In Miller's words:

Most Jewish people are liberals, especially when it comes to spending for education. If Kraus and Mandel are elected . . . and Fred Lafer (another Jewish board member) is in for two more years, that's a three to six vote. It would only take two more votes for a majority, and Wayne would be in real financial trouble.

Two more votes and we lose what is left of Christ in our Christmas celebrations in the schools. Think of it.

These remarks were followed by instant denunciation of Miller by civic and religious leaders. Soon the national press got onto the situation and the issue received nationwide attention. In an emergency school board meeting, Miller was censured and called upon to resign. Miller said he was sorry

<sup>1</sup> Stark and Steinberg (1967) found the Gentile members of the community reluctant to be questioned in the face of the bad publicity directed at them. This led us to restrict our study to Jewish residents.

for the incident and denied that he had appealed to anti-Semitism. He refused to resign or to retract his original statement, claiming that it was true but misinterpreted. Public outcry was maintained up until the election, as was the denunciation of bigotry by the local leadership; also, the town remained in public view through the attention paid it by national newspapers and television.

It seemed that in response to this publicity the budget would be passed and the Jewish candidates elected to the school board. Both Jewish candidates were, however, overwhelmingly beaten by a two to one margin and the budget went down by a three to one margin.

Whether or not Miller's statements and the electorates actions were in fact anti-Semitic could be considered moot. Note, for example, the interpretation given by one sociologist (Stember, 1967):

While we cannot of course know precisely what motivated the citizens of Wayne in their recent vote on the school board and budget, it would seem to be unwarranted to conclude that they were motivated by anti-Semitism as such. That they voted down the increased school budget and at the same time rejected two much-publicized candidates who were in favor of it seems on the face of it a perfectly consistent set of actions.

Apart from his gratuitous remarks about Christ and Christmas, Mr. Miller's charges—to wit, that Jews tend to be in favor of large school budgets—do not strike one as an unfair or untrue accusation and is not an attack on the Jews for what they are but for their views on education—a charge which the two candidates should have proudly accepted. . . .

Whether the "Christ in our Christmas" remark was unwarranted, however, was also argued. The question of religion in the schools, in fact, had been raised in Wayne with respect to Christmas celebrations. Shortly before Christmas the local rabbi had met with the Superintendent of Schools to discuss the school's policy on Christmas carols. One well-meaning teacher then apparently substituted some such words as "Frosty the Snow Man" whenever the word "Christ" appeared in a Christmas carol, an act that received bad publicity in the community. Whether or not this aspect of

Miller's remark was "anti-Semitic" or simply an "objective statement of fact" could also be considered unclear.

As many studies of the response to ambiguous situations have shown, there is a "search for meaning" on behalf of the perceiver, an attempt to interpret the stimulus by placing it in a class of percepts of which it is believed to be a member (Cf. Bruner, 1957; Heider, 1958). Meanings or interpretations are, therefore, organizing factors in perception. Could Miller's statements simply be considered factually true (even if in bad taste), or were they anti-Semitic? Because the event in question could not be clarified and judged by objective means, individuals had to acquire and/or validate their interpretations by turning to other people. As Festinger (1954:118) has said, "To the extent that objective non-social means are not available, people evaluate their opinions and abilities by comparison respectively with the opinions and abilities of others."<sup>2</sup>

Such was the situation in Wayne that social validation of what had happened became of crucial importance for the residents. Stark and Steinberg's (1967) investigation indicated that most of the Gentile residents did not see the events as documentary evidence of anti-Semitism. Our investigations, on the other hand, did not show that all of the Jewish residents took the opposite view. What were the conditions that influenced the way in which Jewish residents were able to make sense of the events? Our major assumption was that such conditions were related to the person's social location in the Wayne community. We shall look at how these events were responded to by the Jewish residents: Who reverted to the primitive, consensually valid interpretations of their religious group, who used the interpretive order of another group, and who interpreted these events in a manner reflecting anomie? We will attempt to explain which of these outcomes characterized which people in the Jewish community.

<sup>2</sup> The classical statement of the view that group influences grow stronger as the judgmental situation diminishes in clarity is, of course, Solomon Asch's (1952).



## METHOD

*Construction of a Questionnaire*

The questionnaire used in data collection was primarily closed-end in format; statements were constructed from discussions with local residents and rabbis, and what transpired at a meeting of the local Jewish Council. Such observations helped to delimit the various ways in which community members conceptualized and responded to these events.

Community members generally used clichés to characterize the events and their possible outcome. We first compiled these "cook book" interpretations and categorizations and, on theoretical grounds, divided them into more general categories. The attempt was made to construct for the questionnaire statements that were similar to those being verbalized by community members. Although some of the items were vague—e.g., "since the school board issue, I don't know what to expect next in Wayne"—they were no more so than actual responses to the event.

Even though interviews were the most appropriate method for our study, problems of time and cost necessitated the use of a mailed questionnaire. With the questionnaire we attempted not to superimpose a "scientific" and precise interpretation of the events as a model of reaction, but rather to tap the respondent's subscription to "cook book" reactions as verbalized in the community. Items were also constructed to measure the respondent's social location in the community, which we thought would affect subscription to these various response categories.

*Distribution of the Questionnaire*

The questionnaire was constructed and mailed to 700 Jewish families in Wayne within three weeks following the school board election. The names and addresses of "all the known Jewish families in Wayne" (both affiliated and unaffiliated with the temple) were obtained through use of the local Jewish Council's listing, which was agreed by the Jewish leaders in the community to be the most complete and up-to-date list available. In a cover letter, every other family received alternate instructions as to whether

the husband or wife should answer the questionnaire.

Although leaders of the Jewish community estimated the Jewish population of Wayne at 850 families, they could not cite the source of this estimate. The Jewish Council's listing had only 700 families, not 850. Thus, it is difficult to judge the extent of discrepancy between the actual and listed number of Jewish families. Certainly the high rate of influx into Wayne makes such a list difficult to keep up-to-date, and those newcomers who do not identify strongly as Jews are probably the least likely to be included on the list.

Of the 700 questionnaires mailed, some 35 questionnaires did not reach the intended families due to a change of address; 400 were returned completed by the respondents, giving a response rate of 60%.

*Description of the Sample*

The population characteristics of those who completed the questionnaire, compared, where possible, with the residents of Wayne as a whole, as they are described by the 1960 census,<sup>8</sup> are as follows.

*Residence:* Twenty-nine per cent of the respondents, as compared to 28.7% of all the residents of Wayne, had lived in Wayne for less than three years; 39.6% of the respondents had lived in Wayne between three and five years, and 31.3% for over five years. According to the 1960 census, 30.1% of all Wayne residents had lived there for three to six years, and 41.2% for seven years or more.

Eighty-four per cent of the respondents owned their own homes as compared to 91.6% of all Wayne residents. Among the respondents 60.3% lived in the predominantly Jewish sub-area of Wayne known as Preakness.

The following data indicate the "bedroom" character of Wayne: 34.7% of the respondents reported that most of the friends that they socialize with live in Wayne, 42.4% cited other suburban areas, 4.1%

<sup>8</sup> Data are not available for comparing our respondents with the population of the Jewish residents in Wayne.

cited a larger New Jersey city, and 17.1% cited New York City or New York State. With respect to visiting relatives, 36.4% reported New York City as the modal place of residence of these relatives and only 1.0% cited Wayne. In addition, while 83.7% of the respondents regularly read a New York City newspaper, nearly half of the respondents (48.7%) stated that they did not regularly read one of the local Wayne papers.

*Income:* In 1966, 55.3% of the families in the sample had incomes in excess of \$15,000 per annum, in contrast with only 9.6% for all the residents of Wayne as reported in the 1960 census. Approximately 89% of the sample had family incomes of \$10,000 or more compared to 33.3% for all Wayne residents in the 1960 census.

*Occupation:* As might be expected from the above, members of the sample are in higher occupational status categories than many members of the community. For example, 49.0% of the sample were in professional or technical occupations, compared to 19.3% for Wayne as a whole.

Regarding place of work, the head of the household of only 16.1% of the sample worked in Wayne; 27.7% worked in a larger New Jersey city, and 19.4% worked in New York City. The remainder (34.7%) worked in surrounding suburban areas. The 1960 Census shows that 42.5% of the employed persons in Wayne worked outside their county of residence.

*Education:* Of the sample, 84.8% had at least some college education; of these, 37.2% had a college degree and 21.0%, a graduate degree. According to the 1960 Census, only 12.2% of Wayne as a whole had completed college. Among Wayne residents, 52.9% had completed four years of high school or more as compared with 97.9% for our sample.

*Other:* Our sample was comprised of 56.9% males and 42.8% females. Nearly half the sample (45.8%) were under 36 years of age, 50.6% were 36 to 55 years of age, and only 3.5% were over 55. Our sample also showed 98.5% were married and 97.2% had at least one child.

### *Construction of Indexes*

The items used in the questionnaire were

designed to be part of composite measures that reflected our theoretical interests. When the data were in, factor analyses were employed to check the extent to which our theoretical clustering of items matched their observed clustering. The resultant factor loadings, which were applied as weights to the items, altered somewhat our conceptual indexes, for the most part weighting down a small number of items initially conceived as part of the index.

Separate factor analyses were run—with Varimax solutions—for variables considered independent and dependent. Factor scores were then computed for each respondent on each factor. The factors and the loadings of their constituent items are presented in Tables 1 and 2.<sup>4</sup> The factors were respectively titled: Increased Ethnocentrism, Anomie, Cross-ties, Jewish Participation and Identity, and Localism. Kuder-Richardson tests were run on each composite measure. The coefficients of reliability for the indexes were: Increased Ethnocentrism, .81; Anomie, .75; Cross-Ties, .69; Jewish Participation and Identity, .69; Localism, .55.

### *Relations Between Composite Measures*

Since the reliability coefficients were not as high as might be desired, we decided to err on the side of conservatism in classifying our respondents. As our own conceptual leanings were also more toward a discrete clustering of respondents, rather than their distribution along calibrated increments of a continuous variable, for each dimension we decided to dichotomize respondents into high and low groups. Our field work had indicated that in discussions of the issues people classified each other in a dichotomous way rather than along a continuum, and data from the questionnaire produced bimodal distributions. Thus we split the respondents at a point between these modes. Cross-tabulations were then run between the presumed independent and dependent variables, and chi-squares and gammas were used to test for association and statistical significance.

<sup>4</sup> In Tables 1 and 2, items are included only if they loaded over .35 on some factor.

TABLE 1. RESPONSE TO THE SCHOOL BOARD ISSUE

| Items                                                                                                         | "Dependent Variable" Factor Analysis   |                      |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------|
|                                                                                                               | "Increased<br>Ethnocentrism"<br>Factor | "Anomie"<br>Factor * |
| Since the school board issue, I have an increased dislike for Gentiles in general                             | .710                                   | — .175               |
| Since the school board issue, I have tended to increase my associations with Jewish friends                   | .671                                   | — .170               |
| Since the school board issue, I have somewhat decreased my associations with Gentiles                         | .619                                   | — .112               |
| Since the school board issue, I feel somewhat strange when associating with Gentiles                          | .429                                   | — .206               |
| Since the school board issue, I feel <i>less</i> secure in my relations with Gentiles                         | .413                                   | — .282               |
| Since the school board issue, I <i>more</i> strongly disapprove of interfaith marriages for Jewish people     | .392                                   | — .062               |
| Since the school board issue, I feel <i>more</i> strongly that Jewish people should stick together            | .361                                   | — .137               |
| The school board issue has created a desire on my part to move to another community                           | .147                                   | — .452               |
| This whole thing in Wayne will probably have lasting effects on the Jewish-Gentile relations in the community | .186                                   | — .571               |
| Since the school board issue, I feel more that life is unpredictable                                          | .125                                   | — .453               |
| Since the school board issue, I sincerely don't know what to expect next in Wayne                             | .109                                   | — .612               |
| This thing in Wayne is probably going to get a lot worse before it's over                                     | .076                                   | — .575               |

\* Since we did not change signs on this factor, and likewise those marked by an asterisk in Table 2, persons classified as high on these factors were those who had lower absolute scores.

#### INTERPRETIVE RESPONSES TO THE "TROUBLE" IN WAYNE

There appeared to be two main responses to the events in Wayne on the part of its Jewish residents. The first of these, which appeared as the initial factor in the "dependent variable" factor analysis, we call *increased ethnocentrism*.

The events in Wayne affected individuals insofar as they were members of a particular religion. Thus, we had a situation whereby in-group—out-group identities achieved a position of great importance. For Jewish persons a threatening situation had arisen by virtue of their common membership in a religious category. One response would be to turn to one's "own" in order to obtain a frame of reference within which the events could be interpreted. Such a frame of reference came to be what we call "ethnocentric"—a selective re-interpretation of past events to show that trust in the out-group was misplaced and that tribal traditions concerning these others had been right all along. It is a common-place of sociology (Cf. Festinger et al., 1950; Pepitone and Reichling, 1955) that group cohesion increases with external threat. What is seldom added

is that with the increase of cohesion comes a greater acceptance of "official" interpretations of the source of threat, its nature, and its resolution (Cf. Secord and Backman, 1964:435-443). Especially apparent is a theory of how things have come to be what in fact they now are. It is this among other things that provides the group member with an acceptable framework of interpretation; in this case the explanation of what happened revolved around the anti-Semitism of the Gentile.

The second main response made by Jewish residents, the second factor in the "dependent variable" factor analysis, we decided to refer to as *anomie*.

The "trouble" in Wayne, like all "trouble," had upset routine. Many taken for granted aspects of the world ceased to have routine status, and instead became problematic. A consequence of this was that for many, events became highly unpredictable, resulting in increased difficulty in holding stable expectations of the future.

While we could expect that Jewish persons in Wayne would become more anomic as a result of the school board issue, such a condition did not affect all to the same

TABLE 2. SOCIAL LOCATION

| Item                                                                                                                                                   | "Independent Variable" Factor Analysis |                                                   |                        |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
|                                                                                                                                                        | "Cross-Ties"<br>Factor *               | "Jewish<br>Participation<br>Identity"<br>Factor * | "Localism"<br>Factor * |
| Most of my closest friends are Jewish                                                                                                                  | .663                                   | -.107                                             | .003                   |
| I associate socially with Gentiles as much as with Jewish people                                                                                       | -.662                                  | .030                                              | .175                   |
| Of your three best friends, how many are Jewish (scale of 0 to 4)                                                                                      | .644                                   | -.090                                             | -.005                  |
| I have many Gentile friends                                                                                                                            | -.609                                  | -.036                                             | -.002                  |
| Most of the organizations in which I am active are primarily Jewish                                                                                    | .407                                   | -.355                                             | .110                   |
| Most of our social life revolves around the temple                                                                                                     | .164                                   | -.503                                             | -.093                  |
| I attend temple (scale of Never to Almost Weekly or More)                                                                                              | -.097                                  | -.579                                             | -.171                  |
| What temple do you belong to? (scale of None to Conservative)                                                                                          | -.096                                  | -.418                                             | -.073                  |
| I feel that I am an integral part of the Jewish community in Wayne                                                                                     | .068                                   | -.557                                             | -.295                  |
| All Jewish families should affix a mezuzah to the door post of their homes                                                                             | -.004                                  | -.534                                             | .067                   |
| I keep a kosher home                                                                                                                                   | .003                                   | -.428                                             | .197                   |
| I feel I am an integral part of the Wayne community-at-large                                                                                           | -.183                                  | -.080                                             | -.417                  |
| I probably will be living in Wayne ten years from now                                                                                                  | .135                                   | -.154                                             | -.468                  |
| I own a home in Wayne (vs. rent a house or apartment)                                                                                                  | .049                                   | -.095                                             | -.563                  |
| I have children in the Wayne public schools (vs. plan to have children in Wayne public schools, have children only in other schools, have no children) | .040                                   | .076                                              | -.499                  |
| My family's annual income is (scale of less than \$7,500 to \$30,000 or more)                                                                          | .014                                   | .121                                              | -.421                  |

extent. Being able to predict the future with certainty was hypothesized to be more important to some people than others, especially to those who had made greater community "investments" with a view to future returns. Such people had more to lose and thus were expected to be more anxious about the future.

These investments were considered to be of two types, "Interpersonal" and "objective." The first type characterized the person who had a strong social investment in Jewish-Gentile relationships and therefore had a lot to lose from a disruption of intergroup relationships. The second type of investment characterized people who had more objective investments in the community—persons who had bought a house there, who had children in the school system, etc. We expected that both types of investments would be positively related to a response of anomie, as it was defined by our factor.

#### DETERMINANTS OF THE RESPONSES

Variables of social location were considered to be of importance in determining the response of various Jewish residents to the events of the school board issue. The so-

cial location variables that we measured were labelled in the "independent variable" factor analysis as *Jewish participation and identity*, *cross-ties*, and *localism*.

Jewish participation and identity was hypothesized to be positively related to increased ethnocentrism; that for these people the obvious place to seek interpretations of an ambiguous event that had religious ramifications was their own religious group. Such a group would be more cohesive at a time involving what seemed to be a direct threat from a more powerful out-group. Thus pressures would exist for conformity to its definition of the situation; this definition, as already suggested, centered around the anti-Semitism of Miller and the Gentile electorate. Conversely, it was hypothesized that cross-ties would be negatively related to increased ethnocentrism for the reason that a person who has ties to more than one group is more likely to entertain interpretations of the event that come from other groups that he is tied to, rather than to accept *carte blanche* the interpretations of his own religious group. His interpretation, therefore, is less likely to center around the anti-Semitism of the Gentile. This is also consistent with many studies that show the greater the

contact between minority and majority group members of the same status, the more likely is prejudice to be reduced (French, 1941; Leighton, 1945; Pepitone and Kleiner, 1957).

With regard to anomie, it was felt that persons with high cross-ties would be more likely to become anomic because of higher interpersonal investments than those who did not have high cross-ties. Furthermore, the person with high cross-ties is often in the situation of the marginal man; he does not necessarily accept the interpretations of his own religious group and neither is he sure that the interpretations of other groups he has contact with are necessarily correct. He is in the position of handling conflicting interpretations, which gives rise to the greater possibility of his becoming anomic.

The persons who had made the greatest "objective" investments in the community were the locals. For them, predictions regarding the future were of great importance. As the situation stood, long-term predictions about the outcome of the disruption were impossible to make. In this regard, therefore, it was expected that localism would be positively related to anomie.

## RESULTS

### *The Ethnocentric Response*

Above, we outlined a perception of the world that we termed "ethnocentric." Support for these contentions was provided by the following items that correlated with the factor scores on increased ethnocentrism: the beliefs that Miller's feelings were shared by most Gentiles ( $\gamma=.27$ ), that he had picked up Gentile support since making his remarks ( $\gamma=.24$ ), and that most of the Gentiles they knew were not upset by these

remarks or the results of the election ( $\gamma=.24$ ). Moreover, people who scored high on increased ethnocentrism were more likely to agree that the affair did not come as a surprise to them ( $\gamma=.25$ ) and that it was better that the remarks were made so that people could see that anti-Semitism existed in Wayne ( $\gamma=.34$ ). (For all gammas presented in this paper, the contingency table chi-squares are significant at least at the .05 level.)

The data suggest that among those who increased in ethnocentrism, retrospective interpretations were made that what had happened was a latent phenomenon made manifest, a phenomenon that had always existed, and which now became the basis for interpretations of present events.

*Jewish Participation and Identification.* Accepting the interpretative scheme of the ascribed membership group, however, was a process that did not include all Jewish persons, or all of them to the same extent. We predicted that the more Jewish a person's participation and identification, the more he would accept the scheme of interpretation offered by the in-group and, thus, the more ethnocentric he would become. The data bore this out ( $\gamma=.32$ ; see Table 3).

Those who did participate and identify strongly as Jews also responded differently than low participants and identifiers to items that were independent of the increased ethnocentrism factor. For example, those who scored high on this participation-identification factor were less likely to agree with the statement that there was some truth in Miller's remarks ( $\gamma=.23$ ), or that Jews were often as responsible for anti-Semitic incidents as were Gentiles ( $\gamma=.18$ ). They were also more likely to agree that the remarks were beneficial in bringing anti-

TABLE 3. RELATION BETWEEN JEWISH PARTICIPATION-IDENTITY AND INTERPRETIVE RESPONSE

| Correlation ( $\gamma$ ) Between Jewish Participation-Identity and: | Total Group (N=398) | Partialled                                        |                                                         |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                                     |                     | Discussed issue with quite a few Gentiles (N=264) | Did not discuss issue with quite a few Gentiles (N=124) |
| Increased Ethnocentrism                                             | + .32               | + .10 (NS)*                                       | + .64                                                   |
| Anomie                                                              | .00 (NS)            | .00 (NS)                                          | -.06 (NS)                                               |

\* NS is used to indicate that  $\chi^2$  did not reach the .05 level of significance.

Semitism to the surface in Wayne ( $\gamma=.24$ ) and to have interpreted that since the issue they had experienced anti-Semitic incidents ( $\gamma=.59$ ).

The increased ethnocentrism of those who scored high on the Jewish participation-identification factor is illustrated in the following responses to an open-end question that asked for reactions to the issue:

I now believe most Gentiles are anti-Semitic, although they pretend otherwise. I do not believe that education erases an anti-Semitic upbringing.

Outrage. Then realization that the condition was not new—had existed here, undercover, for some long while. Glad a big noise was made, and hope that the Jews can now do something to educate this typically narrow-minded town.

Perhaps this matter will make all the younger Jewish people aware of their Jewishness and shock them from their complacency.

I just couldn't believe I had been so naive all these years, and not been aware of such wide-spread anti-Semitism.

Defining oneself unambiguously as a member of a group, in other words, makes one more receptive to the view of the world held by that group. In times of threat especially, such persons will be more supportive of messages of in-group virtues and out-group vices. Nor will they be as likely to seek other interpretive schemes to make sense out of events, as such action would implicitly challenge the validity of their group identity.

The fact that such persons generally will not seek other interpretative schemes is of great importance. For example, discussing the issue with Gentiles would have provided the opportunity for entertaining other interpretations of the event than those provided by one's ascribed membership group. The data bear this out: those who *did* discuss the issue with Gentiles were more likely than those who did not to disbelieve that Miller's views were shared by most Gentiles ( $\gamma=.18$ ), more likely to say that most of the Gentiles they associate with were upset by his remarks ( $\gamma=.63$ ), and less likely to say they had run into any anti-Semitic incidents as a result of the issue ( $\gamma=.45$ ). In addition, the events did not make them more aware of their Jewish identity ( $\gamma=.23$ ),

which further suggests an interpretation of the events by a framework other than that which we have called ethnocentrism. Among those who did not discuss the issue very much with Gentiles, the correlation between Jewish participation-identification and increased ethnocentrism is  $+.64$ ; among those who did discuss the issue with Gentiles, the correlation is reduced to  $+.10$ , and the contingency table chi-square is not significant (see Table 3). Thus participation-identification is most related to increased ethnocentrism among those who did not discuss the issue with Gentiles.

Those *not* participating and identifying strongly as Jews were, as hypothesized, found to be less likely to accept *carte blanche* the interpretive scheme of their ascribed group. Not identifying, they were receptive to considering other groups' interpretations. They were more likely to have discussed the issue with Gentiles ( $\gamma=.38$ ), and were more prone to see the event not as an expression of anti-Semitism but as due to rational and objective behavior ( $\gamma=.58$ ).

The following illustrate the reactions of those not identifying strongly as Jews:

I think the whole thing was blown out of proportion by the N. Y. press. . . . A town that has a ratio of 22 Gentiles to one Jew and had 2 Jewish members elected to the Town Council and 2 Jewish members elected to the Board of Education isn't exactly anti-Semitic.

I think Miller is not anti-Semitic, but just plain stupid. . . . Jews and Gentiles alike resented his implications and the notoriety he gave their township.

I feel that the budget was destined for defeat regardless of any other issues. The statement made by Miller was sincere by him—however ballooned out of proportion as a national incident.

Ridiculous. If people would mind their own business Wayne would not be on the map as you people think. We're no different than any other town. . . .

It is possible, of course, for one to be involved strongly as a Jew, and still discuss the issue with Gentiles and increase in ethnocentrism. The point here is that discussing the issue with Gentiles tended to be the response taken more by those lower in Jewish participation and identification, a response that allowed for alternative explanations of the events that occurred.

*Cross-Ties.* Cross-ties is here used to refer to friendships that Jewish residents had which crossed religious lines. The degree to which such cross-ties exist should be important in that, as previously mentioned, a person's way of seeing the world is greatly influenced by those with whom he associates.

The more groups a person has ties to, however, the more he has to choose which perspective he will adopt when different perspectives conflict. This latter situation existed for Jewish residents in Wayne who had ties to both Jewish and Gentile groups, and who had to choose between different group-based interpretations of the same event. Jewish residents with few cross-ties did not face this problem to the same extent.

The fewer cross-ties a person has, then, the less likely it is that he will be socialized to different interpretations of the world. When a crisis occurs, especially one concerning his group, the person with few cross-ties will have fewer interpersonal sources outside of his group from which to get a definition of what's happening.

The correlation between cross-ties and increased ethnocentrism is  $-.22$ . Among those who discussed the issue with quite a few Gentiles,  $\gamma$  is  $-.18$ . Among those who did not discuss the issue with quite a few Gentiles, the correlation increases to  $-.40$  (although because of the decreased  $N$  the chi-square for this table, as well as for the other partial, is not significant at the .05 level). Thus cross-ties produce the same pattern of partials as did participation and identification. The effects of social location decrease somewhat when persons have a chance to discuss the issue with the other side; the effects are greatest among those who did not enter into such discussion.

Those who had many cross-ties were, moreover, not only more likely to discuss the issue with Gentiles ( $\gamma=.52$ ), but they

also identified less as a Jew ( $\gamma=.36$ ) and discussed the issue less with their Jewish friends than did those having fewer cross-ties ( $\gamma=.45$ ). Those with greater cross-ties were also more prone to believe that there was a lot of truth in Miller's statements ( $\gamma=.33$ ) and did not believe that these ideas were shared by most Gentiles ( $\gamma=.21$ ); rather, they saw their Gentile friends as being upset by the statements ( $\gamma=.25$ ).

So far we have discussed the type of person who was more or less likely to turn to his ascribed membership group or to another group for definitions of the situation in Wayne. Our attention now turns to those who scored high on the factor we call "anomie."

#### *The Anomic Response*

Those who scored high on the anomie factor were also people who now felt less sure of themselves ( $\gamma=.29$ ), and who said that the issue weighed heavily on their minds ( $\gamma=.40$ ); in addition, they felt that the affair had had quite an effect on their families ( $\gamma=.42$ ). The following quotes are provided by these subjects:

Conservatives and Birchites are braver now and will become stronger and bolder. Many Jewish people will feel, too, that too much has been said, and tend to draw back. We're in for a bad period.

We always had wonderful relationships with our Gentile neighbors, but now I wonder how they really feel about us.

From a feeling of wanting to remain in Wayne the rest of my days, I know now that we will move sooner or later.

In our earlier discussion we suggested that the greater the investments people had made the more likely they would be affected by

TABLE 4. RELATION BETWEEN CROSS-TIES AND INTERPRETIVE RESPONSE

| Correlation ( $\gamma$ ) Between<br>Cross-Ties and: | Total Group | Partialled                                      |                                                       |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                     |             | Discussed<br>issue with quite<br>a few Gentiles | Did not discuss<br>issue with quite<br>a few Gentiles |
| Increased ethnocentrism                             | $-.22$      | $-.18$ (NS)                                     | $-.40$ (NS)                                           |
| Anomie                                              | $+.28$      | $+.21$ (NS)                                     | $+.31$ (NS)                                           |

the events in Wayne. Let us first consider the person who had made what we call interpersonal investments, the person with high cross-ties.

We saw that Jews with high cross-ties were more likely to discuss the school board issue with Gentiles ( $\gamma=.52$ ) and consequently were less ethnocentric in their response. But while the person with high cross-ties became less ethnocentric than those with low cross-ties, he became more anomic ( $\gamma=.28$ ).

Our interpretation of the data is that the more cross-ties a person has, the less ethnocentric he becomes, for the reason that he is better able, with the aid of discussions with Gentiles, to explain events that are initially problematic without falling back on interpretations held by his ascribed membership group. This being the case, "trust" is more likely to be initially extended and is less likely to be completely withdrawn by high cross-tied persons. High cross-ties, however, as a characteristic of social location, create a greater investment in, and concern over, future Jewish-Gentile relations. When trouble of the sort in Wayne occurs, it is likely that this trust is shaken. For example, the Jews with high cross-ties did not know in what direction many of their Gentile friends voted, yet might have suspected that some must have voted against the Jewish candidates by virtue of the magnitude of the defeat. Such suspicion is difficult to explain away. It is apparent that many Jews began to feel what Goffman (1963:122) calls "phantom acceptance."

... the person is advised to reciprocate naturally with an acceptance of himself and us, an acceptance of him that we have not quite extended him in the first place. A phantom acceptance is thus allowed to provide the base of a phantom normalcy.

Part of the routine world sustained by Jewish persons with high cross-ties rests on the belief of being accepted. The events that occurred came as a shock and the concerns of many centered around their "phantom acceptance"; the fact that "trusted people," in the sense of mutual compliance to an assumptive world (Garfinkel, 1963), were not always trustworthy destroyed the taken-for-granted nature of interaction with them.

Relationships with them were now less predictable; furthermore, if those people whom Jewish persons had thought were acceptive of them perhaps were not, then who among Gentiles could be trusted—a situation generative of high anomie.

Examples of responses to the open-end question show the following instances of suspected "phantom acceptance" among those who scored high on cross-ties and anomie:

It is going to be extremely difficult for me and my family to continue our social life with Gentiles as in the past.

I have personally experienced a situation where someone passed vicious anti-Jewish remarks in my presence following the election. This was done by a neighbor I knew for 10 years who apparently didn't know I was Jewish.

Most of my friends are Gentile, but a funny feeling creeps in now.

To summarize then, those Jews with few cross-ties did not discuss the issue very much with Gentiles but instead reverted to the interpretive scheme of their ascribed membership group. Since this scheme of interpretation is ethnocentric in nature, we argue that it has readily available explanations of events which preclude trusting Gentiles and which provide the groundwork of predictability, therefore less anomie. For those Jews with more cross-ties, discussion of the issue with Gentiles fails to fully clarify the situation. While they are not as likely to turn to an ethnocentric scheme of interpretation, they are more likely to exhibit anomie.

*Localism.* We can identify another category of Jewish persons in Wayne that have a high investment in the future of Jewish-Gentile relations in the community—those persons who are more "local"; those people, for example, who own their own home, who express a desire to live in Wayne in the future, and who define themselves as an integral part of the Wayne community. It was expected, therefore, that the more local a person was, the more anomic he would also become as a result of the trouble in Wayne. This relationship between localism and anomie was indicated by a gamma of  $+.28$



TABLE 5. RELATION BETWEEN LOCALISM AND INTERPRETIVE RESPONSE

| Correlation ( $\gamma$ ) Between<br>Localism and: | Total Group | Partialled                                      |                                                       |
|---------------------------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                   |             | Discussed<br>issue with quite<br>a few Gentiles | Did not discuss<br>issue with quite<br>a few Gentiles |
| Increased Ethnocentrism                           | + .05 (NS)  | + .07 (NS)                                      | — .10 (NS)                                            |
| Anomie                                            | + .28       | + .27                                           | + .36                                                 |

The investment produced by localism is different from the investment of high cross-ties. Those with many cross-ties have a subjective investment, an investment in interpersonal relationships that transcends religious identities. On the other hand, those scoring high on localism do not seem to be characterized primarily by this concern. In terms of ecology, for example, they are more likely than are non-locals to live in a more or less segregated Jewish sub-area of Wayne ( $\gamma = .19$ ) and they seem to carry out most of their social life in this sub-community. The nature of their investment appears to be more material and objective than interpersonal. This is indicated by the high factor loadings of home ownership, having children in the Wayne schools, and intending to still reside in Wayne ten years from now. The following reactions from Jewish residents scoring high on localism and anomie illustrate the nature of this investment:

From a feeling of wanting to remain in Wayne the rest of my days, I know now that we will move sooner or later. We are in business here. . . .

My first reaction was of overwhelming disappointment—both about the budget and the unusually large number of voters who turned out to vote emotionally rather than rationally.

. . . My present feeling is mainly one of disappointment about the defeat of the budget. Our family moved to Wayne for the main purpose of sending our children to good schools. What a disappointment!!

Wayne is a cultural wasteland. . . . There is truly little interest in quality education if it means the taxpayer is footing the bill.

We did not have any theoretical reason to suspect a relationship between localism and increased ethnocentrism, and none appeared.

## SUMMARY

Following Merton's sociology of knowledge paradigm, a study was designed to examine the interpretive responses made by the Jewish residents of Wayne, New Jersey, to religious allegations that arose in the course of a school board election.

The two main responses to this event appeared to be increased ethnocentrism and anomie. These responses were found to be related to the following variables of social location: Jewish participation and identity, cross-ties, and localism. Jewish participation and identity was shown to be positively related to increased ethnocentrism; cross-ties were negatively related to increased ethnocentrism but positively related to anomie; localism was shown to be positively related to anomie. These relationships were further specified by the introduction of the variable "discussion with Gentiles." The most significant results of this were as follows: the positive relationship between Jewish participation-identification and increased ethnocentrism was stronger among those Jewish residents who did *not* discuss the issue with Gentiles, and likewise the negative relationship between cross-ties and increased ethnocentrism was stronger for the low discussion group.

The above relationships were explained by using social psychological theories of investment and of response modes to ambiguous situations.

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## THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF RELIGIOUS AND ETHNORELIGIOUS GROUPS IN A METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY \*

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*The relatively new technique of smallest space analysis is used to analyze the formation of friendship relationships among 15 religious and 27 ethnoreligious groups. Three facets appear to account for the relative proximities of the 15 religious groups. First, there is confirmation of the well-known hypothesis that the American social structure is divided into three religious groupings: Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. Second, religious outgroup selection of friends follows the lines of similarity of socioeconomic status. And thirdly, similarity of religious beliefs and styles of worship may also be a factor, but some caution in accepting the relevance of this facet must be noted because of its relatively high association with the second facet, socioeconomic status.*

*In order to assess the possible role of ethnic considerations in modifying this structure, we combined ethnic and religious attributes of respondents and their friends into 27 ethnoreligious groups. We found that the structure is differentiated into the three broad religious groupings and, within these groupings, along socioeconomic status lines; moreover, ethnic differences were also playing a role in channeling friendship formation.*

WITH over 200 recognized religious bodies, the United States would appear to rank high among the nations in terms of its religious diversity. Histori-

league at the Center for Research on Social Organization, University of Michigan; and my research assistants, Stephen Cutler, Michael Harrison, and Moshe Hartman. Technical illustrations were prepared by Eugene Leppanen. This study was aided by grants from the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, University of Michigan, the National Institute of Mental Health (MH 13464-01), and the National Science Foundation (GS-1929).

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cally, however, many religious differences were sustained by ethnic or linguistic differences (e.g., the separation of the Dutch and German Reformed or the distinctions among Lutheran groups) (cf. Niebuhr, 1929; Mead, 1963; Gaustad, 1962; Lipset, 1963:140-169). As these differences moderated or disappeared in the course of assimilation, there often remained little rationale for continuing separate church organizations for doctrinally similar groups. For this and other reasons, some abatement in the proliferation of religious groups has occurred in recent years; moreover, the decline of some of the social sources of religious differentiation, accompanied by organizational pressures for unity, has resulted in a large number of mergers within and among Protestant groups (Lee, 1960) so that today a small number of denominations serve the majority of the Protestants.

Because of these developments many observers have concluded that religious differences in the population are more apparent than real (cf. Herberg, 1955; Williams, 1957; Lipset, 1963). Williams (1957:344), for example, observed:

It is variously noted that much of religion has become a matter of private ethical convictions; that churches are active in secular affairs; that religious observances have been losing their supernatural or other-worldly character. It is said that religion in America tends to be religion at a very low temperature. . . .

Herberg (1955), drawing from Kennedy's (1944, 1952) description of ethnic and religious intermarriage trends in New Haven, has advanced the descriptive hypothesis that the religious differences that remain in the American population fall into the three broad categories: Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, and that differences within these broad groupings, especially to the extent that they arise from ethnic differences, are relatively residual and slowly disappearing. Moreover, Herberg argues that the significance of these broad religious preferences lies in their social structural implications, i.e., in determining who associates intimately with whom, rather than in any fundamental differences of religious outlook or values. In fact, among the three faiths, the growing tendency is to

emphasize beliefs shared in common and to minimize their differences.

Glock and Stark (1965; Stark and Glock, 1968), on the other hand, contend that important differences among the denominations in their religious outlook and values still exist and these differences might still have considerable consequences for non-religious attitudes, including those toward work, minority groups, and politics. Niebuhr (1929) and Demerath (1965) have also emphasized differences among the Protestant denominations but have traced them to the underlying differences in the social composition of their memberships. On the basis of their reasoning, we might expect structural differentiation within the three religious sub-communities, especially the Protestant.

The analysis below is addressed to an evaluation of the associational implications of these rival perspectives. The following definitions and assumptions underlie the analysis: an individual's *social position* may be characterized by his group memberships and social attributes, such as his religious affiliation (including his denomination), ethnic origin and socioeconomic status. The *social structure* of a community can be defined as a persisting system of social relationships among social positions. Therefore, one way to describe this social structure is in terms of the differential likelihood of the formation of relationships among social positions (cf. Laumann, 1966:1-5). Using this perspective, we shall determine whether the structure of intimate associations (i.e., social relationships) among religious groups can best be characterized by Herberg's tripartite model or whether one must take into account differences within the three religious subcommunities that rest upon underlying social distinctions, as Niebuhr and Demerath contend, and upon differences in religious beliefs, as Glock and Stark suggest.

After describing the source of our data and the technique of analysis, we proceed to an examination of the differential selection of friends from various religious groups. We shall show that the relative proximities of religious groups (as defined by similarities in their patterns of friendship choices) are determined by three considerations: (1) the broad category of religious preference within which a given denomination is found, (2)

the group's socioeconomic composition relative to others in the broad category, and (3) characteristics of its religious beliefs and organization. Furthermore, many religious groups draw nearly their entire membership from people of a given national origin, such as the Anglicans, Presbyterians, or Augustana Lutherans; while others draw from a number of distinct ethnic groups, such as the Roman Catholics, which include large Polish, Irish, German, and Italian elements. We shall conclude with an effort to determine the extent to which these ethnic differences may modify the religious associational structure. For instance, are *German Catholics* more likely to associate with *German* Protestants or with Polish and Irish *Catholics*?

#### SOURCE OF THE DATA

During the spring and summer of 1966, interviewers from the University of Michigan Detroit Area Study conducted 85-minute interviews with a probability sample of 1,013 native-born, white men, between the ages of 21 and 64, in the greater metropolitan area of Detroit.<sup>1</sup> In addition to questions regarding their socioeconomic characteristics and various religious beliefs and behavior, we asked the respondents to report on a number of status characteristics of their three closest friends, including their religious preferences (in the case of Protestants, their

specific denominational preference) and national origins.<sup>2</sup>

#### FINDINGS

##### *The Differential Association of Religious Groups*

The first two columns of Table 1 give the percent distributions of respondents and friends by their religious preferences.<sup>3</sup> The "percent self-selection" (column 3) refers to the percent of friends who are of the same religious group as the respondents. The "ratio of self-selection" (column 4) indicates the degree to which the observed frequency of within-religious-group selection exceeds or is less than the expected frequency of within-religious-group selection by chance (parity equals 1.0) (cf. Rogoff, 1953). The indexes of dissimilarity in column 5 contrast the percent distribution of friends of a given religious group with the percent distribution of friends of all religious groups reported by the total sample (column 2). The index of dissimilarity (specifically, the sum of the positive percentage differences between two percent distributions) tells us the proportion of persons in one group or the other which would have to be redistributed in order that the two percent distributions being compared would be identical (cf. Duncan and Duncan, 1955). These indexes may be regarded as measuring the degree to which the friendship choices of a given religious group depart from a chance distribution of choices by religious group—the larger the index, the greater the departure from chance.

Several further features of the distributions of friendship choices by religious group

<sup>1</sup> A multi-stage probability sample of dwelling units of that part of the Detroit SMSA that was tracted in 1950 plus some small additions made to take into account recent suburban population growth was drawn. Within each dwelling unit having one or more eligible respondents, one person was drawn at random for interview. A total of 985 actual interviews was obtained, of which 28 have been double-weighted, yielding a final set of 1,013 cases for use in analysis. These 1,013 cases represent 80 percent of the eligible households sampled. Refusals to grant interviews accounted for 13.9 percent of the eligible households ( $N=1,271$ ); another 6.4 percent was lost because no one had been found home after 5 calls (5.5 percent) or for other reasons.

For further details concerning the sampling design and sample completion rates, the interested reader may write Professor Howard Schuman, Director, Detroit Area Study, for a copy of Working Paper No. 1, Project #938, "Sampling Memorandum for 1965-66 Detroit Area Study," January 1967.

<sup>2</sup> Respondents were asked: "What nationality background do you think of yourself as having—that is, besides being American?" Although we allowed the respondent to mention more than one nationality, the present paper considers only the first nationality mentioned. Respondents were asked similar questions for each of their three friends.

<sup>3</sup> A comparison of the three tables presenting the percent distributions of friendship choices for the first, second, and third mentioned friend, considered separately, reveals no important differences among them. The aggregated friendship choices are used in the subsequent analysis primarily to take advantage of the larger numbers involved in estimating the proportions.

TABLE 1. PERCENT DISTRIBUTIONS OF RESPONDENTS AND FRIENDS BY THEIR RELIGIOUS PREFERENCES AND SELF-SELECTION; RATIOS OF SELF-SELECTION AND INDEXES OF DISSIMILARITY

| Religious Group                                 | (1)<br>Percent<br>Respondents | (2)<br>Percent<br>Friends     | (3)<br>Percent<br>Self-<br>Selection | (4)<br>Ratio of<br>Self-Selection<br>(Col. 3÷ Col. 1) | (5)<br>Indexes<br>of Dis-<br>similarity |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| Protestant Groups                               |                               |                               |                                      |                                                       |                                         |
| Congregational                                  | 1.0                           | 0.5                           | 33.3                                 | 33.3                                                  | 41.5                                    |
| Episcopal (Anglican)                            | 3.3                           | 2.6                           | 20.4                                 | 6.2                                                   | 29.1                                    |
| Presbyterian                                    | 7.4                           | 4.8                           | 20.1                                 | 2.7                                                   | 29.3                                    |
| Nondenominational Protestant <sup>a</sup>       | 1.0                           | 0.7                           | 13.3                                 | 13.3                                                  | 29.9                                    |
| Methodist <sup>b</sup>                          | 9.2                           | 6.5                           | 26.8                                 | 2.9                                                   | 25.8                                    |
| Lutheran                                        | 10.7                          | 8.6                           | 30.1                                 | 2.8                                                   | 21.9                                    |
| Protestant, no denom. specified                 | 3.0                           | 12.3                          | 42.2                                 | 14.1                                                  | 33.5                                    |
| Baptist <sup>c</sup>                            | 10.7                          | 9.3                           | 38.9                                 | 3.6                                                   | 33.9                                    |
| Church of Christ                                | 1.6                           | 1.2                           | 33.3                                 | 20.8                                                  | 50.5                                    |
| Other fundamentalist sects <sup>d</sup>         | 1.6                           | 0.6                           | 17.4                                 | 10.9                                                  | 45.5                                    |
| Roman Catholic                                  | 42.1                          | 41.4                          | 62.3                                 | 1.5                                                   | 21.6                                    |
| Eastern Orthodox <sup>e</sup>                   | 1.3                           | 1.1                           | 7.9                                  | 6.1                                                   | 30.1                                    |
| Jewish                                          | 2.8                           | 3.6                           | 79.5                                 | 28.4                                                  | 76.4                                    |
| No religious preference, other<br>non-Christian | 3.6                           | 3.1                           | 16.0                                 | 4.4                                                   | 24.0                                    |
| Not ascertained                                 | 0.7                           | 3.8                           | 30.0                                 | 42.9                                                  | 47.0                                    |
| Total N                                         | 100.0<br>(1,013)              | 100.0<br>(2,956) <sup>f</sup> |                                      |                                                       |                                         |

<sup>a</sup> Includes nondenominational Protestant (explicitly reported as such), Unitarian, Christian (no further explanation), and Quaker groups.

<sup>b</sup> Includes Methodist, Evangelical and Reformed, Dutch or Christian Reformed, United Church of Christ; 94 percent of this group were identified as Methodist.

<sup>c</sup> Includes American and Southern Baptist, Disciples of Christ, and United or Evangelical Brethren; 97 percent of this group were Baptist.

<sup>d</sup> Includes Nazarene or Free Methodist, Jehovah's Witnesses, Assembly of God, Pentecostal, Primitive Baptist, and other fundamentalist sects.

<sup>e</sup> Includes Greek, Russian, Roumanian, Serbian, and other Orthodox groups.

<sup>f</sup> The total N of 2,956 friendship pairs departs from the expected 3,039 cases (3 friends times 1,013 respondents) because some respondents did not name three friends.

should be noted. First, the self-selection ratio may be regarded as an index of the degree to which a religious group has maintained its distinctive social "identity." Presumably, if a religious group manifested no tendency to select friends from its own group other than that of chance (a self-selection ratio equal to 1.0), membership in the group would have no implications for the formation of intimate social relationships, and consequently, the group would be undifferentiated from the population at large at least in this respect (cf. Gordon, 1964; Beshers, 1962; Laumann, 1966). Some caution, however, must be exercised in interpreting this ratio as its maximum value is directly dependent on the relative size of a given group in the population. For example, if a given religious group comprises 50 percent of the population and chooses friends only from their own group,

the maximum ratio of self-selection is 2.0. But if it comprised only 10 percent of the population, the maximum value of the ratio would be 10.0, five times as high.

Many studies have shown that the religious groups differ considerably with regard to the socioeconomic composition of their membership (cf. Niebuhr, 1929; Demerath, 1965) and their characteristic religious beliefs and behavior (cf. Glock and Stark, 1965; Stark and Glock, 1968). Protestant denominations, in particular, are known to vary considerably in both their socioeconomic compositions and religious beliefs. Table 2 summarizes for our 15 religious groups a number of such indicators. These data rather dramatically reveal the similarities and differences among the various groups in terms of socioeconomic status and religious activities and beliefs. Given the guiding hypothesis

TABLE 2. SOCIOECONOMIC AND SOCIORELIGIOUS CHARACTERISTICS OF FIFTEEN RELIGIOUS GROUPS

| Religious Group                       | Total N | Socioeconomic Characteristics |                                         |                               | Socioreligious Characteristics                         |                                        |
|---------------------------------------|---------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
|                                       |         | Median Family Income          | Median Occupational Status <sup>a</sup> | Median School Years Completed | Percent Attend Church once a week or more <sup>b</sup> | Percent Highly Devotional <sup>c</sup> |
|                                       |         |                               |                                         |                               |                                                        |                                        |
| Protestant                            | 499     | \$10,117                      | 45.3                                    | 12.0                          | 27.5                                                   | 32.7                                   |
| Congregational                        | 10      | 17,500                        | 82.7                                    | 16.5                          | 40.0                                                   | 30.0                                   |
| Episcopal                             | 34      | 13,000                        | 59.9                                    | 13.0                          | 20.5                                                   | 20.6                                   |
| Presbyterian                          | 75      | 11,667                        | 60.3                                    | 13.5                          | 25.3                                                   | 32.0                                   |
| Nonden. Protest.                      | 10      | 11,250                        | 39.9                                    | 11.8                          | 20.0                                                   | 11.1                                   |
| Methodist                             | 93      | 10,703                        | 45.0                                    | 12.1                          | 22.8                                                   | 31.9                                   |
| Lutheran                              | 110     | 10,375                        | 42.9                                    | 12.0                          | 33.6                                                   | 41.3                                   |
| Protestant, no denomination specified | 32      | 9,727                         | 48.8                                    | 11.5                          | 9.4                                                    | 21.9                                   |
| Baptist                               | 104     | 9,311                         | 28.6                                    | 11.4                          | 26.0                                                   | 33.4                                   |
| Church of Christ                      | 16      | 8,636                         | 23.3                                    | 11.5                          | 56.3                                                   | 31.3                                   |
| Other fundamentalist                  | 15      | 7,938                         | 26.4                                    | 11.0                          | 53.4                                                   | 53.3                                   |
| Roman Catholic                        | 427     | 9,999                         | 43.2                                    | 12.0                          | 71.2                                                   | 53.6                                   |
| Eastern Orthodox                      | 13      | 9,999                         | 55.0                                    | 12.6                          | 33.3                                                   | 33.4                                   |
| Jew                                   | 29      | 14,688                        | 65.0                                    | 15.7                          | 3.4                                                    | 17.2                                   |
| No preference, Other                  | 38      | 10,357                        | 55.0                                    | 12.1                          | 0.0                                                    | 5.2                                    |
| Not ascertained                       | 7       | ..... <sup>d</sup>            | ..... <sup>d</sup>                      | ..... <sup>d</sup>            | ..... <sup>d</sup>                                     | ..... <sup>d</sup>                     |
| Grand total                           | 1,013   | \$10,177                      | 45.2                                    | 12.0                          | 44.1                                                   | 40.2                                   |

<sup>a</sup> The current occupation of the respondent was first coded into the 6-digit detailed occupation-industry code of the U. S. Bureau of the Census and then recoded by computer to the 2-digit code of Duncan's Index of Socioeconomic Status (cf. Duncan, 1961).

<sup>b</sup> Respondents were asked: "Now referring to religion again, about how often, if ever, have you attended religious services in the last year?" For each group, we determined the proportion of people who answered "more than once a week" or "once a week."

<sup>c</sup> "Devotionalism," following Lenski (1963:25-26, 57-60), was measured by summing up the answers to two questions: (1) "When you have decisions to make in your everyday life, do you ask yourself what God would want you to do—often, sometimes, or never?" (2) "Which of these described most accurately how often you yourself pray? a) more than once a day, b) once a day, c) once or twice a week, d) rarely, e) never." Respondents were considered highly devotional who said they prayed at least once or twice a week and considered God's wishes often or that they considered His wishes sometimes and prayed daily.

<sup>d</sup> Not calculated because the base is too small.

that similarities in status and attitudes and beliefs are critical facilitating factors in the formation of intimate relationships, the similarities and differences reported in Table 2 will prove very helpful in interpreting the structure of intimate associations revealed in the smallest space analyses reported below. Parenthetically, we should note that comparisons of these native Protestants and Catholics in the aggregate reveal no appreciable differences between them in their socioeconomic composition (cf. Glenn and Hyland, 1957); but they do differ considerably in their proportions of men who attend church once a week or more (cf. Lenski, 1963:48, who reported remarkably similar proportions for his 1958 Detroit sample) and who score

high on the Devotionalism Scale (see footnote c, Table 2).

For any pair of respondents' religious membership groups, the percentage distributions of their friendship choices among the fifteen religious groups differ to a greater or lesser extent. If the two distributions of friendship choices were identical, it would indicate a minimum of dissimilarity or social distance with respect to friendship choices between the two groups. At the opposite extreme, if there were no overlap between the two choice distributions, the two groups would have a maximum distance from one another with respect to their choice distributions. The index of dissimilarity previously encountered can represent this dis-

tance between religious groups with respect to friendship choice distributions (cf. Blau and Duncan, 1967:43-44, 67-69).<sup>4</sup>

Table 3 presents the indexes of dissimi-

<sup>4</sup>It should be noted that by utilizing indexes of dissimilarity we are transforming the original *asymmetric* matrix of percent distributions of friendship choices into a *symmetric* matrix. The principal reason for undertaking this transformation is to circumvent the fact that the matrix of conditional probabilities is very strongly affected by the relative sizes of the groups (cf. Bonacich, 1967). Recently there has been an increasing concern in the literature (especially that directed to the analysis of social mobility tables) regarding the impact of size on the analysis of such tables (cf. Mosteller, 1968). Recognizing the possibility of artifactual results arising from size differences among rows and columns, Rogoff (1953) attempted to deal with the problem by calculating ratios of the conditional probabilities over the row (or column) marginal percentages (equivalent to our ratios of self-selection). But Duncan (Blau and Duncan, 1967:90-97) has shown that these resulting ratios are still not independent of the marginals; given the cell entries and total N, one can reproduce the marginal distributions. To date, there has been no generally satisfactory resolution of this problem. Even the indexes of dissimilarity that Blau and Duncan (1967:67-75) and we employ are not completely free of these difficulties, but there is little question that the effect of size is substantially reduced when they are used.

For purposes of comparison, we calculated the smallest space solutions (see discussion below) utilizing the conditional probabilities as the original data matrix (cf. Lingoes, 1965b). While it is true that the larger groups tended to be found toward the

center of the space, it was also true that the substantive interpretations of the dimensions were identical to those we suggest for the solutions based on the matrix of indexes of dissimilarity. In short, our substantive conclusions were not materially affected whatever the character of the original data matrix.

### *The Technique of Smallest Space Analysis*

Guttman (forthcoming; see also Lingoes and Guttman, 1967; Parkman and Sawyer, 1967) has developed a *nonmetric* technique that enables one to determine the smallest

TABLE 3. INDEXES OF DISSIMILARITY OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES FOR 15 RELIGIOUS GROUPS

| Religious Group                          | Religious Group |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|                                          | 1               | 2   | 3   | 4   | 5   | 6   | 7   | 8   | 9   | 10  | 11  | 12  | 13  | 14  | 15  |
| Protestant                               |                 |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| 1. Congregational                        | ...             | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 2. Presbyterian                          | .75             | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 3. Episcopalian                          | .79             | .31 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4. Protestant, no denomination specified | .73             | .26 | .29 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5. Methodist                             | .66             | .42 | .46 | .34 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 6. Lutheran                              | .78             | .36 | .35 | .29 | .46 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 7. Nondenominational Prot.               | .78             | .38 | .39 | .32 | .36 | .42 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 8. Baptist                               | .82             | .53 | .50 | .42 | .41 | .50 | .42 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 9. Other fundamentalist                  | .93             | .58 | .55 | .50 | .60 | .57 | .52 | .55 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 10. Church of Christ                     | .87             | .62 | .59 | .55 | .56 | .63 | .50 | .58 | .68 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 11. Roman Catholic                       | .83             | .42 | .40 | .36 | .51 | .37 | .47 | .51 | .56 | .64 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 12. Eastern Orthodox                     | .87             | .51 | .48 | .39 | .56 | .47 | .47 | .56 | .53 | .65 | .27 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 13. Jew                                  | .86             | .67 | .63 | .62 | .67 | .62 | .62 | .66 | .76 | .73 | .63 | .66 | ... | ... | ... |
| 14. No religious pref.                   | .82             | .41 | .40 | .39 | .57 | .38 | .49 | .57 | .61 | .72 | .25 | .26 | .65 | ... | ... |
| 15. Not ascertained                      | .80             | .40 | .37 | .29 | .38 | .36 | .32 | .43 | .50 | .57 | .31 | .23 | .60 | .31 | ... |

Euclidean space in which one may adequately portray graphically the interrelationships of a set of points (in this case, the fifteen religious groups) whose proximity is a function of the degree to which two points are found together relative to  $n$  other points. Using the indexes of dissimilarity reported in Table 3 as the input matrix, we may paraphrase Laumann and Guttman's (1966:171-172) description of the technique as follows:

The purpose of the smallest space analysis is to provide a graphic portrayal of the data matrix which will be simple, yet faithful in the sense of monotonicity . . . Our interest in the original data matrix is focused on estimating the similarity of friendship choices between two religious groups, A and B, as compared to the similarity of choices between groups A and C. Religious group B will be considered to be "closer" to religious group A than is religious group C, whenever the index of dissimilarity between A and B is equal to or less than the index between A and C, or:

(1) distance (A,B)  $\leq$  distance (A,C), where-  
ever  $I_{AB} \leq I_{AC}$ . The task of the numerical calculations by the computer is to express the distance between religious groups in an actual Euclidean space. In fitting an  $m$ -dimensional Euclidean space to condition (1) above,  $m$  numerical coordinates are calculated for each religious group. Let  $\chi_{Ai}$  be the  $i$ th coordinate for religious group A. Then the Euclidean distance (in  $m$ -space) between any two religious groups A and B is given by the usual Euclidean formula:

$$(2) \text{ distance (A,B)} = \sqrt{\sum (\chi_{Ai} - \chi_{Bi})^2}.$$

From any given set of  $\chi_{Ai}$ , distances can be calculated by formula (2) and then examined to see how well they satisfy the crucial monotonicity condition (1). For given  $m$ , the Guttman-Lingoes computer routine finds the  $\chi_{Ai}$  which will best fit condition (1), the goodness of fit being expressed by a coefficient of alienation (the smaller the coefficient, the better the fit). Since monotonicity condition (1) is symmetric, the symmetric computer program was used here, namely, Guttman-Lingoes Smallest Space Analysis I (Lingoes, 1965a).

### *The Social Structure of Religious Groups*

The coefficients of alienation for the best 1-space, 2-space and 3-space solutions were .283, .180, and .077 respectively—the latter two representing acceptable fits of the data. Since the 3-space does not provide an appreciably sharper picture of the structure

of the data, Figure 1 represents only the 2-space solution. (It should be emphasized that the one-dimensional solution yields a *very poor* fit of the data matrix.)

The Jews and Congregationalists are shown to be completely isolated from the rest of the groups (this is reflective of the fact that these two groups have, as noted above, exceptionally high indexes of dissimilarity for all other groups). More generally, we can observe: First, the first axis may be divided by lines  $R_1$  and  $R_2$  into three parts which include only Jewish, Catholic, or Protestant groups. And within the Protestant region one can observe a gradient from the exceptionally "Protestant" denominations of Congregationalists, Baptists, other fundamentalists, and Church of Christ (to the right of the dotted vertical line  $R'$ ) to the more liturgically oriented denominations, which are closest to the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches in religious belief and ritual (cf. Glock and Stark, 1965; Stark and Glock, 1968; Gaustad, 1962; Mead, 1963; Demerath, 1965). Secondly, the groups are distributed along the line S according to their relative socioeconomic standing (the rank-order correlation of the group's median family income and location on the line S is quite high (.817,  $p < .01$ )).<sup>5</sup>

Finally, we should take note of Glock and Stark's (1965) survey of church members living in the San Francisco Bay area concerning a number of religious beliefs, such as beliefs that God really exists, that Jesus is the Divine Son of God, and that Jesus was born of a virgin. The following are the percentage of members of denominations comparable to the ones in this study who agreed with the statement (1965:91), "I know God really exists and I have no doubts about it.": Congregationalists (41%), Methodists (60%), Episcopalians (63%), Presbyterians (75%), Lutherans (78%), Baptists (80%), Catholics (81%), and other fundamentalist sects and Church of Christ (96%). The rank order correlation of groups on the vertical line R in Figure 1 with these nine groups was .929 ( $p < .01$ ). (Similar rankings of groups would be obtained for a number of other

<sup>5</sup> To determine a group's location on a particular line, such as the line S, one simply draws a perpendicular line from the line to the group.



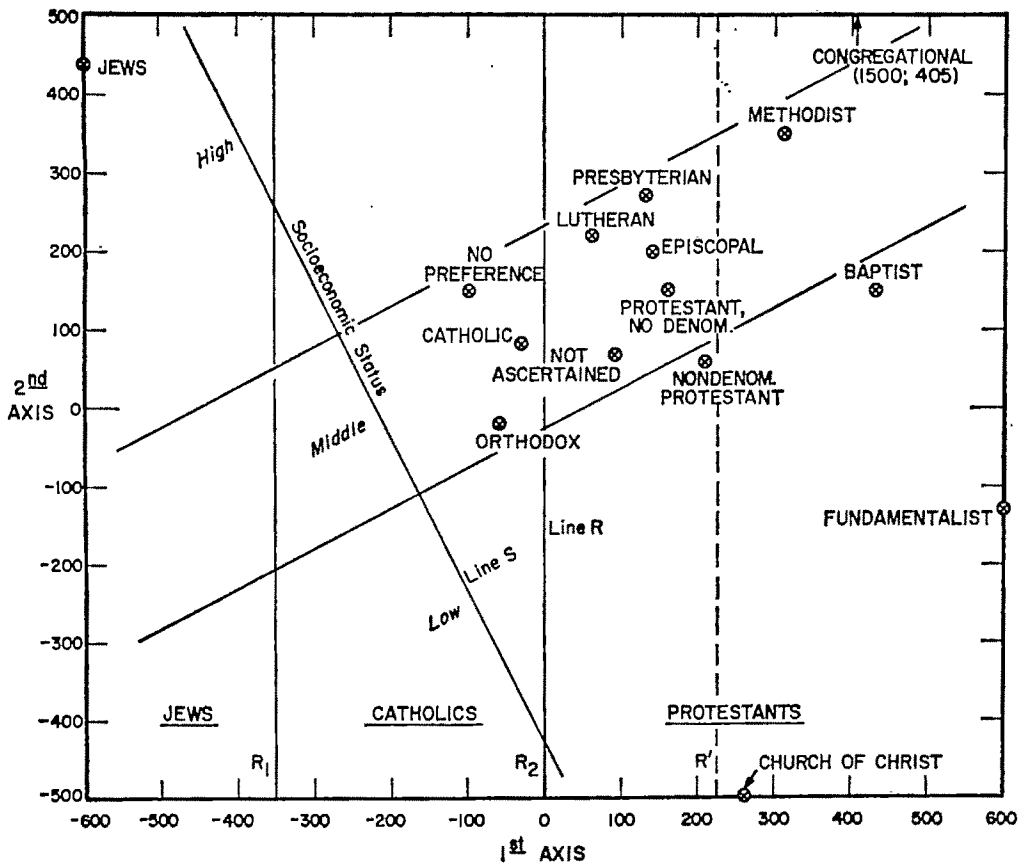


FIGURE 1. GRAPHIC PORTRAYAL OF PROXIMITY OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS, ACCORDING TO THE INDEXES OF DISSIMILARITY OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES. COEFFICIENT OF ALIENATION=.180.

religious beliefs.) Unfortunately, socioeconomic status also tends to be highly correlated with this dimension of Christian orthodoxy of beliefs, thus making it difficult to assess the extent to which similarity of religious beliefs rather than similarity of socioeconomic status of the membership are mediating the forces of mutual attraction and repulsion of religious groups.

In sum, the location of each group in a particular region of the space seems to be defined by the group's position on three facets, considered together. The first facet reflects Herberg's tripartite religious division of the American social structure, but, by itself, is a very inadequate representation of all the information in Table 3. The second facet orders the groups in terms of their socioeconomic composition à la Niebuhr (1929) and Demerath (1965). The third facet is concerned with the differentiation of

the Christian groups in terms of their religious beliefs and activities, with those denominations sharing certain liturgical and religious beliefs and an episcopal structure similar to Roman Catholicism being closer to the Catholics than the more "Protestant" groups which emphasize a more congregational, organizational structure.

#### *The Social Structure of Ethnoreligious Groups*

As noted above, many religious groups draw nearly all their membership from people of a given national origin, while others draw from a number of distinct nationality groups which, at least historically, often manifested considerable mutual antagonism (cf. Maynard, 1960). In the first set of religious groups, similarities of ethnic origin and religious affiliation are mutually reinforcing; in the second, they may be different and con-

TABLE 4. SOCIOECONOMIC AND SOCIORELIGIOUS CHARACTERISTICS OF 27 ETHNORELIGIOUS GROUPS

| Ethnoreligious group <sup>a</sup>               | Total N | Socioeconomic Characteristics |                                         |                               | Socioreligious Characteristics                 |                                        |
|-------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
|                                                 |         | Median Family Income          | Median Occupational Status <sup>b</sup> | Median School Years Completed | Percent                                        |                                        |
|                                                 |         |                               |                                         |                               | Attend Church once a week or more <sup>c</sup> | Percent Highly Devotional <sup>d</sup> |
| Protestant                                      | 499     | \$10,117                      | 45.3                                    | 12.0                          | 27.5                                           | 32.7                                   |
| German Presbyterian                             | 25      | 14,999                        | 58.8                                    | 13.6                          | 40.0                                           | 24.0                                   |
| Anglo-American Presbyterians                    | 72      | 12,639                        | 65.0                                    | 13.7                          | 22.2                                           | 33.3                                   |
| Scandinavian Prot.                              | 14      | 12,000                        | 65.0                                    | 16.0                          | 42.8                                           | 21.4                                   |
| Slavic Protestants                              | 12      | 12,000                        | 59.9                                    | 12.5                          | 25.0                                           | 8.3                                    |
| German Lutherans                                | 57      | 11,635                        | 43.1                                    | 11.8                          | 38.6                                           | 47.4                                   |
| German Methodists                               | 32      | 11,154                        | 52.5                                    | 12.8                          | 28.2                                           | 38.7                                   |
| German Protestants                              | 15      | 10,625                        | 35.0                                    | 11.2                          | 26.7                                           | 14.2                                   |
| Anglo-American Methodists                       | 40      | 10,357                        | 45.0                                    | 11.9                          | 22.5                                           | 30.0                                   |
| Anglo-American Prot., no denomination specified | 26      | 9,999                         | 55.0                                    | 11.6                          | 3.8                                            | 23.0                                   |
| French Protestants                              | 28      | 9,999                         | 38.8                                    | 11.8                          | 25.9                                           | 40.7                                   |
| German Baptists                                 | 27      | 9,230                         | 29.2                                    | 11.5                          | 37.0                                           | 34.6                                   |
| Anglo-American Lutherans                        | 29      | 9,100                         | 27.5                                    | 11.7                          | 20.6                                           | 28.6                                   |
| Anglo-American Baptists                         | 80      | 8,941                         | 26.5                                    | 11.4                          | 30.0                                           | 32.9                                   |
| Scandinavian Lutherans                          | 12      | 8,500                         | 46.7                                    | 12.5                          | 33.3                                           | 41.7                                   |
| Protestants, ethnic origin unknown              | 33      | 8,286                         | 26.7                                    | 11.5                          | 16.7                                           | 30.0                                   |
| Roman Catholic                                  | 427     | 9,999                         | 43.2                                    | 12.0                          | 71.2                                           | 53.6                                   |
| Anglo-American Catholics                        | 33      | 12,167                        | 37.0                                    | 11.8                          | 60.7                                           | 56.2                                   |
| Irish Catholics                                 | 65      | 12,054                        | 56.9                                    | 12.6                          | 80.0                                           | 53.1                                   |
| German Catholics                                | 81      | 5,944                         | 45.3                                    | 12.1                          | 70.9                                           | 50.6                                   |
| Polish Catholics                                | 111     | 9,917                         | 33.8                                    | 11.7                          | 67.3                                           | 58.4                                   |
| Italian Catholics                               | 55      | 9,700                         | 40.8                                    | 12.1                          | 60.0                                           | 37.8                                   |
| Slavic Catholics                                | 38      | 9,647                         | 39.9                                    | 12.0                          | 65.8                                           | 54.0                                   |
| French Catholics                                | 51      | 9,625                         | 37.5                                    | 12.1                          | 76.5                                           | 60.8                                   |
| Catholics, ethnic origin unknown                | 9       | .... <sup>e</sup>             | .... <sup>e</sup>                       | .... <sup>e</sup>             | .... <sup>e</sup>                              | .... <sup>e</sup>                      |

<sup>a</sup>In order to keep the frequencies for ethnoreligious groups at reasonable levels for analysis, both ethnic groups and religious groups were combined into larger categories. Ethnic groups were combined as follows: "Anglo-American" includes Americans, English, Scotch, Irish Protestants, non-French Canadians, and Welsh; "French" includes French and French Canadians; "German" includes German speakers (95% of the total), Dutch, and Belgians; "Italian" includes 50 Italians and 5 Spanish surnames (Mexican, Puerto Rican, Latin American); "Scandinavian" includes Norwegians, Danes, Swedes, and Finns; "Slavic" includes Russians, Czechs, Balkan states, Lithuanians, Estonians, Hungarians, Armenians, etc. "Poles" and "Irish Catholics" were not combined with any other group.

The religious groups were combined as follows: "Presbyterian" includes Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians; "Baptist" includes Baptists, Church of Christ and other fundamental sects; "Protestant" includes all other religious denominations not explicitly recognized in a given nationality group. "Jews" were treated as one group, regardless of national origin or preference (Conservative, Reformed) within Judaism; the "Eastern Orthodox" were also treated as one group regardless of national origin.

<sup>b</sup> See footnote a, Table 2.

<sup>c</sup> See footnote b, Table 2.

<sup>d</sup> See footnote c, Table 2.

<sup>e</sup> Not calculated because frequency base too small.

Table 4 Continued—

| Ethnoreligious group           | Total N | Socioeconomic Characteristics |                            |                               | Socioreligious Characteristics            |                           |
|--------------------------------|---------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
|                                |         | Median Family Income          | Median Occupational Status | Median School Years Completed | Percent Attend Church once a week or more | Percent Highly Devotional |
| Eastern Orthodox               | 10      | 12,500                        | 59.9                       | 13.5                          | 30.0                                      | 20.0                      |
| Jews                           | 29      | 14,688                        | 65.0                       | 15.7                          | 3.4                                       | 17.2                      |
| Germans, no preference         | 14      | 9,750                         | 9.9                        | 12.0                          | ....                                      | ....                      |
| Anglo-Americans, no preference | 15      | 8,999                         | 35.0                       | 8.7                           | ....                                      | 20.0                      |

flicting. A large body of sociological literature is devoted to an examination of the interplay of ethnic prejudice and hostility in patterning residential settlement, relative rates of socioeconomic assimilation, and even formal and informal relations in organizational settings (cf. Lieberman, 1963; Glazer and Moynihan, 1963; Gordon, 1964; Zaleznik, et al., 1958). An interesting question thus arises: to what extent will ethnic differences override religious similarities in the formation of friendships? For example, will German Catholics prefer to associate with other Germans, even if they are Protestants, or with other Catholics, even if they are not German?

In order to answer such questions, we are faced with the difficult problem that there are many ethnic and religious groups in Detroit, and a simple permutation of the two attributes would generate too many groups with too small frequencies to sustain analysis. With an eye to maintaining reasonable numbers in substantively meaningful groups, we have summarized in Table 4 socioeconomic and socioreligious characteristics for 27 ethnoreligious combinations (see footnote a, Table 4, for details on the persons included in each group). It is readily apparent that Roman Catholics, as well as Protestants, are quite variable in socioeconomic characteristics and religious beliefs and activities when ethnic origin is taken into account.

Table 5 presents the matrix of indexes of dissimilarity for the 27 ethnoreligious groups; it was this matrix that was submitted to the Guttman-Lingoes (Lingoes, 1965a) computer routine. The coefficients of alienation for the best 1-space, 2-space, and 3-space were .377,

.202, and .132, respectively. Since the 1- and 2-space coefficients are unacceptably high, we shall use the 3-space solution. Figures 2A, 2B, and 2C are the graphic representations of the three cross-sections of the 3-space solution. The three-dimensional solution may be conceived as three boxes, one for each broad religious category, stacked with the Protestant box on the bottom, the Catholic box in the middle, and the Jewish "box" (actually a single point located in an extremely isolated region of the space) on the top. The first (vertical) axis clearly segregates the three broad religious categories, with only one Protestant group—the Scandinavian Lutherans—and the Germans and Anglo-Americans with no religious preference being located in the Catholic box. As in Figure 1 above, one can readily see in Figure 2A (which shows a cross-section of the space in terms of the first and third axis) that the more "Protestant" groups of Anglo-American and German Methodists, Anglo-American and German Baptists, and German "Presbyterians" (of whom only a few are Episcopalians) are farther away from the Catholic groups than the Lutheran groups and the Anglo-American "Presbyterians" (of whom well over half are Episcopalians). The Catholic groups, despite their ethnic heterogeneity, form a relatively tight cluster in the center box, while the Jews are again quite isolated from all other groups.

Figure 2B and 2C portray cross-sections of the Protestant and Catholic boxes in terms of the second and third axes. For the Protestants (Figure 2B), the group's location on the line S has a rank-order correlation of .675 ( $p < .01$ ) with the group's median family income. All the groups below the line

TABLE 5. INDEXES OF DISSIMILARITY OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES FOR 27 ETHNORELIGIOUS GROUPS

| Ethnoreligious Groups                        | Ethnoreligious Groups |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|                                              | 1                     | 2   | 3   | 4   | 5   | 6   | 7   | 8   | 9   | 10  | 11  | 12  | 13  | 14  |
| Protestant Groups                            |                       |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| 1. German Presbyterians                      | .00                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 2. Anglo-American Presbyterians              | .35                   | .00 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 3. Scandinavian Protestants                  | .38                   | .37 | .00 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4. Slavic Protestants                        | .42                   | .41 | .50 | .00 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5. German Lutherans                          | .52                   | .41 | .55 | .46 | .00 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 6. German Methodists                         | .63                   | .62 | .69 | .65 | .67 | .00 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 7. German Protestants                        | .48                   | .36 | .48 | .38 | .36 | .64 | .00 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 8. Anglo-American Methodists                 | .54                   | .40 | .55 | .38 | .55 | .62 | .48 | .00 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 9. Anglo-American Protestants, other         | .54                   | .41 | .50 | .38 | .42 | .55 | .30 | .40 | .00 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 10. French Protestants                       | .44                   | .31 | .45 | .39 | .39 | .54 | .32 | .48 | .36 | .00 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 11. German Baptists                          | .65                   | .53 | .66 | .50 | .51 | .59 | .46 | .60 | .43 | .43 | .00 | ... | ... | ... |
| 12. Anglo-American Lutherans                 | .59                   | .48 | .54 | .49 | .36 | .66 | .49 | .56 | .44 | .46 | .57 | .00 | ... | ... |
| 13. Anglo-American Baptists                  | .76                   | .66 | .73 | .62 | .64 | .68 | .59 | .64 | .52 | .57 | .41 | .68 | .00 | ... |
| 14. Scandinavian Lutherans                   | .65                   | .51 | .68 | .53 | .55 | .83 | .50 | .61 | .51 | .42 | .56 | .52 | .60 | .00 |
| 15. Protestants, ethnic origin unknown       | .56                   | .39 | .47 | .37 | .43 | .54 | .34 | .42 | .26 | .30 | .41 | .50 | .42 | .50 |
| Catholic Groups                              |                       |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| 16. Anglo-American Catholics                 | .53                   | .39 | .50 | .47 | .44 | .60 | .36 | .50 | .39 | .32 | .48 | .48 | .60 | .40 |
| 17. Irish Catholics                          | .56                   | .43 | .54 | .52 | .47 | .59 | .41 | .54 | .45 | .35 | .51 | .49 | .65 | .47 |
| 18. German Catholics                         | .51                   | .37 | .49 | .45 | .42 | .67 | .33 | .49 | .44 | .37 | .46 | .52 | .65 | .38 |
| 19. Polish Catholics                         | .66                   | .50 | .60 | .55 | .48 | .71 | .45 | .57 | .48 | .47 | .56 | .60 | .64 | .50 |
| 20. Italian Catholics                        | .60                   | .39 | .55 | .44 | .42 | .56 | .35 | .51 | .42 | .34 | .43 | .43 | .56 | .53 |
| 21. Slavic Catholics                         | .65                   | .55 | .61 | .44 | .49 | .75 | .45 | .55 | .48 | .51 | .57 | .56 | .68 | .47 |
| 22. French Catholics                         | .64                   | .53 | .56 | .52 | .50 | .69 | .35 | .58 | .40 | .44 | .48 | .52 | .57 | .46 |
| 23. Catholics, ethnic origin unknown         | .59                   | .41 | .49 | .39 | .45 | .60 | .30 | .48 | .34 | .33 | .42 | .56 | .52 | .46 |
| 24. Eastern Orthodox                         | .71                   | .64 | .65 | .58 | .58 | .90 | .35 | .69 | .67 | .64 | .69 | .73 | .75 | .48 |
| 25. Jews                                     | .74                   | .68 | .75 | .75 | .64 | .82 | .63 | .76 | .66 | .69 | .65 | .72 | .74 | .73 |
| 26. Germans, no religious preference         | .60                   | .50 | .57 | .38 | .51 | .67 | .41 | .51 | .40 | .43 | .48 | .52 | .56 | .44 |
| 27. Anglo-Americans, no religious preference | .54                   | .48 | .54 | .41 | .45 | .68 | .44 | .51 | .42 | .35 | .53 | .49 | .65 | .49 |

S are German, while groups above the line are Anglo-American groups (with two exceptions, the French and Eastern (Slavic) Protestants). Notice that the pair, Anglo-American and German Lutherans, fall on the line S in the high status sector but fall at some considerable distance from each other on the line C<sub>1</sub>. This pattern may also be observed for the Anglo-American and German Methodists in the middle status sector and the Anglo-American and German Baptists in the lower status sector. More generally, there is a rank-order correlation of .618 (p<.05) between their location on

the line C<sub>1</sub> and the proportion of the group who attend church once a week or more. Thus the socioeconomic status of the group appears to vary along the line S, while the line S divides the space into two regions of low and high church attendance, respectively. For the Catholics (Figure 2C), there is no relation between their location along line S and their median family income; but it should be remembered that, except for the Irish and Anglo-American Catholics, there are no appreciable differences among them with regard to family income. They are, however, differentiated along the line C<sub>1</sub> accord-

Table 5 Continued—

| Ethnoreligious Groups                        | Ethnoreligious Groups |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|                                              | 15                    | 16  | 17  | 18  | 19  | 20  | 21  | 22  | 23  | 24  | 25  | 26  | 27  |
| Protestant Groups                            |                       |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| 1. German Presbyterians                      | ...                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 2. Anglo-American Presbyterians              | ...                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 3. Scandinavian Protestants                  | ...                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4. Slavic Protestants                        | ...                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5. German Lutherans                          | ...                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 6. German Methodists                         | ...                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 7. German Protestants                        | ...                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 8. Anglo-American Methodists                 | ...                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 9. Anglo-American Protestants, other         | ...                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 10. French Protestants                       | ...                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 11. German Baptists                          | ...                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 12. Anglo-American Lutherans                 | ...                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 13. Anglo-American Baptists                  | ...                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 14. Scandinavian Lutherans                   | ...                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 15. Protestants, ethnic origin unknown       | .00                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Catholic Groups                              |                       |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| 16. Anglo-American Catholics                 | .38                   | .00 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 17. Irish Catholics                          | .23                   | .23 | .00 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 18. German Catholics                         | .41                   | .26 | .32 | .00 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 19. Polish Catholics                         | .47                   | .35 | .38 | .37 | .00 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 20. Italian Catholics                        | .36                   | .27 | .33 | .34 | .34 | .00 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 21. Slavic Catholics                         | .50                   | .40 | .46 | .34 | .40 | .41 | .00 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 22. French Catholics                         | .42                   | .32 | .40 | .36 | .41 | .38 | .45 | .00 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 23. Catholics, ethnic origin unknown         | .27                   | .24 | .32 | .33 | .40 | .27 | .40 | .39 | .00 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 24. Eastern Orthodox                         | .61                   | .57 | .61 | .54 | .55 | .59 | .38 | .52 | .56 | .00 | ... | ... | ... |
| 25. Jews                                     | .67                   | .65 | .67 | .65 | .67 | .67 | .75 | .64 | .67 | .72 | .00 | ... | ... |
| 26. Germans, no religious preference         | .39                   | .37 | .44 | .35 | .46 | .36 | .42 | .39 | .29 | .50 | .70 | .00 | ... |
| 27. Anglo-Americans, no religious preference | .38                   | .35 | .33 | .33 | .47 | .44 | .42 | .43 | .39 | .53 | .69 | .31 | .00 |

ing to their frequency of church attendance (.679,  $p < .05$ ). It might also be noted that the more "ethnic" Catholic groups of Poles, Italians, Irish, and French are below the line S while Anglo-American and German groups (the most assimilated ethnic groups) are above the line.

For the entire set of groups (excluding the Catholics, ethnic group not ascertained, see Table 4), the rank-order correlation of their location along the line S and median family income is .449 ( $p < .05$ ), but if the Eastern Orthodox (which have a twenty-

rank discrepancy between their income rank and location on the line S) are also excluded,<sup>6</sup> the correlation rises to .658 ( $p < .01$ ). And again (excluding the same two groups), the rank-order correlation of a group's location on the line C<sub>1</sub> and proportion attending

<sup>6</sup> The Eastern Orthodox are the only group which have an unusually "poor fit" in the 3-dimensional solution. This may be due to some statistical aberration arising from the small number of people involved or from the fact that they are really "different" on a factor not captured in only a 3-dimensional solution.



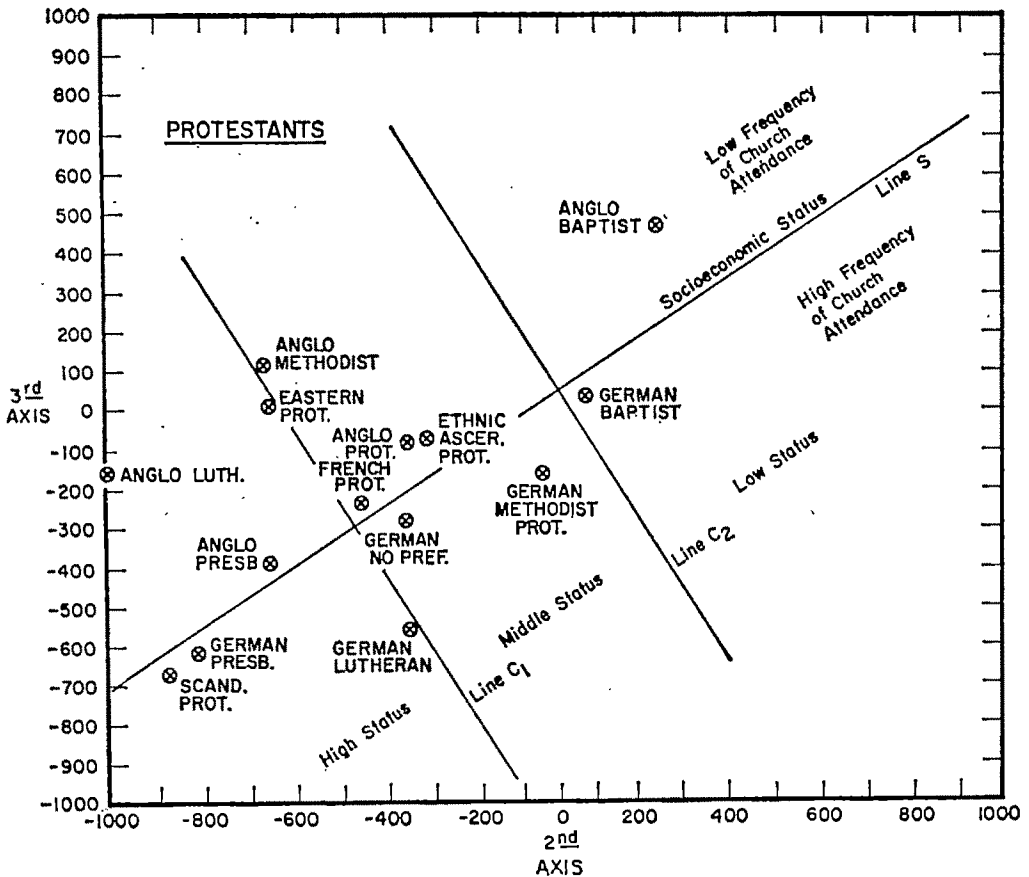


FIGURE 2B. CROSS SECTION OF THE THREE-DIMENSIONAL SOLUTION IN TERMS OF THE SECOND AND THIRD AXES FOR PROTESTANT GROUPS ONLY.

tion in accepting the relevance of this facet must be noted because of its relatively high association with the second facet, socioeconomic status—i.e., groups with liberal religious beliefs tend also to be groups of high socioeconomic composition.

In order to assess the possible role of ethnic considerations in modifying this structure, we combined ethnic and religious attributes of respondents and their friends into twenty-seven ethnoreligious groups. Again we found that the structure is differentiated into the three broad religious groupings and, within these groupings, along the socioeconomic status lines. There is, moreover, evidence that beyond these two facets, the structure is differentiated along a dimension of religious involvement (as indexed by the group's relative rate of church attendance), but that this may be confounded with an ethnic "effect" as the Anglo-Ameri-

can groups in general tend to have lower rates of church attendance than the other groups.

In sum, the results of the smallest space analyses, based, let us re-emphasize, on a sample of *native* white men, clearly indicate that a single dimension by itself (presumably ordering the groups into Herberg's tripartite division) is totally inadequate for representing the structure of intimate associations among religious groups. (The coefficients of alienation, measures of the goodness of fit, are simply unacceptably large for 1-space solutions for either the fifteen or twenty-seven groups). The rival "Niebuhr-Demerath" model which stresses the continuing significance of underlying social compositional differences among the various groups appears to represent more adequately the social structure of religious groups in Detroit.

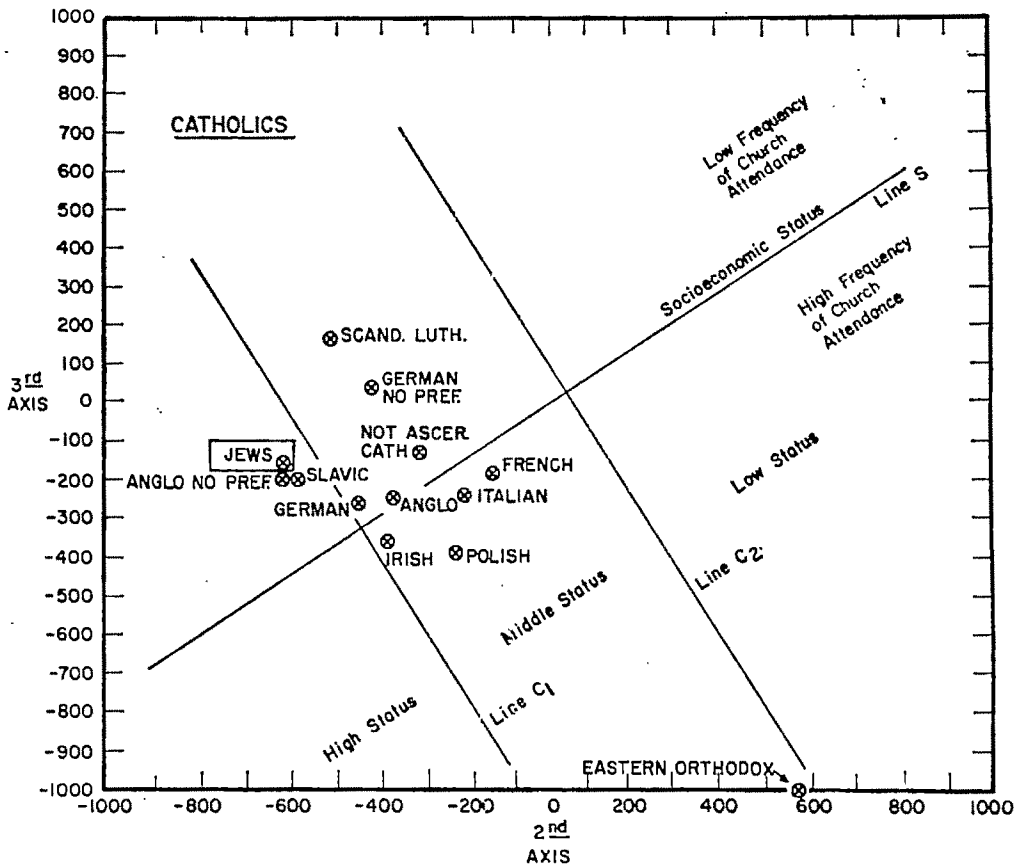


FIGURE 2C. CROSS SECTION OF THE THREE-DIMENSIONAL SOLUTION IN TERMS OF THE SECOND AND THIRD AXES FOR CATHOLIC AND JEWISH GROUPS.

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# TESTING THE THEORY OF SOCIAL AREA ANALYSIS: THE ECOLOGY OF CAIRO, EGYPT \*

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*The Social Area Analysis hypothesis that at least three separate dimensions—social rank, familism and ethnicity—are required to account for observed variations in census tract populations in American cities has often been substantiated by factor analytic tests. Relatively uninvestigated is the corollary that in societies of smaller “scale” intra-urban differentiation is less complex. An indirect test of this hypothesis was afforded by a factorial analysis of the ecology of Cairo, Egypt. To study the structure of that city, principal axes factor analysis was used to extract orthogonal factors from replicated 13×13 matrices of census variables reflecting the socio-economic status, familial and ethnic characteristics of populations in 206 subdivisions of Cairo in 1947 and 1960. In each data year, half of the total matrix variance was accounted for by a single “life-style” vector on which loaded heavily not only variables of social rank but of family life as well. The coalescence of these two dimensions was more extreme but in a direction consistent with previous investigations of Rome, some African and a few southern U.S. cities. Theoretical propositions that explain these “deviant findings” are presented and a further test suggested.*

## I

DESPITE the fact that the originators of Social Area Analysis<sup>1</sup> disclaimed interest in traditional ecological preoccupations with urban spatial structure,<sup>2</sup> one

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<sup>1</sup> Although the name refers to an approach initially reported by Eshref Shevky in 1949, the antecedents and consequences are somewhat broader. In 1947, a Committee on Community Studies was organized on the west coast including, among others, Shevky, Calvin Schmid, Robert Tryon, William Robinson and Leonard Broom. The cross-fertilization that resulted is reflected in subsequent publications by the participants, although only Shevky was subsequently associated with Social Area Analysis. The approach spread at first largely through personal influence and only now appears to be entering the public domain with widespread but often mechanical applications in various parts of the world (for example, Herbert, 1967, and the Hyderabad Study, 1966). A fairly complete bibliography of all but the most recent studies using social area analysis can be found in Wendell Bell (1965).

<sup>2</sup> The classic critique of social area analysis was stated in a review article by Hawley and Duncan in which the authors accused social area analysts of disavowing “a concern with what most students of the urban community think of as area structure” (1957:337).

unintended but nevertheless highly significant consequence of their efforts has been a revitalization of the latter field, stimulated perhaps by the more workable assumptions they provided. What were some of the older assumptions and how did the approach of Social Area Analysis revise them?

Implicit in earlier ecological research was the idea that the spatial pattern of a city was imbedded in objective reality and would be revealed almost automatically once a sufficient number of sensitive indices to it were gathered and processed. By plotting indices against a geographic grid, overlaying and comparing their distributions, one reached a synthesis—a single pattern—corresponding to objective reality. That some indices revealed the pattern and others did not (that is, reflected discrepant patterns of distribution) was attributed to the superior power or sensitivity of the former.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, since ecological forces were thought to operate on the subconsensual level, it was anticipated that fairly universal patterns would be found that transcended cultural variations. (For fuller treatments, see Abu-Lughod, 1966 and 1968.)

These questionable assumptions were already falling into disrepute among urban ecologists when Social Area Analysis entered

<sup>3</sup> The most detailed and honest account of this process appeared in Murray Leiffler's research paper (1933), which followed the technique first explored by Burgess (1923).

the field, arguing that the basic problem was taxonomic rather than phenomenological. The goal was to set up categories useful for analyzing and giving order to the world; if patterns were to be found, they might have to be "put into" the city by the investigator. This was similar to the revision that had already been introduced with respect to "natural areas" (Hatt, 1946).

Social area analysts further suggested that there was no reason to assume *a priori* that differentiation within cities would be unidimensional. Shevky and Williams (1949) posited that at least three dimensions of differentiation might be required to comprehend significant variations among census tract populations in contemporary American cities, namely: (1) social rank, (2) urbanization, and (3) ethnicity. Since each of these dimensions would be revealed through a different set of indices, each might have its own unique pattern of distribution. Once this possibility was admitted, it became feasible to resolve several controversies of long standing in the field of urban ecology.<sup>4</sup>

However, Shevky and Bell offered perhaps their most significant revision of the traditional ecological approach in their small monograph of 1955 in which they presented a set of theoretical propositions relating ecological variations to cultural-technological conditions (Shevky and Bell, 1955:3-17). This theory, inadequately explicated as it was and appended uneasily to serve chiefly as an elaborate "rationalization" for Shevky's perspicacious and, as it later developed, "happy hunches" with respect to American urbanism, hinted at the possibility of relating the type and complexity of urban differentiation to the "scale" of the society in which a city was found. The theory suggested that

the pattern of social (and physical) differentiation in preindustrial societies (cities) would be relatively simple and perhaps virtually unidimensional; as the scale of society increased, there would be increased complexity of differentiation and a separation of the axes or dimensions of differentiation.<sup>5</sup>

If this hypothesis should prove correct, the theory, duly qualified and developed, might provide a fruitful framework for comparative urban studies which hitherto have been conducted on an *ad hoc* and highly eclectic basis. Eventually, it may even yield what has long been recognized as an urgent need in the field of urban ecology—namely, true theory that both illuminates empirical findings and guides research in meaningful directions.

To say that the theory offers such potential is not to claim that it has already demonstrated its value. In fact, the theory as originally formulated was not operational at all, i.e., the propositions were not in testable form.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, as we shall argue, the very method of social area analysis obviated the possibility of using it to test the theory from which it had been derived, for it took for granted *a priori* just those propositions most in need of proof.

What we propose to do in this paper, by a somewhat circular route, is to suggest some operational propositions, point to a method better suited than social area analysis to testing them, and present some preliminary evidence in support of the propositions, in the hope that we may contribute to an eventual and fuller formulation of theory.

<sup>5</sup> Our understanding is only approximate. Actually, the "model" presented by the authors (Shevky and Bell, 1955: Tables II-I), purporting to relate societal scale to urban differentiation, does not spell out increasing scale and its implications but merely postulates certain characteristics of modern western industrial society. One must "read into" the model any dynamic implications.

<sup>6</sup> This soon became obvious, for Udry's (1964) attempt to "test" the theory, using longitudinal United States data, not only fails to confirm it but—a much more serious criticism—strikes the reader as quite irrelevant to the main issue. Another attempt (McElrath, 1962), to test the theory by applying the method to Rome, a city in a society of presumably smaller "scale," was similarly unsatisfying, although we believe that the results, when reinterpreted, are highly suggestive.

<sup>4</sup> For example, the conflict between the concentric circle "theory" (read "generalization") of Burgess and the Hoyt sector "theory" was easily resolved by a simple but highly significant study by Anderson and Egeland (1961), which suggested that the distribution pattern of socio-economic variables was sectoral (Hoyt had based his conclusions on rents and house values), and that of family and social organization was largely a function of distance from the center (Burgess had based his generalization primarily on density of settlement and house types). The crucial discovery was that the two patterns were not mutually exclusive but were in fact legitimate descriptions of two different aspects of reality.

## II

To accomplish this end, it will be necessary to review briefly the method itself, to trace the application of what we contend to be a superior solution to the basic methodological problem, and to review some of the "deviant" findings (including our own on Cairo) which have led to a reformulation of certain theoretical propositions.

Shevky's early study of Los Angeles (1949) diverged little in orientation or aim from the traditional ecological case study. Its contribution was more methodological than conceptual, although a brief theoretical rationale was included to defend the methodology. Instead of plotting selected indices of social differentiation separately and then combining them into a single geographic pattern, Shevky advanced a set of related hypotheses concerning the ways in which urban subpopulations in America are differentiated, selected a few indices designed to measure each hypothesized dimension of differentiation, combined (averaged) the standardized scores of the indices to obtain census tract scores for each dimension, and then plotted their patterns on base maps of Los Angeles.

The innovations of greatest importance were: (1) a shift from the inductive method characteristically employed in ecological studies to a more deductive one, and (2) a reversal of the procedural order, substituting mapping as a final step *after* index construction for the more conventional approach of mapping as a step *preliminary* to synthesis. These innovations should be clearly distinguished since, in our view, the latter represented a significant advance, whereas the former was an innovation of dubious reliability and limited applicability.

This is a strong indictment and in need of defense. It does not question the value of Shevky's conceptualization of separate dimensions, a conceptualization which many studies of United States cities have tested and found exceedingly useful, but it does question the method used to measure these dimensions. Before proceeding further, then, let us stop to consider whether the deductive approach was an essential or accidental part of social area analysis.<sup>7</sup> Could an alternate

approach have achieved the posited separation of axes of differentiation while resolving the measurement problem in more determinant fashion and leaving open the real question posed by the theory of increasing scale: namely, whether social differentiation within cities of smaller-scale societies could be comprehended by a simpler schema than that required to understand cities in large-scale industrialized societies?

We contend that the deductive derivation of indices was *not* essential to social area analysis; it merely represented a crude and approximate solution to a problem for which a superior methodology already existed, even though the latter had not yet been applied in urban ecology. This alternative was factor analysis (a variant of which had actually been employed by Shevky's colleague, Robert Tryon),<sup>8</sup> which was called in only belatedly to buttress the validity of the social area approach.<sup>9</sup> More than a decade earlier, Margaret Hagood had suggested that factor analysis offered an appropriate method for

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tion requires some preliminary induction, no matter how unsystematic, and induction, by its very act of selecting *relevant* items, conceals much unacknowledged deduction. The distinction is to be found in that portion of the inevitably circular process of reasoning in which *crucial* research decisions are made.

<sup>8</sup> Tryon (1955) applied cluster analysis (first explicated by him in 1939) to 33 variables in the San Francisco Bay area, confirming that at least three dimensions were necessary to account for the variance between census tracts. Shevky and Bell (1955) considered Tryon's study an empirical verification of their theory but, while Tryon acknowledged that the three most independent clusters were *roughly* equivalent to Shevky's three dimensions, he argued that he could obtain higher validities by including more and better measures than the handful selected *a priori* by Shevky and by manipulating the data according to a more determinant weighting system.

<sup>9</sup> Bell (1955) used Thurstone's centroid method of factor analysis in a hypothesis-testing framework not to extract factors from a battery of indices but to prove that the few preselected variables of social area analysis could be factored into three dimensions and that these axes could be rotated to approximate simple structure. This he accomplished by sacrificing orthogonality. The intercorrelations between factors required to approximate simple structure ran as high as  $-.73$  between economic and ethnic factors and  $-.50$  between economic and familism factors. If the goal was to *separate* the dimensions of differentiation, then it is difficult to defend such close positioning of the axes.

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<sup>7</sup> I do not wish here to defend some false dichotomy between induction and deduction. Deduc-

"synthesizing data on characteristics with respect to which subregions are to be homogeneous" (Hagood *et al.*, 1941). The urban ecologist immediately recognizes in this statement his *central problem*. Nevertheless, despite the obvious linkage, it was not until the late 1950's that factor analysis began to be substituted for the less rigorous methods of social area analysis. Led by Calvin Schmid,<sup>10</sup> investigators in the field of urban ecology have subjected batteries of census-derived indices to correlational and factorial analysis.

We now have results from both social area analysis and factor analysis for many cities in the United States, several in Europe, and some even in non-Western countries. Since no summary list exists in published form, we have enumerated them here.<sup>11</sup>

American cities that have been studied by social area analysis (and/or have had a factor, correlational or cluster analysis *test* of social area variables) include: *Akron, O.* (Van Arsdol, Jr., 1957 and Van Arsdol, Jr. *et al.*, 1958; MacCannell, 1957; Anderson and Egeland, 1961); *Atlanta, Georgia* (Van

Arsdol, 1957 and 1958; MacCannell, 1957); *Birmingham, Ala.* (Van Arsdol, 1957 and 1958; MacCannell, 1957); *Chicago, Ill.* (Kaufman, 1961); *Cleveland, O.* (Moush *et al.*, 1960); *Dayton, O.* (Anderson and Egeland, 1961); *Indianapolis, Ind.* (Anderson and Egeland, 1961); *Kansas City, Mo.* (Van Arsdol, 1957 and 1958; MacCannell, 1957); *Los Angeles, Calif.* (Shevsky and Williams, 1949; Bell, 1952, 1955); *Louisville, Ky.* (Van Arsdol, 1957, 1958; MacCannell, 1957); *Minneapolis, Minn.* (Van Arsdol, 1957, 1958; MacCannell, 1957); *New York: Bronx* (Sullivan, 1961); *Portland, Ore.* (Van Arsdol, 1957, 1958; MacCannell, 1957); *Providence, R. I.* (Van Arsdol, 1957, 1958; MacCannell, 1957); *Rochester, N. Y.* (Van Arsdol, 1957, 1958; MacCannell, 1957); *San Diego, Calif.* (Polk, 1957); and *San Francisco, Calif.* (Bell, 1952, 1953, 1955; Shevsky and Bell, 1955; Kaufman, 1961). Among the Western cities outside the United States studied by this method are: *Newcastle, England* (Herbert, 1967); *Quebec, Canada* (Gagnon, 1960); and *Rome, Italy* (McElrath, 1962).

Cities in the non-Western world for which similar studies are available include: *Abidjan, Ivory Coast* (Clignet and Sween, forthcoming); *Accra, Ghana* (McElrath, 1968); and *Hyderabad, India* (Hyderabad Metropolitan Research Project, 1966).

Increasingly, however, factorial analysis is gaining precedence, although methods for selecting variables still remain relatively unstandardized. The U.S. cities for which factor analysis solutions (whether accompanied or not by geographic mapping) have been performed include: *Boston, Mass.* (Sweetser, 1965a and earlier reports); *Chicago, Ill.* (Rees, forthcoming, 1969); *Cleveland, O.* (Beshers, 1957, Simplex analysis); portions of *New York City* (Carey, 1966); *San Francisco, Calif.* (Tryon, 1955); *Seattle, Wash.* (Schmid and Tagashira, 1964); *Toledo, O.* (Anderson and Bean, 1961); and *Washington, D.C.* (Carey, Greenberg and Macomber, mimeo, 1968).

In addition, students in the Center for Urban Studies at the University of Chicago, in a project undertaken in 1968, have analyzed the factorial ecology of the following American cities: *Birmingham, Ala.*; *Canton, O.*; *Columbus, O.*; *Fort Worth, Tex.*;

<sup>10</sup> Schmid's original investigation (1950), based upon 23 American cities as of 1940, did not go beyond a correlational analysis. Nevertheless, the similarity of ecological correlations within the cities suggested a common underlying factorial pattern. In Schmid *et al.*'s (1958) replication based upon 1950 Census data, the matrices of intercorrelations remained relatively constant, although a few significant deviations did appear. Some of these deviations may have reflected actual changes, whereas others may have been due to a modification of method, i.e., a substitution of one variable for another. The conclusions drawn from this and related analyses have been cogently questioned by Beverly Duncan (1964).

Two doctoral dissertations under Schmid's direction attempted further analyses of the correlational matrices of ten of the sampled cities. Earle MacCannell (1957) used Tryon's method of cluster analysis, while Maurice Van Arsdol, Jr. (1957) did a factor analysis, the results of which were reported in Van Arsdol, Jr. *et al.* (1958). Most recently, Schmid and Tagashira published the results of a factor analysis of 1960 data for Seattle (1964).

<sup>11</sup> I am indebted to a number of persons who assisted in making this list more exhaustive, and especially to Brian Berry, whose bibliography (mimeographed and undated) is the most complete I have seen. Additions to the literature are now being rapidly made, often in the form of inaccessible theses and dissertations. I would greatly appreciate hearing from individuals engaged in factor analysis of specific urban areas.

*Gary, Ind.; Homestead, Penn.; Honolulu, Hawaii; Louisville, Ky.; Miami, Fla.; New Haven, Conn.; Harlem and Yonkers, N.Y.; Omaha, Neb.; Providence, R.I.; Richmond, Va.; Rockford, Ill.; Sacramento, Calif.; St. Louis, Mo.; San Diego, Calif.; San Jose, Calif.; Shreveport, La.; South Bend, Ind.; Syracuse, N.Y.; Tacoma, Wash.; and Worcester, Mass.*

Western cities outside the United States for which factor analyses are available include: *Toronto, Canada* (Berry and Murdie, 1965; Goheen, forthcoming; Murdie, 1968); *Hampshire, England* (Gittus, 1964); *Liverpool, England* (Gittus, 1965); *Sunderland, England* (Robson, forthcoming); *Copenhagen, Denmark* (Pedersen, 1967); *Helsinki, Finland* (Sweetser, 1965a, 1965b); and *Brisbane, Australia* (Timms, forthcoming).

To my knowledge, only two factor analyses have been made of non-Western cities: *Cairo, Egypt* (Abu-Lughod, 1966); and *Calcutta, India* (Berry and Rees, mimeographed, 1968).

What do these studies indicate concerning the nature of social differentiation within cities of various types? And if the results have not always supported the Shevky-Bell typology, have there been any consistent deviant findings that might permit us to reformulate the underlying theory?

### III

First we might examine the congruencies. In each one of the studies cited, a dimension has been found which discriminates among subareas within the city in terms of the socio-economic rank of residents. While indices of occupation and education are invariably linked to this factor, other measures clearly economic in nature, such as rent, income, housing quality, and density of dwelling unit occupancy also relate to this dimension. Not only is a socio-economic factor always isolated, but it is frequently the factor that accounts for the largest proportion of the variance in the correlation matrix.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Several exceptions should be noted. In Schmid and Tagashira's study of Seattle (1964), a principal axes factor solution yielded first a family status

A second uniformity has been the occurrence of correlational linkages among variables measuring family size and age composition. This can be interpreted as indicating the selective attractiveness of various parts of the urban community as residential environments for different kinds of families or families at different stages of their life cycles.<sup>13</sup> Shevky originally termed this "urbanization" (meaning the absence of family orientation) but later investigators have redefined it and indeed measured it in reflected form, labeling it, variously, "familism" (Bell, 1953), "young family cycle stage" (Beshers, 1959; Kaufman, 1961), or "progeniture" (Sweetser, 1965a, b). The fertility ratio usually constitutes a sensitive indicator of this dimension. Less universally reliable or reproducible have been the other two components of Shevky's urbanization score. The proportion of single family detached homes, for example, although a discriminating index in most large American cities, has had little significance in studies of foreign cities where one notices a greater uniformity of building types.<sup>14</sup> The proportion of females in the labor force does not relate closely to variations in family types in those societies where the over-all proportion is either very high or very low.<sup>15</sup> Substitute measures,

factor and then a socio-economic one. A similar result was obtained in Pedersen's study of Copenhagen (1967). In Berry's study of Calcutta (1968), the principal axes factor analysis yielded socio-economic rank as the second factor, following one chiefly indicative of family-life orientation. It is important to point out that the particular "mix" of initial variables determines the order of factor extraction.

<sup>13</sup> It must be borne in mind that we are not dealing with individual correlations but with ecological ones. The inferences that can be drawn must therefore be related to this constraint.

<sup>14</sup> In studies of Rome (McElrath, 1962), Helsinki (Sweetser, 1965a, b) and Cairo (Abu-Lughod, 1966), for example, this measure was irrelevant or nondiscriminating. Land-use density in residential quarters probably constitutes a more useful measure for cross-cultural research.

<sup>15</sup> In Scandinavian countries female participation in the labor force is higher than in the U. S. There, although family cycle stages are relatively segregated residentially, gainfully-employed women appear to be less so (Sweetser, 1965a, 1965b). On the other hand, in certain developing countries such as Egypt and India, where females traditionally have

such as the dependency ratio, average family size, and the proportion of one- and two-person families, appear better designed for cross-cultural application than are the more culture-specific measures used by Shevky.

If these are the congruities, what are the deviations? They appear to be of two kinds: first, those deviations that relate to the appearance of more than these two factors; and second, those deviations that relate to the degree of "independence" between the key dimensions of socio-economic rank and familism. For the first a relatively simple explanation exists and the issue does not appear to be critical for theory. For the second, however, additional probing is required. We would suggest that a basic question, related in essential fashion to the theory of increasing scale, is involved here. We might then dispense quickly with the former before addressing ourselves to the latter.

It will be recalled that the third dimension posited by Shevky was "ethnicity." Despite the obvious relevance of this dimension to the analysis of U.S. cities, ethnicity was found to be the least independent of the three dimensions included in Bell's factorial test (1955: see note 9 *supra*) and the least clearly paralleled in Tryon's cluster analysis.<sup>16</sup> Nor has this factor ever been replicated outside the United States, even when it has been consciously sought and appropriate modifications in its measurement made. McElrath (1962) eliminated it from his social area analysis of Rome for lack of information, although he suggested that migration status, had information been avail-

able, might have tapped a third dimension of social differentiation within that city. Tribal origins and migration status were analytically separated by him in his study of Accra (1968), but factorial independence was not tested for. Sweetser attempted to isolate the dimension of ethnicity in Helsinki by distinguishing between the Finnish-speaking majority and the Swedish-speaking minority elite, and Abu-Lughod tried a similar approach by including religious and nationality variables for Cairo, but in neither case was a separate "ethnic" factor extracted under conditions of orthogonality. In the two latter cases, ethnic variables loaded chiefly upon the socio-economic vector.

However, studies have yielded more than the two basic factors of social rank and familism, even though ethnicity has not been among them. Some investigators have isolated factors relating to building type or dominant land use (Anderson and Bean, 1961, for Toledo; Berry, 1968, for Calcutta); others have found factors indicative of mobility and/or age and sex imbalance resulting from selective migration (Berry and Rees in Calcutta; Schmid and Tagashira, 1964, in Seattle; and Abu-Lughod, 1966, in Cairo), and factors of size, density, and even social disorganization have also been found. The appearance of these additional factors is due clearly to the initial "mix" of variables and to cultural differences too complex to be synthesized or explained on the basis of diverse studies undertaken without a common framework of analysis. While it would be important eventually to understand these variations, the state of the art at present precludes this. The deviations are scattered and inconsistent.

The opposite is true of the deviations that have occurred when the vectors of social rank and familism have been distinguished. Here a basic framework of analysis has guided the investigators; roughly the same variables have been included; the number of tests has been relatively more adequate; and the deviations, where found, have been in a consistent direction. We seem to be approaching a situation where theory can be reformulated with respect to these two dimensions, where hypotheses can be framed,

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been excluded from the urban (but not the rural labor force, what little female labor force participation there is reflects socio-economic status; areas with employed women are those where resident domestic servants abound. African cities present a third variation. Female labor force participation in urban areas is largely confined to petty marketing, an activity in no way conflicts with child-rearing. See studies of McElrath on Accra (1968) and Clignet on Abidjan (1968).

<sup>16</sup> Although Shevky and Bell (1955) claim that their dimension of ethnicity was paralleled by Tryon's Assimilation II cluster, the three variables of this cluster were: foreign born from Northwestern Europe, females, and females in white collar employment; a measure of non-whites does not even appear in it (Tryon, 1955).

and where an experimental design for testing them can at least be suggested. Let us examine the evidence thus far.

#### IV

It will be recalled that early in the development of social area analysis, Bell (1955) conducted a factorial test, designed to substantiate the hypothesis that the dimensions of social rank and familism measured relatively independent aspects of social differentiation within American cities. This he found to be approximately correct for Los Angeles and San Francisco, even though the correlations between factors were, in our opinion, exceedingly high.<sup>17</sup> A similar test conducted by Van Arsdol, Jr. *et al.* on a sample of ten other U.S. cities (1957, 1958) substantiated Bell's results in six cases but failed to reproduce factorial separation in the remaining four. On the assumption that deviant cases may be critical for the advancement of theory, let us look more closely at their peculiar characteristics and the ways in which they deviated.

The six cities where factorial separation between social rank and familism variables was achieved were predominantly white, Northern communities. The deviants included three Southern cities (Birmingham, Atlanta and Louisville) and the single "border city" in the sample, Kansas City. All four cities contained high proportions of non-whites; in fact, when the ten cities were ranked according to percentage of Negroes, the deviants were the top four.

How did their factor structures deviate from the Shevky-Bell model? The fertility variable loaded higher than anticipated on Factor I (Social Rank). On the basis of the theory, fertility should have been disassociated from social rank as in the Northern cities. However, despite tortuous rotations, the best reduction obtained in factor loadings of fertility on social rank was +.492 for Birmingham and +.360 for Louisville, the two partially deviant cases. The clearly deviant cases of Kansas City and Atlanta

presented greater problems, since the factor loadings of fertility on social rank (+.613 and +.528 respectively) even *exceeded* the loadings of this variable upon the familism factor (+.523 and +.457 respectively). The authors concluded:

. . . [T]hese four cities include relatively large proportions of Negroes. This fact, combined especially with the unfavorable economic position of the Negroes, may indicate that the *range of family forms* in these cities, as described by the fertility measure, *has not yet become disassociated from social rank.* (Van Arsdol, Jr. *et al.*, 1958: 282, with emphasis supplied)

In fact, the authors suggest an alternate factor model for these four cities in which occupation, education, and fertility are viewed as components of social rank, a hypothesis which, when tested, yielded a neater and virtually orthogonal factor solution.

McElrath, investigating the relationship in Rome between variables ostensibly measuring social rank and those measuring "urbanization," also concluded that the degree of disassociation there was considerably less than in American cities. Although he did not include a factorial test, given the zero-order correlation coefficients between variables (1962:383), it appears that fertility would not have factored on urbanization at all but would have loaded on social rank.<sup>18</sup> Re-analysis of the data, however, is necessary before a firm conclusion can be reached.

Deviations noted in the American South and in Rome were even more marked in Cairo, Egypt (Abu-Lughod, 1966). When census tract indices were subjected to principal axes factor analysis and subsequent varimax orthogonal rotations, no factorial separation between indicators of social rank and indicators of family cycle stage could be obtained. Since these data have heretofore not been published, we present them in some detail.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Fertility correlated -.676 with non-manual occupations; +.744 with the illiteracy rate; and +.783 with dwelling unit overcrowding. These intercorrelations were virtually as high as those between the social rank indices themselves.

<sup>19</sup> Analysis was begun in 1958 when the author was affiliated with the Social Research Center, American University at Cairo. Preliminary processed data for Cairo census tracts as of 1947 were pub-

<sup>17</sup> This does not appear too critical, since other studies have since confirmed separation of social rank from familism variables, even under the stringent requirements of orthogonality.



From the Egyptian censuses of 1947 and 1960 for the Governorate (metropolitan province) of Cairo, thirteen indices reflecting variations in demographic structure, family characteristics, socio-economic level and ethnic composition were computed<sup>20</sup> for each of the 216 census tracts (pl. *shiyākhāt*) into which the city was administratively divided in 1947.<sup>21</sup> Zero-order correlation coefficients, as shown in Table 1, were computed for each of the data years. These matrices were then subjected to principal axes factor analysis (using Hotelling's iterative procedure for estimating communalities). Seven factors, accounting cumulatively for 90% of the total variance in each year, were successively extracted, of which the first four (having sums of squared values of unity or higher) were retained for rotation.

Solutions were comparable for both years; in each case the first four factors accounted for more than 75% of the total variance. More significantly, in each year the first orthogonal factor explained about half of the total variance in the matrices.<sup>22</sup>

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lished in Abu-Lughod and Attiya (1963). Due to distance, however, the author remained ignorant of factor analytic applications being attempted in the States until 1961.

<sup>20</sup> Space does not permit presentation of the operational definitions and computational formulae of the thirteen indices nor of means and standard deviations in each year. (In the initial study, more variables had been included although the list was far from ideal; some were later eliminated because 1947 and 1960 data were not comparable; others which proved relatively non-discriminating were dropped.) Details can be found in Abu-Lughod (1966) or obtained from the author.

<sup>21</sup> Careful adjustments were made to retain uniform metropolitan boundaries and to assure congruency of census tract boundaries (political redistricting and certain combinations and subdivisions of tracts had been made between census dates). For the final study, 206 congruent replicated subareas were retained. Given the large size of the city—two million in 1947, three and a half million in 1960—and the relatively small number of subdivisions, average size of census tract was large; furthermore, census tracts ranged widely in population, reducing statistical reliability. These defects, while recognized, could not be rectified. Absolute size was not included as a variable and all ratios were converted to standardized scores.

<sup>22</sup> This dominance of the first factor is not uncommon in principal axes factor solutions, but it should be noted that our results seem even more extreme than can be accounted for by the inherent

Inspection of the graphs suggested that the factorial solution could be improved and a varimax orthogonal rotation was therefore performed. Factors I and II were significantly clarified, although Factors III and IV remained reversed in the 1947 and 1960 solutions. A further graphic rotation (still orthogonal) was performed on the latter two factors to arrive at a third factor of comparable pattern in the two years. The factor loadings after rotation are presented in Table 2.

Interpretation of the factors was not difficult. Factor I, while clearly representing socio-economic status, also includes many variables indicative of family life, suggesting that it is to be interpreted as a "style of life" vector in which class and family patterns are inextricably linked. Thus, census tracts with high Factor I scores<sup>23</sup> are characterized by commodious housing accommodations, by a highly literate population having low rates of dependency and unemployment, and by the presence of resident domestic servants. These are economic aspects of a life style which, in today's Cairo, is increasingly finding expression in more "modern" family patterns of female education, delayed age at marriage, and lower fertility. In addition, since foreign and indigenous Christians in Cairo enjoyed economic and social advantages under colonial conditions and, because of their greater "westernization," followed modern family patterns somewhat earlier, tracts in which they are well represented are among the highest scoring. At the opposite extreme are the tracts scoring lowest on Factor I. House overcrowding often reaches astronomical heights, most residents are illiterate, and females seldom attend school or commute to paid employment. Here the traditional patterns of female exclusion from the educational system mesh with marriage at

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bias of the method. We might note, in passing, that a Thurstone Centroid extraction, based upon fifteen variables in 1947, had yielded a similarly dominant centroid factor, suggesting that, at least for the limited variables included in our study, and for a city such as Cairo, marked as it is by gross cultural variations, the major social differentiations reflected in ecological organization are almost *unidimensional*.

<sup>23</sup> The factor-score computational method is explained in Abu-Lughod (1966).

TABLE 1. INTERCORRELATION AMONG 13 VARIABLES, 206 CENSUS TRACKS, CAIRO

| Variables                              | 1947 (above the diagonal) ; 1960 (below the diagonal) |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
|----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
|                                        | 1                                                     | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5    | 6    | 7    | 8    | 9    | 10   | 11** | 12   | 13   |
| 1 Persons per room                     |                                                       | .22  | .05  | .60  | -.65 | -.32 | -.42 | .11  | -.65 | -.70 | -.51 | .47  | .44  |
| 2 Density                              | .28                                                   |      | -.10 | .24  | -.18 | .02  | -.11 | .07  | -.09 | -.17 | -.18 | .00  | .13  |
| 3 Sex Ratio, 15-49                     | -.03                                                  | -.05 |      | -.19 | .09  | .15  | .35  | -.10 | .04  | .18  | .13  | -.23 | -.02 |
| 4 Fertility Ratio                      | .73                                                   | .18  | .02  |      | -.81 | -.48 | -.66 | .22  | -.62 | -.82 | -.48 | .47  | .55  |
| 5 Females 16+<br>never married         | -.74                                                  | -.13 | -.00 | -.84 |      | .42  | .75  | -.17 | .81  | .89  | .63  | -.59 | -.51 |
| 6 Ever-married females<br>16+ divorced | -.29                                                  | -.09 | -.12 | -.54 | .44  |      | .41  | -.05 | .36  | .40  | .23  | -.50 | .04  |
| 7 Males never married<br>16+           | -.52                                                  | -.05 | .39  | -.66 | .78  | .42  |      | -.17 | .68  | .73  | .55  | -.59 | -.33 |
| 8 Handicapped rate                     | .50                                                   | .23  | .02  | .43  | -.40 | -.15 | -.24 |      | -.08 | -.14 | -.14 | -.02 | -.03 |
| 9 Male literacy rate                   | -.74                                                  | -.22 | -.04 | -.64 | .78  | .31  | .58  | -.51 |      | .89  | .71  | -.70 | -.45 |
| 10 Female literacy rate                | -.84                                                  | -.23 | .11  | -.80 | .90  | .35  | .71  | -.50 | .89  |      | .67  | -.67 | -.64 |
| 11 Females employed                    | -.85                                                  | -.28 | .08  | -.85 | .81  | .45  | .60  | -.52 | .71  | .87  |      | -.49 | -.35 |
| 12 Males unemployed*                   | .43                                                   | .18  | -.03 | .39  | -.37 | -.19 | -.23 | .32  | -.32 | -.42 | -.46 |      | .24  |
| 13 Percentage Muslim                   | .51                                                   | .21  | -.07 | .47  | -.47 | .08  | -.31 | .17  | -.37 | -.50 | -.45 | .16  |      |

Note: Correlation coefficients, computed to six decimal places, have been rounded for presentation only to the nearest one-hundredth. Complete figures were retained for computations based upon these matrices.

\* The usual manual-nonmanual occupation index could not be computed from census tract cross-tabulations, since members of the labor force were subclassified partly by skill categories and partly by industry groupings.

\*\* Females in school. See note 7 to Table 2.

TABLE 2. ROTATED FACTOR LOADINGS, CAIRO CENSUS TRACTS, 1947 AND 1960 \*

| Variables                          | Factor I |      | Factor II |      | Factor III |      |
|------------------------------------|----------|------|-----------|------|------------|------|
|                                    | 1947     | 1960 | 1947      | 1960 | 1947       | 1960 |
| Persons Per Room                   | -.80     | -.81 | .15       | .01  | .10        | +.32 |
| Density (persons/sq. km.)          | -.18     | -.03 | -.16      | -.10 | +.62       | +.72 |
| Sex Ratio <sup>1</sup>             | -.00     | -.01 | +.96      | +.97 | -.05       | -.03 |
| Fertility Ratio <sup>2</sup>       | -.81     | -.89 | -.20      | -.01 | +.20       | -.00 |
| Never-Married Females <sup>3</sup> | +.91     | +.95 | .12       | .04  | -.07       | -.03 |
| Females Divorced <sup>4</sup>      | +.42     | +.52 | .19       | .03  | +.31       | +.41 |
| Never-Married Males <sup>5</sup>   | +.67     | +.76 | +.62      | +.49 | .01        | .11  |
| Handicapped Rate <sup>6</sup>      | -.08     | -.40 | -.04      | .13  | +.68       | +.32 |
| Male Literacy Rate                 | +.90     | +.81 | .06       | -.07 | .12        | -.20 |
| Female Literacy Rate               | +.95     | +.92 | .17       | .10  | -.03       | -.19 |
| Female Sch/Employed <sup>7</sup>   | +.72     | +.85 | .13       | .06  | -.07       | -.15 |
| Males Unemployed <sup>8</sup>      | -.68     | -.31 | -.28      | -.03 | -.38       | .18  |
| Percent Muslims                    | -.65     | -.56 | .02       | -.06 | .16        | +.55 |
| Sum of the Squares                 | 6.26     | 6.70 | 1.40      | 1.26 | 1.20       | 1.13 |
| Variance Explained by Factor (%)   | 48       | 52   | 11        | 10   | 9          | 9    |

\* Values  $\pm .20$  are considered significant and appear in bold typeface.

<sup>1</sup> Males per 100 females in the migration-prone ages between 15-49.

<sup>2</sup> Children under 5 per 1000 women 15-49 (median age at marriage for Cairo females is under 20).

<sup>3</sup> With marriage almost universal, this measure of females 16 years of age and over who have not yet married is a sensitive indicator of the "usual" age at marriage in a census tract; the higher the rate, the older the age of the typical bride.

<sup>4</sup> As expressed: Currently divorced women as a percent of ever-married women 16 years and older. Re-marriage for females is uncommon.

<sup>5</sup> This ratio reflects usual age at marriage as well as selective single status of migrant groups; hence, it appears on both Factors I and II.

<sup>6</sup> This variable was poorly replicated in the two censuses. Reporting procedure was changed, a fact that did not become evident until the analysis was completed.

<sup>7</sup> In 1947 this measure was estimated from the labor force category, "unproductively employed," and measured female school enrollment. No labor force participation figure for females could be computed since in the 1947 census all housewives were tabulated as employed in domestic service, undifferentiated from domestic servants working for wages. The 1947 measure correlated almost perfectly with the 1960 measure of employed females (which fortunately no longer included housewives). Fuller defense of what appears to be a cavalier treatment of data appears in Abu-Lughod (1966).

<sup>8</sup> An inexplicably large drop in rates of unemployment between 1947 and 1960 creates suspicion here.

a very young age and a post-nuptial life of high, sustained, and generally uncontrolled fertility.<sup>24</sup>

Factor II was interpreted as representing

<sup>24</sup> A more detailed description, a theoretical framework and a discussion of the physical ecology of the city, together with a map based upon factor scores, can be found in Abu-Lughod (1969, forthcoming). The ecological correlations between socio-economic variables and the fertility ratio, apparent here on the macro-level, have been confirmed on the non-ecological level as well. Age and education of the wife and, to a lesser extent, occupational rank of the husband were variables significantly related to the median number of children ever borne within various duration-of-marriage classes in Cairo in 1960 (Abu-Lughod, 1965).

"male dominance," i.e., selective settlement of unattached migrant males. The spatial patterning of the Factor II scores confirmed this, since high scoring tracts were confined almost exclusively to areas around the central business district and its strip extensions (see Abu-Lughod, 1961), or to institutional quarters of male predominance.

Factor III was interpreted as reflecting "social disorganization" of the urban variety. High scoring tracts were located chiefly in the dense central slum quarters to which the physically handicapped, the unemployed or dubiously employed, and divorced women had gravitated. These forms of social dependency can rarely be tolerated in the more rural social organization found towards the

periphery of the metropolitan area, even though the socio-economic level there may be as low as, or lower than, that found in the slums flanking the western-style central business district.

For present purposes, however, the most significant finding is the close association between certain variables of family status and the variables of social rank. It is this to which we wish to address ourselves in the final section of this article.

## V

Under what circumstances would one expect an ecological disassociation between family and socio-economic variables? Under what circumstances would it be reasonable to expect a close association between the two? Is there any relationship between these circumstances and the "scale" of society? Or, if the concept of scale is too broad to make the necessary distinctions, what other concepts relevant to the analysis of social change might more meaningfully be incorporated into a general theory of ecological organization? These critical questions, hitherto raised only in the most cursory fashion by earlier investigators, lie at the crux of a general comparative theory of urban social structure. To answer them one must return to the most elementary level of analysis.

First, under what circumstances would one expect to derive an independent socio-economic rank vector from the specific variables included in ecological studies, namely, occupation, education, etc.? If social rank were determined by criteria untapped by our measures (which are, after all, adapted to the analysis of "modern" social structures), and/or if residential segregation either did not occur at all or occurred according to principles *unrelated* to social rank, the vector would not be identified through

the ecological method.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, for our measures to yield a vector of social rank, we require: (a) that the effective ranking system in a city be related to our operational definition; and (b) that the ranking system be manifested in residential segregation of persons of different ranks at a scale large enough to be picked up at our level of analysis (the census tract).

Second, under what circumstances would one expect to find a "familism" vector, either independent of or coalesced with a socio-economic vector? Consider a situation in which the extended family is so pervasive an element of urban life that various stages of the family cycle are played out within large stable households rather than isolated in sequential residential settings. Consider the theoretically conceivable situation where no differences between social classes, ethnic groups or other critical subcategories in urban society exist with respect to fertility, family size, or the propensity to maintain extended families. And consider, further, a situation where housing facilities are so distributed (at random) throughout the city that no area is selectively attractive to special family types. In these cases, one would hardly expect to find a family vector in ecological analysis, for family types are relatively undifferentiated in social space, and urban subareas are relatively undifferentiated in physical space. Therefore, for our measures to identify a familism vector, we require: (a) that family types vary, either due to "natural" causes such as those associated with sequential stages in the family cycle, or to "social" causes such as those associated with other divisions in society, whether ethnic, socio-economic or other; and (b) that subareas within the city be differentiated in their attractiveness to families of different types.

Now let us look at the more complex problem. Granted a situation in which both family and social rank variables are reflected in the ecological pattern, under what circumstances would one expect these variables to lie on the same vector or to lie upon somewhat separate vectors? A necessary but not sufficient condition of the former is that social rank and family type be correlated, that the "typical" family of one social class be significantly different from the "typical"

<sup>25</sup> So much for the claim that social area analysts can be concerned with social space *independent* of physical space. While it is true that social rank might still be a relevant category of social space even if it failed to be manifested in physical segregation, *this could not be picked up through an ecological analysis*, i.e. social area analysis, which depends upon spatially-grouped aggregates.

family of another class.<sup>28</sup> Conversely, a necessary but not sufficient condition of the latter is that there be no major overpowering linkages between class on the one hand, and such familism variables as fertility, completed family size, and tendency to remain within extended households on the other hand. These conditions exist within the realm of social space. They are necessary but not sufficient because they fail to take into account the character of physical space. Thus, even given some relationship between class and family type, it would still be possible to have "familism" variables somewhat disassociated from socio-economic rank variables if two further conditions were present: (1) if stages in the family cycle were clearly distinguished from one another, each stage being associated with a change in residence; and (2) if sufficiently large sub-areas within the city offered, at all economic levels, highly specialized housing accommodations suited to families at particular points in their natural cycle of growth and decline. A third condition is also assumed, namely, cultural values permitting and favoring mobility to maximize housing efficiency, unencumbered by the "unnatural" frictions of sentiment, local attachments, or restrictive regulations.

Taking the above propositions as our frame of reference, we can now return to the substantive findings reported in earlier sections of this article. The disassociation between social rank and familism variables found in contemporary Western cities in societies at the terminal stages of the demographic transition can be attributed to the reinforcing and cumulative effects of several conditions that "define" the nature of urban organization in such cities: (1) residential segregation according to modern ranking systems, (2) relatively low correlations between social rank and differences in fertility and family styles, (3) high differentiation of residential subareas by housing types, (4) mobility, and (5) pre-

dominance of independent households. To the extent that these conditions are not perfectly fulfilled, the vectors will not be totally disassociated. For example, fertility differentials by social class have not completely disappeared, even in cities of highly industrialized Western countries; special house types are available, but not on a basis of equality for different economic groups; residential segregation by class is not total, despite zoning attempts to achieve homogeneity; and even for the most "rational industrialized man," sentiments and inertia, as well as law, inhibit frictionless mobility. These prevent a total disassociation between socio-economic and familism vectors.

The same set of variables accounts for the close association between familism and socio-economic rank in Cairo. While there is a marked degree of residential segregation by rank in that city, there is also an increasingly pronounced relationship between rank and family style (patterns of fertility, completed family size and differential tendency to form nuclear units). But thus far no clear differentiation of neighborhoods with respect to housing accommodations is noticeable. Suburbanization is minimal; most dwellings are in multi-family structures and dwelling unit density is tied to economic constraints more than to distance from the center. Therefore, segregation by family type in the city occurs largely as a by-product of economic segregation.

Between these two extremes is the city of Rome, characterized by residential specialization by social rank, with some association (albeit of declining significance) between class and fertility, and very little differentiation of residential areas by housing types. Whatever minor significance family differentiation has in shaping the urban pattern, then, is attributable more to social rank than to the independent force generated by family-cycle-linked housing specialization. The two vectors, then, are naturally in closer position (the variables more correlated), although one can predict that they will push farther apart as fertility differentials by social class continue to narrow and residential neighborhoods become more specialized by housing accommodations.

Another intermediary type which can be explained by the same set of factors is the

<sup>28</sup> We are not prejudging the causal sequence underlying the correlation. In a rigidly age-graded society the association between "class" and "family type" might be due to parallel status and family stage variables linked to advancing age. Conversely, in a society deep within the demographic transition, the association would clearly be attributable to class-linked fertility and family style variations.

American Southern city with a large non-white minority. The peculiar location in social space of the non-white sub-group (lower in socio-economic rank but higher in fertility) creates an association between social rank and fertility possibly similar to that apparent in the early stages of the demographic transition. This, coupled with lesser segregation by family cycle stage, especially for residentially restricted non-whites, accounts for the strong association between rank and family vectors.

This association between ethnicity and fertility, hinted at but obscured in Southern cities, is more clearly apparent in the African cities of Accra and Abidjan, which have been subjected to social area analysis. Several salient findings need to be explained by our theory. First, although four dimensions were identified, namely, family, rank, ethnicity, and migration status, only the last three were considered to be relatively independent. Family variables were slightly related to rank and migration status but much more strongly related to ethnicity. Second, the zero-order intercorrelations of variables were lower than have been found elsewhere. What accounts for these findings?

We would suggest that the African cities studied by McElrath (1968) and Clignet (forthcoming) are still ecologically structured according to the pre-industrial principle of ethnicity, linked by endogamy to extended kinship networks. This, combined with the yet weak influence of "modern" ranking criteria, makes the usual measures of rank (occupation and literacy) somewhat irrelevant. Low ecological correlations are the result. Furthermore, the societies are still too early in the demographic transition for clear fertility differentials by class to have become pervasive enough to be picked up by the gross method of ecological analysis. (Individual correlations are undoubtedly higher.) Family differences are still linked to cultural variations between ethnic or tribal groups which, in the premodern period, control family type variations not through conception or gestation variables but through the intercourse variables of mating. (The distinctions are Davis and Blake's, 1956). When these factors are combined with the low level of housing-type differentiation also found throughout these

cities and with the residual elements of extended households also present, the result is weak vectors of residential differentiation, as measured by the indices that have proven powerful discriminators in Western industrial societies. Factor analysis using a larger battery of variables should permit the development of an analytical schemata better suited to these cities than the conventional methods of social area analysis have provided.

In the preceding discussion we have not used the concept of increasing scale directly for our explanations. This does not necessarily mean that the concept is irrelevant. We suggest that scale represents a shorthand compression of several factors we find valuable to separate. In that sense it has the same assets and defects as the concept of "modernization," which more and more is being broken down into its constituent elements when detailed comparisons between "modernizing countries" are made. At some future time we may have sufficient knowledge to move to the next level of abstraction represented by the theory of increasing scale, but I would suggest that we are not yet ready to do so. Working with the three variables of (1) degree of residential segregation by "modern" criteria of social rank; (2) the degree of correlation between rank and family variables with relation to the demographic transition; and (3) the extent of residential and family type specialization, as related to housing-land use on the one hand and the isolation of discrete stages in the family cycle on the other, appears to be a necessary preliminary. Using these variables in controlled combinations, it would be possible to design an experiment, to be tested by the method of factor analysis, to measure the influence of each upon the ecological structures of a widely diverse sample of cities. Herein may lie the hope of developing a detailed theory of comparative urban ecology.

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## PARENTAL AND PEER INFLUENCES ON EDUCATIONAL PLANS OF ADOLESCENTS \*

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*The notion of a separate adolescent subculture totally isolated from parental influence is not supported by data on educational plans based on triads of adolescents matched with their mother and their best friend in school. We find that concordance on educational goals is higher with mother than with best-school-friend and is not explained by the common social class which adolescents share with parents and friends. While concordance with friend increases with greater intimacy, concordance with mother remains at the same level, irrespective of the adolescent closeness to his parents.*

ADOLESCENTS are said to belong to a distinct adolescent subculture and to be influenced more by their peers than by their parents (Coleman, 1961). However, the extent to which the values and goals of adolescents and adults differ and the degree to which significant adults and peers actually influence the development of adolescents have not been adequately tested and specified (Berger, 1963). Most research on parental and peer influences on the educational plans of adolescents has considered one influence or the other but not both simultaneously.

Results from the frequent studies that have been concerned with the relative influences of parents and peers on the educational plans of adolescents are contradictory: McDill and Coleman (1965) and Herriott (1963) conclude that peer influences exceed parental influences; Simpson (1962) concludes that parents are more influential than peers.

In a panel study of students in their first and last years of high school, McDill and

Coleman (1965) conclude that: "... by the end of the senior year of high school, the prestige of the adolescents in the school social system contributes more to variations in their stated college plans than does their father's or mother's education" (p. 125). However, data on the parents' actual desires for their children, also presented by McDill and Coleman, indicate that even in the senior year the influence of parental desires on adolescents' plans is greater than school status.<sup>1</sup>

Herriott (1963) used adolescents' perceptions of the educational expectations held by eleven different types of persons as sources of data on parental and peer influences. The highest correlation was obtained between adolescents' educational aspirations and perceived expectations of a same-age friend. On the other hand, in a study of occupational aspirations of high school students, Simpson (1962) found that for both middle-class and lower-class boys, "parental influence was more strongly related to aspirations than peer influences" (p. 521). Parental influence was measured by the child's report of his parents' pressure to enter a profession. High peer influence was defined

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<sup>1</sup>The measure of influence is Coleman's "effect parameter," which also has been used in the present study. It is designed to measure the effect of one or more independent variables on a dependent variable (Coleman, 1964), using a model analogous to a factorial design in analysis of variance for quantitative data. Each difference is weighted according to the size of the sample on which it is based.

by two criteria: belonging to two or more school clubs, and mentioning at least one middle-class friend.

In their use of indirect indicators for parental or peer goals, these studies of relative influences follow the same procedures as single-influence studies. Most studies of parental influences use parental social class or education as indicators of parental educational aspirations for their children. (For review of existing studies see Haller and Butterworth, 1960; McDill and Coleman, 1965; Sewell and Shah, 1967.) However, while social class is strongly related to educational goals, parental aspirations or parental encouragement of higher education can override a lower-class background (cf. Bordua, 1960; Cohen, 1965; Ellis and Lane, 1963; Kahl, 1953; Rehberg and Westby, 1967; Sewell and Shah, 1968a and b; Strodtbeck, 1958).

Similarly, the studies of peer influences on academic achievement and aspirations have been concerned with the influence of the value climate of schools on the adolescents within these schools, and rarely with the specific plans and attitudes of the adolescent's friends (Boyle, 1966; Coleman, 1961; Coleman, *et al.*, 1966; McDill, *et al.*, 1966; Michael, 1961; Ramsøy, 1962; Turner, 1964; Wilson, 1959).

The consensus between matched pairs of adolescents in the school has been investigated in two studies which reach opposite conclusions. Alexander and Campbell (1964), in a study of male seniors in 30 high schools, conclude that "a student and his best friend tend to be similar in college plans and that the extent of similarity is greater when the choice is reciprocated" (p. 571). Haller and Butterworth (1960), in contrast, found low intra class correlations on levels of occupational and, particularly, educational aspirations in 245 pairs of 17-year-old high school boys and their best-school-friend. (For a recent reanalysis of these data in the light of a model to estimate the magnitude of peer influences, see Duncan, *et al.*, 1968).

Our work attempts to investigate the relative influences of parents and peers under differing social and cultural conditions. To overcome in part the difficulties of previous

studies, we use a sample of triads in which the adolescent has been matched with his mother and his best friend in school. The indicators of educational goals are direct rather than indirect, albeit not identical for parent and peer. Furthermore, in order to establish that concordance on goals reflects the influence of mothers or of best friends upon the adolescent, we have studied concordance while holding constant certain characteristics of the social environment, such as social class or program in school, and under different types of interaction with mother and friend. Indeed, agreement between any two individuals does not necessarily reflect influence from one person to the other, since agreement by itself can result from the common social situation and not from the interaction itself (cf. Furstenberg, 1967; Hyman, 1959).<sup>2</sup>

Three interrelated questions are considered:

(1) What is the relative agreement, or concordance, on educational goals between the adolescent and his mother, and between the adolescent and his best-school-friend?

(2) What is the influence of common social factors, for example, social-class membership, on concordance on educational goals within dyads?

(3) What is the influence of patterns of social interaction within dyads on concordance on educational plans?

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<sup>2</sup> Only through a longitudinal design is it possible definitely to establish the source, nature, and direction of influences. Such longitudinal data were not collected in the present study, and thus problems of interpretation exist, involving in particular reciprocity and interrelationship of influences which no statistical manipulation can resolve. For example, we cannot ascertain the extent to which adolescents influence their parents by demonstrating that they are qualified for a specific level of educational attainment, which the parents then come to accept and encourage. In dealing with friends' influence, we cannot establish the extent to which parents influence the eligible range of friends from which adolescents choose. Nor can we estimate the extent to which similarity of values and attitudes between friends is the basis for friendship rather than an outcome of friendship. We attempt to deal with some of these points in the data analysis, but in the absence of longitudinal data we stress the limitations inherent in the concept of influence as it is used throughout this paper.

METHOD

1. *Sample*<sup>3</sup>

In the spring of 1965, data were collected from all students in three high schools (N=2327) through use of structured questionnaires. Each student was asked to name his three closest same-sex friends in school. In addition, the students' mothers were mailed self-administered structured questionnaires containing many questions identical to those included in the students' instrument: 60% of the mothers returned completed questionnaires.<sup>4</sup> The schools, located in the eastern United States, included a large, lower-class urban school, a small rural school, and a regional school which draws its student body from several small adjacent communities.

Subsamples of dyads and triads were identified.

(a) Dyads (N=1141) consisting of matched adolescent-mother pairs from intact families. These intact families represent 83% of the total matched adolescent-mother pairs.

(b) Dyads (N=2157) consisting of all identified adolescent and best-school-friend pairs, regardless of whether or not there was a mother-match. A best-school-friend could be identified for over 90% of the adolescents.

(c) Triads (N=1065) consisting of all adolescents from intact families who could be matched to both their mother and their best-school-friend.

The analyses are based alternatively on pairs drawn from the triads or the dyads. To compare simultaneously concordance with mother and concordance with best friend, the samples are restricted to pairs drawn from the triads. To investigate fac-

tors related to concordance, all dyads are included to maximize the number of cases. This procedure is justified by the fact that levels of concordance are almost identical among pairs from dyads and from triads. (Data not presented but available on request to authors.)

2. *Measurement of Educational Plans*

Students and mothers were asked parallel questions about the adolescent's educational plans. Students, and their best friends, were asked to indicate the highest level of education they expected to complete; mothers were asked: "What is the highest level of education you would like your child to complete?" An "undecided" alternative was provided the students, but not their parents. Thus, the measures used for parental and peer influences are not identical, since mothers' expectations are specifically for their child, while peers' expectations are for themselves. This point is discussed in the interpretation of the findings.

Respondents who did not answer the educational question, and adolescents who checked the alternative, "undecided," were not included in the analysis. Concordance within dyads was measured by Kendall's (1962) tau-beta.<sup>5</sup>

RESULTS

1. *Concordance on Educational Plans with Mothers and Peers*

To assess the relative influence of parents and peers on educational plans, we examined the degree of concordance on plans among matched adolescent and mother pairs and adolescent and best-school-friend pairs in the sample of triads. The results are striking. (See Table 1.)

(a) Concordance on educational goals is highly significant both for mother and best-school-friend.

<sup>3</sup> Data for this paper are taken from a larger cross-cultural study of adolescents and their families in the United States and Denmark. Only the data for the United States are presented here. The findings for Denmark replicate those obtained in the United States (Kandel *et al.*, 1968; Kandel and Lesser, 1969).

<sup>4</sup> The comparison of answers from students whose mothers replied with those of students whose mothers did not reply reveals no differences between the two groups of adolescents in socio-demographic characteristics. There is a slight tendency for responding mothers to be perceived as being more interested in educational matters.

<sup>5</sup> No existing statistics are completely satisfactory to measure concordance, since none gives a measure that takes into account simultaneously the absolute amount of observed agreement within pairs and the relative amount of agreement given the marginal distributions of answers.

TABLE 1. CONCORDANCE \* ON EDUCATIONAL PLANS BETWEEN ADOLESCENT AND MOTHER AND BETWEEN ADOLESCENT AND BEST-SCHOOL-FRIEND BY SEX (TRIADS)

| Concordance on Educational Plans | Concordance with |                    |
|----------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|
|                                  | Mother           | Best-School-Friend |
| Total sample                     | .504             | .389               |
| Total N                          | (740)            | (531)              |
| Boys                             | .427             | .308               |
| Total N                          | (357)            | (245)              |
| Girls                            | .532             | .423               |
| Total N                          | (383)            | (286)              |

\* As measured by tau-beta, all significant beyond .001 level.

(b) Concordance is higher for mother than for best-school-friend, among both boys and girls (see Table 1).<sup>6</sup> When parental education is used as the indicator of parental influence, the actual degree of parental influence on the child's educational aspirations is underestimated; in our sample, the association between mothers' education and adolescents' educational aspirations (.199)<sup>7</sup> is much lower than the association between mothers' actual plans for their children and adolescents' educational aspirations (.504).

(c) Girls have higher levels of agreement with their mothers than boys. Thus, we are able to replicate with respect to educational goals the oft-reported finding of greater consensus among mother-daughter than mother-son pairs (Furstenberg, 1967).

Our measures of mother's and friends' influence have somewhat different meanings. For the mother, we measure her aspirations for her child and assume that they are communicated to the child in the form of influencing attempts. But the mother's goal could reflect not only what she ideally would like for her child, but also her assessment of the child's ability and wishes for himself. However, we find that while maternal aspirations are based to some extent upon a realistic appraisal of their child's academic potential and achievement, the relationship

is not very strong and not as strong as the association between the adolescent's own educational plans and his academic performance, such as self-reported grades, school rank in senior year, and I.Q. For example, the tau-betas measuring the association between senior-year school rank and educational plans are .238 for adolescents and .104 for mothers. Among adolescents who place themselves in the lowest quartile, only 23% aspire to college as compared to 70% of their mothers. Thus, we infer that our indicator of maternal influence measures the mother's educational aspirations for her child beyond her realistic evaluation of the child's academic potential and achievement.

For the friend, we measure his aspirations for himself and assume that he influences the adolescent as an example and role model. However, peers may have one expectation for themselves while accepting the fact that their friend is not the same. While we do not know friends' educational aspirations for each other, we do have data on peers' encouragement for college plans. Adolescents were asked: "How would your close friends here at school react if you decided to attend college?" The response alternatives included: "They would encourage me," "They would discourage me," "They wouldn't care." The association (as measured by tau-beta) between this question and the adolescent's educational goals is .259 and is lower than concordance on actual educational goals within friendship pairs (.389). Thus, we believe that the use of friends' self-aspirations does not artificially lower the measured effect of friends' educational influence.

That parents influence adolescents' educational plans more than peers is illustrated further when one examines simultaneously the adolescent's aspirations, his mother's aspirations for him, and the plans of his best-school-friend. To simplify the analysis, educational plans were dichotomized into the categories of high school *versus* two-year college and over. Table 2 shows clearly, particularly for the triads in which mother and best friend hold divergent plans, that the influence of the mother is greater than that of the friend: 49% of adolescents plan to continue beyond high school when their

<sup>6</sup> "Parental" influence is, in all likelihood, even greater than is indicated by our data since we restrict ourselves to maternal desires and do not also include the father's educational aspirations for his child.

<sup>7</sup> The correlation with father's education is .177.

TABLE 2. PERCENT OF ADOLESCENTS PLANNING TO CONTINUE THEIR EDUCATION, BY BEST-SCHOOL-FRIEND'S EDUCATIONAL PLANS AND MOTHER'S EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR ADOLESCENT (TRIADS)

| Best-School-Friend's Plans | Percent of Adolescents Planning to Continue Education |      |           |       |  |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|------|-----------|-------|--|
|                            | Mother's Aspirations                                  |      |           |       |  |
|                            | High school %                                         | N    | College % | N     |  |
| High School                | 8                                                     | (88) | 49        | (134) |  |
| College                    | 21                                                    | (38) | 83        | (267) |  |

Weighted effect parameter of:

Mother's aspirations .492 \*\*

Best-school-friend's plans .288 \*\*

\*\*  $p < .01$ .

mothers have college plans for them and their best-school-friends intend to stop at the high school level, as contrasted to 21% when their mothers have no college aspirations, even though their best-school-friends intend to go on to college. That friends have influence beyond that of the mother is shown by the increase in college plans (to 83%) when both mother and best-school-friend have college plans. As measured by Coleman's weighted effect parameter, the influence of the mother is approximately twice as high as that of the best-school-friend (.492 *versus* .288).<sup>8</sup>

Far from supporting the notion that adolescents are influenced by their peers more than by their parents, these data suggest the opposite: namely, that parents are more influential than peers<sup>9</sup> as regards future life goals. Furthermore, far from acting at odds with parents' goals, peers seem to reinforce these goals. The majority of adolescents (57%) hold plans which are in agreement with those of their mothers *and* their friends. And adolescents who agree with their parents are also more likely to be in agreement

with their peers (76%) than those who disagree with their parents (59%). In the area of future life goals, no polarization seems to exist either toward parents or peers.

Perhaps friends reinforce parental aspirations because adolescents associate with peers whose goals are congruent with parental goals. When parents have college aspirations for their children, in the majority of cases (65%), their children's best-school-friends also have college plans; when parents have high school plans, in the majority of cases (66%), their children's best-school-friends also have high school plans. These trends hold true within each social class. (Data not presented.)

Not only is parental influence on future life goals stronger than peer influence, but it remains strong throughout the entire adolescent period (see Table 3). The decreasing

TABLE 3. CONCORDANCE \* ON EDUCATIONAL PLANS BETWEEN ADOLESCENT AND MOTHER AND BETWEEN ADOLESCENT AND BEST-SCHOOL-FRIEND, BY AGE (DYADS)

| Concordance with   | Age  |       |       |       |       |
|--------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|                    | 14   | 15    | 16    | 17    | 18    |
| Mother             | .613 | .561  | .418  | .542  | .432  |
| Total N            | (23) | (112) | (229) | (261) | (159) |
| Best-School-Friend | .394 | .436  | .341  | .315  | .406  |
| Total N            | (47) | (178) | (291) | (333) | (199) |

\* As measured by tau-beta, all significant beyond .01 level.

influence of parents throughout adolescence has been accepted by many sociologists (Parsons, 1942; McDill and Coleman, 1965; Douvan and Adelson, 1966). Our data, however, do not support this conclusion. Table 3 shows that concordance levels vary irregularly from year to year between the ages of 14 and 18. An adolescent at age 14 is more in agreement with his mother than he is at any other age; from ages 15 through 18, no consistent decrease is shown, nor does his concordance with friend show a consistent increase. These trends are not altered when sex of the child is taken into account. (Data not presented.)

## 2. Concordance: Influence or Convergence.

The levels of concordance on educational

<sup>8</sup> The greater influence of the mother as compared to the best-school-friend can also be observed in relation to future occupational goals. (Data not presented.)

<sup>9</sup> The adolescent's best-school-friend does not represent the influence of the adolescent's very best friend (who may not be in the same school with him) nor the influence of all possible peers. However, data presented later in this paper indicate that even among adolescents for whom the school friend is the very best friend overall, concordance on educational plans is lower with friend than with mother.

plans are high. However, in the absence of longitudinal data, the existence of a positive correlation between members of a dyad does not necessarily reflect the influence of one individual by the other, since both could be subject to the same external social influence. For instance, concordance on values between mother-children pairs has been found not to differ from levels of concordance with non-related adults living in the same household (Furstenberg, 1967) or members of artificial families (Dentler and Hutchinson, 1961). To demonstrate influence of one member of the pair upon another, it is necessary to show that (1) agreement is not explained by a common external factor which both members experience, and (2) agreement is modified by the interaction between the two individuals; if agreement results from the direct influence of one individual upon the other, different patterns of interaction should affect the degree of influence observed.

The very high concordance on educational plans between adolescent and mother observed in our samples could result from the fact that adolescents and their mothers belong to the same social class and are independently affected by it. Similarly, concordance between the adolescent and his best-school-friend could result from common experiences (either outside or inside the school) that lead to identical educational plans, rather than from the specific influence of one friend upon the other. In this sample, social and economic background are relatively unimportant criteria for personal choice of friends (Kandel, *et al.*, 1968); criteria such as age, or program in school, are much more important.<sup>10</sup> Common school experience could account for the observed agreement on educational plans between in-school friendship pairs, since school program is highly related to educational plans. The proportion of adolescents planning to go to college varies from 92% among students in the college preparatory course to 30% in the general program.

<sup>10</sup> The similarity (measured by tau-beta) in father's occupation of the two friends is remarkably low: .085, as compared to .539 for age or .598 for program in school. All the tau-betas are statistically significant.

When social class<sup>11</sup> is held constant (see Table 4), concordance remains at a high and significant level, suggesting that agreement with mother or best-school-friend within a particular social class is not a spurious result of its independent association with social class. The cross-tabulations of mother's and adolescent's plans, which correspond to the correlations in Table 4 are striking. When mothers have college aspirations for their children, 80% of middle-class and 67% of lower-class adolescents plan to go on to college; when mothers have no college aspirations for their children, the proportion of adolescents with college plans drops to 20% and 16%, respectively, in the middle and lower class. The weighted effect parameters reflect these trends: the effect of mother's plans on adolescent aspiration is .530, as compared to .108 for social class.

These data provide strong evidence for Kahl's (1953) observation that parental aspiration is a more important determinant of children's educational aspirations than is social-class membership *per se*. (See also Sewell and Shah, 1968). This does not deny the importance of social class as a determining factor in educational aspirations, but our data can be interpreted to show that the impact of social class on the adolescent, to the extent that it exists, is absorbed in the nature of the maternal influence.

Although coefficients of concordance re-

TABLE 4. CONCORDANCE \* ON EDUCATIONAL PLANS BETWEEN ADOLESCENT AND MOTHER AND BETWEEN ADOLESCENT AND BEST-SCHOOL-FRIEND, BY SOCIAL CLASS (DYADS)

| Concordance with   | Middle Class | Lower Class | Total  |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------|--------|
| Mother             | .542         | .495        | .495   |
| Total N            | (215)        | (493)       | (724)  |
| Best-school-friend | .418         | .325        | .367   |
| Total N            | (261)        | (612)       | (1060) |

\* As measured by tau-beta, all significant beyond .01 level.

<sup>11</sup> The social-class variable is based upon father's occupation.

Middle-class includes: professionals, technical, managers, officials, white-collar and sales;  
Lower-class includes: foremen, skilled and unskilled workers and laborers.

main highly significant within each social class, there are variations among them, especially as regards friends (see Table 4). Concordance is higher with mother and in particular with best friend in the middle than in the lower class. The somewhat weaker exposure to congruent social influences of the lower-class American adolescent is illustrated further by the degree of intertriad agreement in each class. Table 5 shows that the proportion of adolescents who agree with both their mothers and friends is higher in the middle (66%) than lower class (54%). These social-class differences are explained in part by the distribution of educational plans and the relation that these plans bear to social class. The highest inter-triad agreement is observed among adolescents who choose the modal educational aspiration, that is, college: 73% of adolescents who plan to go on to college are in agreement both with their mother and their friend in contrast to 37% among those who plan to stop at the high school level. When both social class and type of plans are controlled, type of plan is a stronger correlate of inter-triad agreement than social class (see Table 5).

Table 6 examines concordance with peer, holding school program constant. As expected, school program explains more of the concordance on educational plans between friends than does social class. Within each school program, concordance is lower than for the sample as a whole, but still is significant statistically, except in the vocational program. Within each program, adolescents' plans are influenced to some extent by the plans of their school friends. For example, the proportion of students with college plans in the commercial programs increases from 25% when their best friend intends to stop at the high school level, to 56% when their best friend plans to go on to college.

These results suggest that concordance be-

TABLE 5. AGREEMENT ON EDUCATIONAL PLANS WITHIN TRIADS, BY SOCIAL CLASS AND TYPE OF EDUCATIONAL PLANS

| Proportion of Adolescents Who Agree Both With Mother and Friend | Middle Class | Lower Class |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Total sample                                                    | 66           | 54          |
| Total N                                                         | (146)        | (327)       |
| When plan to stop at high school level                          | 41           | 36          |
| Total N                                                         | (44)         | (160)       |
| When plan to go to college                                      | 77           | 71          |
| Total N                                                         | (102)        | (167)       |

tween adolescent and mother, and adolescent and best-school-friend, represents direct influence on the adolescent, rather than the independent influence of the shared social situation of both dyad members, as represented by social class. If this is so, factors which increase or decrease that influence must be sought in the characteristics of the interactional patterns themselves. These are examined next.

### 3. Concordance and Mother's Influence

#### A. Patterns of Family Interaction

Family variables are of particular interest in the study of parental influence because the nature of parent-child interaction is assumed to affect the degree to which parents are able to transmit their values and goals to their children. (See, for example, Clausen, 1968.) Several family variables, such as type of parental power, amount of communication, degree of closeness between parent and child, and reliance on parental advice have been suggested as facilitating transmission of values from parent to child. In our study, these family variables were related to the adolescents' *subjective* experience of parental influence, such as feeling that their opinions were close to those of their parents and

TABLE 6. CONCORDANCE \* ON EDUCATIONAL PLANS BETWEEN ADOLESCENT AND BEST-SCHOOL-FRIEND, BY ADOLESCENT'S SCHOOL PROGRAM (DYADS)

| Concordance with Best-School-Friend | Commercial | General | College Preparatory | Vocational | Total  |
|-------------------------------------|------------|---------|---------------------|------------|--------|
| Concordance                         | .293**     | .156*   | .153**              | .084       | .367** |
| Total N                             | (430)      | (216)   | (346)               | (33)       | (1060) |

\* As measured by tau-beta, \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .001$ .

preferring the opinions of parents to those of peers (Kandel, *et al.*, 1968). However, these subjective perceptions of parental influence are *not* supported by the analyses of actual influence. No consistent effect of family patterns on the actual degree of agreement between mother and adolescent on educational goals could be identified.<sup>12</sup>

These findings are difficult to interpret if they mean that parental influence takes place irrespective of the nature of the parent-child relationship. It is possible that our measures of these parent-child variables are inadequate, or that the variables are attributes of family life too general to reveal the differential influence of parents on children on a particular issue, such as educational plans. As we will now see, more specific parent-child variables do show some effect.

B. Communication about Educational Plans

The influence of the mother on the adolescent's educational plans appears when we examine the actual content of her interactions with the adolescent about these plans. Parents were not only asked about their educational aspirations for the adolescent, but also how strongly they had encouraged him (or her) to pursue education after secondary school. The mother's encouragement of higher education has a noticeable effect on the educational aspirations of her child: 82% of adolescents plan to continue their education beyond high school when the mother strongly encourages the pursuit of higher education, but only 14% when the mother reports she has advised against college attendance. (For similar findings, see, for example, Bell, 1963; Bordua, 1960; Cohen, 1965; Kahl, 1953; Sewell and Shah, 1968).

In analyzing simultaneously the effects of mother's encouragement and specific educa-

tional aspirations upon the adolescent's plans, each has an independent effect on the child's level of aspiration, with specific plans slightly stronger (.382 *versus* .302). Among mothers with college aspirations for their children, 85% of adolescents plan to continue their education when their mother also provides strong encouragement, as compared to only 53% when she does not.

Parents of different social classes vary not only in the educational goals they have for their children, but also in the encouragement they give their children to continue their education, with middle-class mothers providing more encouragement than lower-class mothers. When the mother's educational plans and strength of encouragement are controlled simultaneously, the social-class effects on the child's own plans disappear almost completely (see Table 7). Thus, the social-class differences in adolescents' educational plans can be explained mostly by the facts that parents have different levels of aspiration and provide differential encouragement to pursue education. These parental attitudes and plans, in turn, are associated with social-class position. But for the child, the parent is clearly the link between social-class position and future life goals.

Adolescents were also asked to whom they had talked about their educational plans. The mother is mentioned as the one person most often consulted, by 85% of the adolescents. A slight tendency to be in greater agreement with the mother (.471) exists for adolescents who discuss their plans with her than those who do not (.400).

TABLE 7. PERCENT OF ADOLESCENTS PLANNING TO CONTINUE EDUCATION, BY MOTHER'S COLLEGE ASPIRATION, MATERNAL ENCOURAGEMENT, AND SOCIAL CLASS (DYADS)

| Percent of Adolescents         | Mothers with College Aspirations |             |                 |             |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|
|                                | Strong Encourag.                 |             | Medium, Against |             |
|                                | Middle Class                     | Lower Class | Middle Class    | Lower Class |
| Planning to continue education | 89%                              | 82%         | 56%             | 50%         |
| Total N                        | (122)                            | (196)       | (48)            | (153)       |

<sup>12</sup> Using matched parent-adolescent pairs, Furs-tenberg (1967) also was unable to isolate any effect of family variables on concordance between parent and child in six out of seven values he considered. The one area in which he found effects was on "mobility orientation," a composite index that included several items, including educational aspira-tions.



#### 4. Concordance and the Influence of Best Friend

In contrast to the findings for mother, the influence of the best-school-friend on the adolescent varies according to the intensity of the friendship. Several indicators of intensity of the friendship were used: (1) whether or not the friendship choice is reciprocated, (2) how frequently the adolescent sees his friend out of school, and (3) whether the best-school-friend is also the best friend overall. Friendship pairs characterized by greater intimacy and greater frequency of contact were expected to show greater concordance. Alexander and Campbell (1964) had found that reciprocity of choice increased the similarity in college plans of high school seniors.

The results in Table 8 confirm these expectations: friends whose choice is reciprocated are in greater agreement than friends involved in unreciprocated choices; the adolescent is in greater agreement with friends he sees frequently out of school than those he sees more rarely, and, agreement is higher with school friends who are also the adolescent's very best friend overall (outside school as well as in school) than with those school friends who are not.

The degree of friendship was refined further by considering simultaneously whether the choice was reciprocated *and* whether the friend in school was the best friend overall. The "very best friend" in terms of this classification, is the best friend overall whose choice is reciprocated. Con-

cordance on educational plans with reciprocated best friends overall is higher than for any other category of friendship. However, concordance with the very best friend overall (.423) is still not as high as with the mother (.504).

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

These findings have relevance for several current controversies about sources of influences on adolescents' educational plans, about the process of family socialization, and about the separateness of adolescents and adults. Concordance with mother is higher than concordance with best-school-friend, even when out-of-school friendships are taken into account and the school friend is the adolescent's very best friend overall, outside or in school. Controlling for external social factors such as social class or program in school suggests that the influence of mother and friend, especially that of the mother, is intrinsic to the interaction itself. Parental desires for their children are more important direct determinants of the child's educational plans than is socioeconomic status, although the parents' aspirations themselves may be determined in great part by the parents' position in society.

While the influence of peers increases with the intimacy of the friendship, the influence of the mother appears to be remarkably independent of family structure and of the closeness of the adolescent to his mother. Thus our findings are consistent with an emerging body of data (Furstenberg, 1967) which fail to confirm many common assumptions about the role of family structure in socialization.

Regarding educational plans, the adolescent is in considerable agreement with both parents and peers. Furthermore, agreement on educational goals with parents goes together with agreement with friends, and adolescents who disagree with their parents are also likely to disagree with their friends. Thus we take exception to the "hydraulic" view taken by many investigators regarding the relative influence of adults and peers which assumes that the greater the influence of the one, the less the influence of the other. Our data lead to another view: in critical areas, interactions with peers support the values of the parents.

TABLE 8. CONCORDANCE \* ON EDUCATIONAL PLANS BETWEEN ADOLESCENT AND BEST-SCHOOL-FRIEND, BY STRENGTH OF FRIENDSHIP (DYADS)

| Strength of Friendship             | Tau-beta | N     |
|------------------------------------|----------|-------|
| Reciprocity of Choice              |          |       |
| Reciprocated                       | .390     | (438) |
| Not reciprocated                   | .346     | (622) |
| Frequency of Contact out of School |          |       |
| More than once a week              | .369     | (732) |
| Once a week-month                  | .350     | (213) |
| Never                              | .316     | (114) |
| School Friend is Best Friend       |          |       |
| Overall                            |          |       |
| Yes                                | .406     | (710) |
| No                                 | .291     | (338) |

\* As measured by tau-beta, all significant beyond .001 level.

The assumption is commonly made that peers provide a deterrent to intellectual development and educational aspirations during adolescence (Coleman, 1961). Our own data confirm that the climate of American high schools does not appear to reward intellectual achievement in school (Kandel, *et al.*, 1968). But peers have less influence on adolescents than parents with regard to future educational goals. On this last point, the findings of a rarely quoted study by Riley, *et al.* (1961) are relevant: the self-expectations which adolescents had for themselves as adults were very close to the adolescents' perceptions of their parents' current expectations. These authors conclude that adolescents distinguish between values relevant to their current peer relationships and those relevant to the roles they will play in the future as adults. The present results suggest that it is misleading to speak of separate adolescent cultures or of general peer *versus* parental influences. The particular content area under discussion must be specified; for certain values or areas, peers may be more influential than parents; for other issues, the reverse may be true (cf. Brittain, 1963). On the issue of the adolescent's future life goals, parents have a stronger influence than peers.

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## LABORATORY SIMULATION OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRESS \*

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*With a research focus on organizational stress, such as might be precipitated by natural disaster, an attempt was made to "bridge the gap" between the field and laboratory through "realistic simulation." Three teams of police communication room personnel participated in each of the three simulations with normal system demands. The teams then confronted system stress through a simulated disaster. Changes in team performance patterns under stress appeared related to strains existent in the system prior to stress and to incompatibilities between system structure and emergent system demands. Among the most important changes in group structure which increased system capacity was the gradual emergence of a display mechanism whereby intra-team activity became more shared.*

**H**ow can data be collected on social systems? Traditionally, sociologists have most frequently used field studies in analyses of groups and organizations (for

implications, see Strather, 1963). Why? As Blau and Scott (1962: 18) have indicated, "... the sample survey is an excellent research design for investigations concerned with the characteristics of the members of

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organizations but not for studies interested in the characteristics of organizational structure." This is not to suggest that survey methods cannot be used (see Tausky, 1967 and reply by Aiken and Hage, 1967). But as Coleman (1961) has emphasized, survey techniques have too long perpetuated an individualistic direction in data analysis. Controlled experiments have been avoided largely for two reasons: (1) inadequate theory development (Weick, 1967) and (2) reluctance to use "artificial" laboratory settings (Weick, 1965).

With a research focus on organizational stress such as might be precipitated by natural disaster, we began a research program in which we attempted to "bridge the gap" between the field and laboratory in the study of social systems (Guetzkow, 1962). A research technique emerged which was labeled "realistic simulation" (Drabek and Haas, 1967). Just as aerodynamics engineers use models (simulates) in wind tunnels (environment) to study aircraft design (theory) under varying environmental conditions, replica organizations can also be subjected to environmental change to test organizational theory (Kennedy, 1955). Many types of simulation strategies are currently being explored, e.g., computer (Gullahorn and Gullahorn, 1965), man-machine (Rome and Rome, 1961), or human subjects only (Wager and Palola, 1964). While obviously different in specific operational procedures, all of these strategies emphasize the construction and manipulation of an operating system contrived for research purposes or one which replicates an existing system (Dawson, 1962:3). Following a brief outline of some of the more relevant aspects of the conceptual framework by which the present research was guided, we will describe the simulation of the communication system of a metropolitan police organization and the types of findings which emerged when this system was subjected to stress.

#### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

We define an organization as a relatively permanent and relatively complex interaction system (for a more detailed presentation of this perspective see Haas and Drabek, in press). As such, organizations are viewed as "open systems" in constant interaction

with environmental elements which greatly vary in stability (Thompson, 1967 and Katz and Kahn, 1966). When organizational incumbents are observed over a prolonged period of time, patterns in interaction can be noted (Whyte, 1959). These interaction patterns, among organizational incumbents, as well as between incumbents and environmental elements, e.g., other organizations or "the public-at-large," are referred to as the performance structure. For analytical purposes organizational performance structures are viewed as being composed of a complex and interrelated set of processes such as task, communication, decision-making, and the like.

Three constructs are used to explain why these interaction patterns recur over time: normative structure, interpersonal structure and resource structure. Although these structures can be used to account for relatively stable behavior patterns, organizations, like all interaction systems, do change. And many types of system change can be explained by two additional constructs—strain and stress.

*Organizational strain* is defined as inconsistencies or discrepancies among structural elements. Many types of strains exist at varying levels in all organizations. We hypothesize that knowledge of strain can be used to explain certain types of organizational change (Goode, 1960 and Bertrand, 1963). Strain can be effectively conceptualized using the normative, interpersonal, and resource structures, i.e., inconsistencies may exist both within and among elements of each of these structures (Drabek, 1968b).

Organizational stress is derived from the following three concepts by which systems are linked to crucial environmental elements: (1) organizational demands, (2) organizational capability, and (3) organizational capacity. Like strain, each of these concepts is rather complex and is outlined here in the briefest manner.

*Organizational demands* denote legitimate external requests or commands for organizational action, either received directly by any member of the organization or resulting from knowledge of demand-relevant cues.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Illustration of demand-relevant cues would be tornado information received by a telephone or electric company, which then might immediately dispatch crews to sections of a city before any

*Organizational capability* is defined as the range of possible organizational actions which an organization could perform if appropriate decisions to do so were made. Thus, on any given day an organization might perform actions "a" through "g". In addition to these performances, actions "g" through "z" could be completed if decisions to do so were made. While precise specification of capability is difficult at best, it is essential to recognize that structural arrangements and resulting behavior patterns do exist and to some degree can be identified.

Finally, *organizational capacity* refers to the maximum level of task or sub-task performance that can be relatively sustained over time with a specified structural design; i.e., capacity refers to the types and level of performance that can be sustained through the use of a particular set of normative, interpersonal, and resource structures. Since many design-alternatives are available (capability), each structural arrangement has a certain level of task performance (capacity).

*Organizational stress* is the organizational state or condition indicated by the degree of discrepancy between organizational demands and capacity. Stress is viewed as a continuous variable and refers to the *state of the system* rather than to sets of stimuli or response patterns.<sup>2</sup> Changes in either demands, capacity, or both, may alter the level of stress.

While this framework is viewed as applicable to all types of organizations, the interrelationships between these concepts can be illustrated most easily by analysis of extreme and sudden environmental change. For example, following community disasters, emer-

gency organizations will confront sharp increases in demands and may simultaneously experience reduced capacity through the loss of personnel and/or vital equipment such as telephone service. Thus, disaster *per se* is not the source of stress, but rather it is the increase in the discrepancy between organizational demands and capacity which produces the condition of high stress.

The general hypothesis which emerges from this framework is, if there is organizational stress, then there will be change in organizational performance structure. In a global way the hypothesis was supported by field data. As organizations attempted to cope with sudden change in demands and capacity brought about by disaster, certain changes in performance structure occurred. For example, following the 1964 Alaska earthquake, the decision-making process was significantly modified in such organizations as the Anchorage Public Works Department (Anderson, in press). Many decisions were made at much lower levels than they would have been normally. Lines of authority were "breached" as upper echelon officials went directly to specialists or foremen for current information and advice. Similarly, many items were purchased without official authorization as ways of "cutting the red tape" were sought. Thus, using the concept of organizational capability, one can meaningfully interpret such coping behavior. That is, to meet emergent demands, alternative design structures were sought with greater capacities. However, most organizations lack adequate means to assess the consequences of their coping efforts. Hence, increased capacity often results, but the changes are erratic and often contradictory.<sup>3</sup>

While numerous hypotheses were generated from this framework, many of which supported by field data, our attempt was to devise a method whereby organizational stress might be studied in the laboratory. We hoped that the laboratory setting would precipitate increased conceptual pre-

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specific requests were received. Many organizational normative structures contain "if-then" demand propositions, e.g., "if" a certain environmental change occurs, "then" a certain set of prescribed actions should follow.

<sup>2</sup> Selye's (1965:25-43) arguments that biological stress can most effectively be viewed as referring to the "state of the organism" were helpful in deriving the present formulation. Our usage is similar but more precise than that proposed by Argyris (1964:128), who defined organizational stress as "... a state that exists when the actual giving and receiving loads of the parts are forced to go beyond their 'threshold' so that there is a disequilibrium in the relationship among the parts."

<sup>3</sup> Some organizations with effective disaster plans are able to quickly alter their structure so as to raise capacity almost simultaneously with demand increases. While seemingly rare, judging from field data, the degree of stress is minimized and many types of performance structure change can be predicted from knowledge of predisaster plans.

cision and generate new hypotheses which could then be tested in the field.

#### METHODOLOGY

Upon trying to "bridge the gap" between the field and laboratory, we confronted the "realism" issue. Details of our analysis of this argument have been reported elsewhere (Drabek and Haas, 1967). In brief, we attempted to recast previous discussion by asking "What is it that makes an experiment 'realistic'?" Pursuit of this question led us to conclude that synthesis of laboratory research could be accomplished only by recognizing that different relationships may exist between variables if tested under different experimental conditions. We concluded further that the "degree of realism" could be used as a means of identifying experimental characteristics.

This analysis also led to the identification of the major characteristics of a laboratory technique labeled "realistic simulation." In essence, this method requires (1) a "real" group (Warriner, 1956); (2) that this group be assigned tasks identical to those it normally encounters; (3) in a setting where ecological relationships are maintained; as well as (4) an environment, both physical and symbolic, identical to that with which the organization normally interacts; and finally, (5) subjects must not be aware that they are in an experiment.<sup>4</sup> It must be emphasized that we are *not* suggesting that all laboratory work meet these criteria; instead, we propose that these five elements are *crude* characteristics of some of the experimental conditions under which hypotheses are tested in the laboratory. Since different relationships may exist between variables under different sets of experimental conditions, interpretation of results will be more meaningful if comparisons are restricted to tests conducted under similar experimental conditions, at least until a more adequate knowledge of the effects of these variables is obtained.

<sup>4</sup> We located three other studies with similar methodology to that used in the present research: (a) Chapman and Kennedy (1966), Kennedy (1962), Chapman, *et al.* (1962); (b) Evan and Zelditch (1961) and Zelditch and Evan (1962); and (c) Wager and Palola (1964).

The communication system of a metropolitan police department was selected as the system to be simulated. All three shifts of personnel from the police "radio room" participated in each of the three laboratory sessions in which demands were identical to what the system normally experienced (Sessions A, B, and C). These sessions were followed by a "stress" Session D, in which demands on the system were markedly changed through a simulated crash of a large jet aircraft into an apartment house complex. All twelve sessions were two hours each in length, including minimal time for orientation and debriefing. To prevent contamination, each shift received identical "exposure" on the same days.

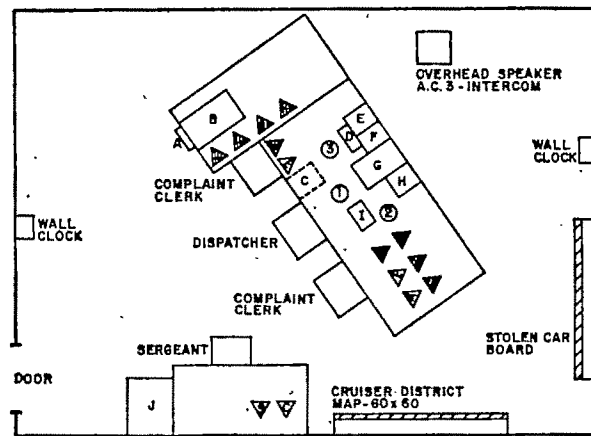
Since the radio room teams were the key component of the communication system, they were isolated as the central objects of study. Simulation of the system then required construction of three additional elements: (1) construction of a physical facility that would function identically to the resource structure which characterized the teams' "natural habitat," (2) duplication of the complex demand environment which provided input for team activity, and (3) establishment of apparatus with which to record team activity<sup>5</sup> (Drabek, *in press*).

Prolonged observation of the police communication system easily permitted construction of a laboratory replica of the resource structure (See Figure 1). Recording of all interaction was rather easily accomplished given available facilities.<sup>6</sup> All oral interaction was recorded on a 24-track audio tape recorder. Two television cameras were used interchangeably to video tape behavior of officers. After the experiment, additional data were collected through questionnaires, group debriefing sessions, and individual interviews.

Duplication of the police team's environment was far more difficult. First, the basic communication flow was identified as follows: (1) outside caller reports incident, (2) complaint clerk secures and records

<sup>5</sup> Detailed description of the procedures are in Drabek (*in press*).

<sup>6</sup> The simulation was conducted in the Behavioral Sciences Laboratory at The Ohio State University, where we both were staff members associated with The Disaster Research Center.



## LEGEND

A - Clip Board, weather report  
 B - Completed Box  
 C - In-process Box, under table  
 D - Personnel List, by cruiser number  
 E - Speaker, inter-organizational  
 F - Speaker, Radio Channel 1

G - Status Board  
 H - Speaker, Radio Channel 2  
 I - Clock  
 J - File Cabinet, contained standard procedure manual and additional supplies, e.g., data forms

▲ Telephone, normal  
 ▲ Telephone, emergency  
 ▲ Telephone, cab, ADT  
 ▲ Telephone, sergeant's  
 ▲ Telephone, city hall  
 ① Microphone, R.C. 1  
 ② Microphone, R.C. 2  
 ③ Microphone, R.C. 3

FIGURE 1. LABORATORY DESIGN OF SIMULATED RADIO ROOM

necessary data using police code, (3) data form is passed to dispatcher who locates and assigns an appropriate cruiser, (4) data are transmitted to cruiser in code language, (5) data form is filed in "in-process" box, (6) after incident is "cleared," cruiser officer relays the type of disposition to dispatcher, and (7) dispatcher records disposition and then returns the data form to a complaint clerk who files it in the "completed" box. While much variation is possible, this pattern frequently occurs with little deviation. Prolonged observation was necessary to understand deviant patterns, e.g., robbery reports which activate notification of superior officers within the Uniform Division and the Detective Bureau. Direct observation was supplemented by (1) analyzing training manuals, (2) listening to recorded radio and telephone police communication, and (3) observing in other areas of the organization.

Simulators were trained to activate positions of cruiser operators and telephone callers using language which police officers were familiar with and accustomed to. Thus, input calls and radio messages were entirely realistic. Calls were designed to correspond to police statistics as to the type of event, day of week, time of day, sex of caller, and

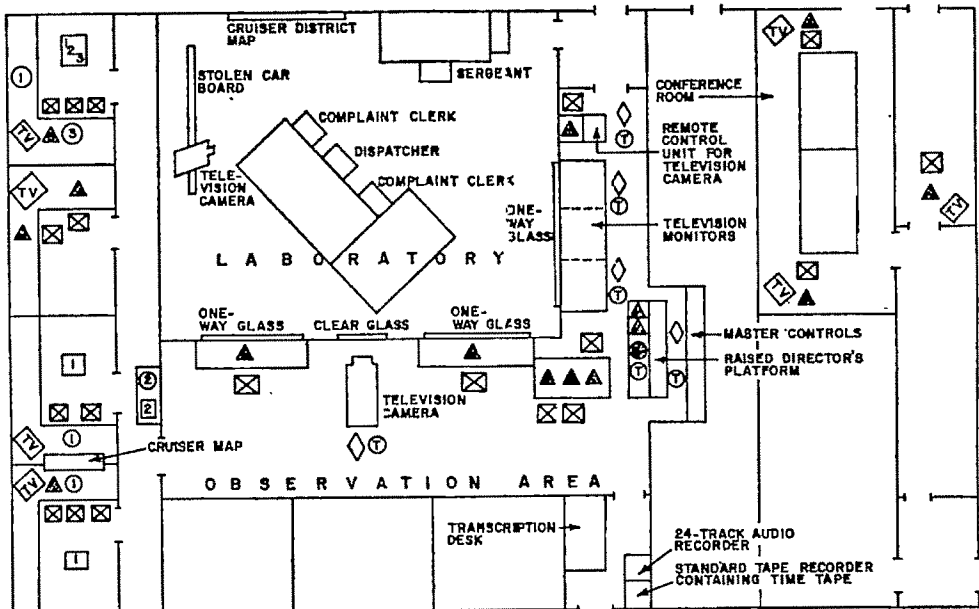
geographical location of event. Since simulators had to "ad-lib" much of the telephone conversations, basic data were provided on each call as to who they were, address, phone number, nearby objects of identification, nature of complaint, etc. Recordings of actual police telephone conversations were invaluable in simulator training and constructing the 990 calls required for the three normal sessions. A total of over 900 other calls were constructed for the stress session to produce a sudden and extreme demand increase. These were largely based on recordings of telephone calls obtained from police departments in cities which recently had experienced large scale disasters. Cruiser simulators were similarly trained through the use of recorded police radio communication. For each call fed into the system, cruiser simulators had instructions as to how and when to report their actions. Inter-organizational communication, which was especially crucial during the stress session, was conducted by staff members who had recently interviewed officials at all major emergency organizations in the area. Lists of available extra-organizational equipment and personnel were constructed so that, during the simulation, police officers were forced to work

within the constraints present in the community. Activities of all of these components were synchronized with a master script so that each simulator knew his assigned responsibilities at each instant. Physical placement of the police officers, simulators, recording equipment, and the like, is diagrammed in Figure 2.

These procedures produced a simulation which was an exact replica of the police communication system. All five of the criteria previously mentioned as identifying "realistic simulation" were met. A variety of data suggested that the "simulate" behaved exactly as its real counterpart in the non-stress sessions. Thus, behavior observed in the laboratory matched that which had been observed in police headquarters. In debriefing interviews, officers consistently indicated that they were unaware of any instances in which their work activity was modified by the simulation. Of course, to what degree their laboratory behavior

under stress corresponded to their reaction to a stress event in their natural work setting remains problematic. However, at the time of the simulation, officers were unaware that they were in any type of a "stress experiment."<sup>7</sup> Afterwards they expressed opinions

<sup>7</sup> During debriefing sessions, before officers were informed of the nature of the experiment, they were asked about their conception of the experimental objectives. Three general conclusions were reported: (1) several officers decided that tests were being made for equipment to be used in a new radio room being planned at the time of the experiment; (2) some decided that a new type of civil service examination was being conducted or designed (a few concluded that future promotions might be based on their activity in the laboratory); and (3) others suspected that a new training device was being tested. The significant point is that all officers gave the simulation some type of social definition other than an experiment; therefore, no "unique" set of "laboratory norms" were imposed. Ethical considerations of this point were discussed by Drabek and Haas (1967:345-346).



<sup>a</sup> Not Drawn to Scale

#### LEGEND

- |                                             |                                                            |
|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| ▲ Phone, number given for "outside" line    | ☐ Speaker, Radio Channel 2                                 |
| ▲ Phone, standard (line to video tape room) | ☐ Speaker, Radio Channel 3                                 |
| ▲ Phone, closed circuit                     | ◇ Engineer                                                 |
| ① Microphone, Radio Channel 1               | ☒ Simulator                                                |
| ② Microphone, Radio Channel 2               | ⑦ Television Communications System, microphone and headset |
| ③ Microphone, Radio Channel 3               | ● Microphone, master (broadcast over all speakers)         |
| ④ Microphone, Inter-organizational monitor  | TV Television Receivers                                    |
| ☐ Speaker, Radio Channel 1                  |                                                            |

FIGURE 2. TOTAL FACILITY: DESIGN AND PERSONNEL PLACEMENT<sup>a</sup>



that if they had been confronted with a similar event while at police headquarters, their behavior probably would have been identical to that exhibited in the laboratory. However, all emphasized that future behavior patterns would be slightly different, because of what they had learned through the simulation experience. In short, we concluded, as did the officers, that the behavior observed in the laboratory during normal and stress sessions was what would have been observed in the actual police radio room if the same demands had been confronted.

#### FINDINGS

##### *Was There Organizational Stress?*

Organizational stress was defined as the state or condition indicated by the degree of discrepancy between organizational demands and capacity. A simulated plane crash was used to generate a sudden demand change along three axes: quantity, quality, and priority. The program was so constructed that the rate of call input could be raised from an average of two calls per minute to twenty-one calls per minute; i.e., it was felt that seven calls per minute per person answering would be more than enough to overload the system. Since only 21% of the total 1155 calls prepared for the stress period were processed by the "best" team, it was clear that the program was adequate. Yet, to what extent did the discrepancy between demands and capacity change? What was the level of organizational stress?

This question is not easily answered. Not all demands are "equal." A call requesting a single piece of readily available information (e.g., "Is Smith on duty tonight?") is quite different from one reporting a multiple automobile crash. "Presented demand" is not necessarily "recognized" or defined as "legitimate." Further, as Churchill (1965) has suggested, time required before action and the rate of demand increase may also affect response. Thus, "If the demand must be dealt with as it occurs, then slowly increasing message load is clearly less dangerous for the organization than sharply increasing demand (Churchill, 1965: 279). When police officers were confronted with the simulated plane crash, demand input was raised immediately. And while only a small fraction of the available calls were answered, the

enormity of the demand was consistently presented to them as lights on all phones continued to flash throughout the stress period. Recognition of these and other sources of operational difficulty is crucial. While unable to deal with these complexities as rigorously as desired, we did succeed in constructing crude indices of stress levels.

It is essential at this point to distinguish between system and subsystem demands. Our focus was on the communication subsystem, and not the total police organization. Thus, notification of an automobile accident by a citizen represents a type of demand for both the police organization and the communication subsystem. However, from the level of the communication team, such a demand is "met" once a cruiser has been dispatched. If the cruiser officer should report back that an ambulance or wrecker is required, this represents a new demand for the communication team. Likewise, when the cruiser officer reports that he is "clear," this information represents a new demand on the communication system. At the organizational level, this latter activity does not represent new demands; it is simply a part of the task process. Since our focus was exclusively on the communication system, assessment of demand, capacity and stress levels was limited to this system. Thus, "organizational stress" in the context of the present analysis does not refer to the entire police organization, but rather to the communication subsystem.

Two types of strategies were used to derive indicators of stress. The first method was "indirect." An analogy best illustrates this idea. If a statistics professor wished to measure students' "mathematical ability," he might use an examination containing 100 problems and instruct the students to complete as many as possible within a one-hour period. Comparisons could be made among students. However, the professor could not make comparisons among those students who correctly completed all of the problems within the time limit. A second test, containing more problems than any student could possibly complete within the specified time period, could provide him with a comparative base—a measure of mathematical ability. To measure the ability, we require a demand which cannot possibly be met.

A similar line of reasoning was used to indirectly assess stress levels. Telephone caller simulators recorded the number of seconds between the time they completed dialing a number and when an officer answered. Thus, the "lag time" was the time between a phone ringing (demand presented) and it being answered which was the first action required to meet it. If no answer was obtained within three minutes, simulators hung up and recorded a "No Answer" beside the call number. These were demands presented to the system which were never met. They are similar to test problems not worked and somewhat reflect the degree to which the demands exceeded the capacity of the system. As is indicated in Table 1, the "lag time" greatly increased during the high stress Session D. It can be concluded that the system was under greater stress during that period.

Following Session A, officers had indicated that the simulation was a remarkable reproduction of their system, except that the call rate was slightly high. The demand rate for Sessions B and C was reduced by 20%. We therefore hypothesized that if "lag time" was a rough reflection of the level of organizational stress, that variation should be as follows: Session D > Session A > Sessions B or C. The hypothesis was supported as indicated by inspection of the data in Table 1. These data suggested that the degree of organizational stress was higher in Session A than in Sessions B or C, but was highest in Session D. Of course, this measure is extremely conservative because it does not reflect the highly significant qualitative demand changes which occurred in Session D.

The second approach used to assess stress levels was to devise crude indices for demands and capacity. There were three sources through which demands could reach the system: telephone (A), radio (B), and

intercom (C). The number of demands at the end of a given period of time would be the sum originating from each source ( $D_{t_1} = A_{t_1} + B_{t_1} + C_{t_1}$ ).<sup>8</sup> But as already discussed, not all demands presented will get into the system, and not all demands received during this time period will be processed. Depending upon priority and cruiser availability, a demand may be held for several minutes; while held, it continues to represent a system demand awaiting processing. Hence, unprocessed demands (z) serve as a "residue" to be processed in the succeeding time period along with new demands originating during that period ( $D_{t_2} = A_{t_2} + B_{t_2} + C_{t_2} + z_{t_1}$ ).<sup>9</sup> And in that same time period ( $t_2$ ) some of the demands which were unprocessed from the first period ( $z_{t_1}$ ) will be completed ( $y_{t_2}$ ) and others will not. Hence, the general equation for demand level at any point in time is:

$$D_{t_n} = A_{t_n} + B_{t_n} + C_{t_n} + z_{t(n-1)} + z_{t_1} \rightarrow$$
$$t(n-2) \rightarrow y_{t_1} \rightarrow t(n-1).$$

Organizational capacity was defined as the maximum level of task or sub-task performance that can be relatively sustained over time with a specified structural design. Team performance was indexed by assessing the number of demands which were met. Demands requiring action beyond that in the initial input exchange were not considered met until all necessary activity had been completed. For example, a call reporting a serious automobile accident was not considered "met" until a cruiser had been dispatched. Similarly, if the cruiser simulator

<sup>8</sup> This procedure assumes, of course, that all demands are "equal." From the perspective of any system, demands vary as to priority which includes at least two crucial factors: (1) How serious are the consequences if the demand remains unmet? (2) How soon is action required? As yet we have been unable to devise an adequate "weighting" system. However, since these officers had no way of knowing in advance the priority of any call waiting to be answered, each represented an unknown threat. Thus, calls were handled as quickly as possible whenever any call was waiting. Given this and the nature of system "cost" for the communication team, absence of demand "weighting" was far less likely to distort the analysis than in most other types of systems.

<sup>9</sup> Since no demands are in the system at  $t=0$ , no "residue" or unmet demands can appear until time two. Hence, by definition,  $z_{t_1}$  refers to the unmet demands from time period one which are "carried" into time period two.

TABLE 1. LEVELS OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRESS AS INDICATED BY "LAG TIME"\*

| Group | Session |       |       |       |
|-------|---------|-------|-------|-------|
|       | A       | B     | C     | D     |
| 1     | 254.1   | 138.9 | 110.9 | 260.8 |
| 2     | 256.6   | 92.8  | 93.3  | 352.3 |
| 3     | 281.2   | 140.5 | 102.5 | 303.0 |

\* Lag Time measured in seconds.

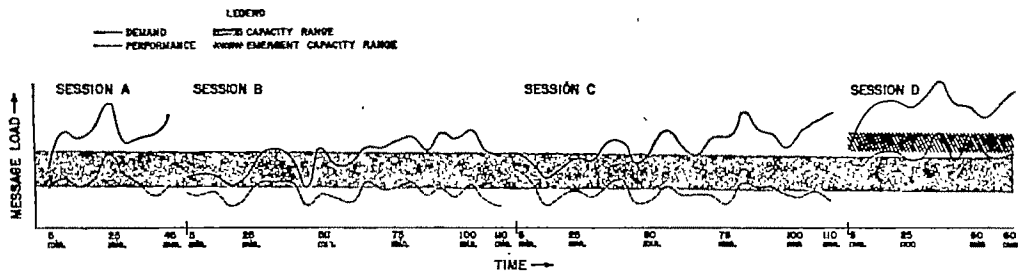


FIGURE 3. SYSTEM DEMANDS AND CAPACITY FOR GROUP 3

reported back that an ambulance or wrecker was required, that demand was not considered met until the dispatcher made the actual assignment via radio. After performance values were obtained for each five-minute section of the three normal sessions, an average performance was computed. A capacity value can then be expressed as being within the limits specified by average performance and maximum performance ( $AP < C < MP$ ). Note Figure 3 which presents a graph of the demand, performance, and capacity values for Group 3 in all four sessions.

More intense organizational stress, as expressed by the increased discrepancy between demands and the projected team capacity (based on performance in Sessions A, B, and C), is evident in Session D. It must be emphasized again that this measure is extremely conservative since qualitative demand changes, which occurred in Session D, were not weighted more heavily. Also noted during Session D was a sharp increase in the performance level.

Our next question then emerges: What, if any, structural changes occurred to permit these groups to increase their capacity under increased stress?

#### *Did the Performance Structure Change?*

Organizational performance structure refers to patterning in interaction sequences.

These interaction patterns become the central object of study when organizations are viewed as interaction systems. While performance structures may be conceptualized as several interrelated processes, three appeared most relevant to the analysis of this communication subsystem: (1) communication, (2) task, and (3) decision-making. Analysis was focused on each of these three areas guided by the general hypothesis that a change in performance structure follows an increase in organizational stress period.

Among the changes in the communication processes that we anticipated would occur as the degree of stress increased were: (1) increases in the *rates* of internal and external interaction and (2) change in the *patterns* of internal and external interaction.

Data clearly indicated that internal interaction, i.e., among the officers in the laboratory, changed in both rate and pattern. Rate of internal interaction was assessed by count-

<sup>10</sup> An interaction sequence refers to a "relatively continuous and uninterrupted conversation." A sequence may be composed of several single exchanges of varying length. Since interpretation of content is used in deciding what constitutes a sequence, the concept has obvious operational difficulties. For example, we were forced to assume that "initiated interaction" was heard by the intended receiver. Despite its obvious crudeness, nearly all sequences were coded with little difficulty.

TABLE 2. RATES OF INTERNAL INTERACTION

| Group | Number of Interaction Sequences per Minute |     |     |     | Number of Words per Minute |      |      |      | Number of Written Communications per Minute |     |     |    |
|-------|--------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|----------------------------|------|------|------|---------------------------------------------|-----|-----|----|
|       | A                                          | B   | C   | D   | A                          | B    | C    | D    | A                                           | B   | C   | D  |
| 1     | .8                                         | 1.2 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 17.6                       | 15.2 | 18.7 | 21.3 | 1.1                                         | .9  | .8  | .5 |
| 2     | .9                                         | .7  | .7  | 1.2 | 11.8                       | 9.2  | 11.5 | 20.3 | 1.2                                         | 1.1 | 1.0 | .6 |
| 3     | 1.0                                        | 1.1 | 1.7 | 2.2 | 20.0                       | 16.8 | 33.1 | 41.6 | 1.1                                         | .9  | .9  | .4 |

TABLE 3. INTERNAL INTERACTION: RECEIVER PATTERN \*

|                 | Session A |        |        | Session D |        |        | Rank Difference |   |   | Total Rank Difference |
|-----------------|-----------|--------|--------|-----------|--------|--------|-----------------|---|---|-----------------------|
|                 | 1         | 2**    | 3      | 1         | 2      | 3      | 1               | 2 | 3 |                       |
| Disp.           | 2 (17)    | 1 (39) | 1 (32) | 1 (23)    | 1 (51) | 1 (69) | 1               | 0 | 0 | 1                     |
| CC <sub>1</sub> | 3 (9)     | 2 (12) | 3 (7)  | 3 (8)     | 4 (4)  | 3 (8)  | 0               | 2 | 0 | 2                     |
| CC <sub>2</sub> | 4 (6)     | 4 (81) | 3 (7)  | 4 (51)    | 3 (8)  | 4 (6)  | 0               | 1 | 1 | 2                     |
| Sgt.            | 1 (18)    | 3 (10) | 2 (9)  | 2 (21)    | 2 (14) | 2 (44) | 1               | 1 | 0 | 2                     |

\* Actual number of interaction sequences are in parenthesis.

\*\* Session C was used because the Sergeant was absent in Session A.

ing: (1) number of interaction sequences in each session;<sup>10</sup> and (2) number of words per minute. Note Table 2, which indicates that the rate of internal interaction increased during Session D (stress) for all three groups using either indicator.

Pattern change occurred in several ways. First, it was suspected that the mode of interaction would be altered; i.e., fewer written communications would occur during the simulated disaster. This conclusion was supported (See Table 2). Second, it was thought that initiator-receiver patterns would change, although the directions remained unspecified. Data in Table 3 indicated little change in the receiver pattern. The dispatcher was the major receiver during both normal and stress session. However, the initiator pattern (Table 4) changed sharply. The sergeant consistently emerged as the major initiator during high stress in all three groups.

Two types of external systems for the communication team must be differentiated: (1) other officers within their police organization and (2) officials in other organizations whose activities become highly interdependent with the police during community disasters (Thompson and Hawkes, 1962). The rate of team-initiated interaction with other members of their organization did not appear

to increase under stress, using number of interaction sequences per minute as the index (Table 5). However, this may have been due largely to the volume of radio traffic generated by the simulators designed to overload the system. But there was a major change in the pattern of this interaction which was clearly revealed by using number of words per minute as an index (see Table 5). Thus, although the number of interaction sequences initiated by the teams did not increase during stress, the length of these interactions increased sharply.

Team-initiated interaction with external organizations (inter-organizational) greatly increased during the simulated disaster (Table 5). Calls were placed to other police organizations, e.g., state police, county sheriff's office, and suburban units; ambulance firms; hospitals; and a variety of private organizations, as officers attempted in a small way to coordinate the massive resources available in the community. Thus, it was clear that the communication processes, both internal and external, greatly changed as the level of stress increased.

We hypothesized that response to the simulated disaster would result in increased *rates* of task performance and rather substantial changes in the *patterns* of task per-

TABLE 4. INTERNAL INTERACTION: INITIATOR PATTERN \*

|                 | Session A |        |        | Session D |        |        | Rank Difference |   |   | Total Rank Difference |
|-----------------|-----------|--------|--------|-----------|--------|--------|-----------------|---|---|-----------------------|
|                 | 1         | 2**    | 3      | 1         | 2      | 3      | 1               | 2 | 3 |                       |
| Disp.           | 1 (18)    | 2 (19) | 3 (15) | 3 (16)    | 3 (17) | 3 (28) | 2               | 1 | 0 | 3                     |
| CC <sub>1</sub> | 4 (9)     | 1 (29) | 2 (20) | 2 (17)    | 1 (32) | 4 (22) | 2               | 0 | 2 | 4                     |
| CC <sub>2</sub> | 3 (11)    | 3 (15) | 1 (23) | 4 (13)    | 4 (9)  | 2 (36) | 1               | 1 | 1 | 3                     |
| Sgt.            | 2 (12)    | 4 (10) | 4 (5)  | 1 (18)    | 2 (28) | 1 (55) | 1               | 2 | 3 | 6                     |

\* Actual number of interaction sequences are in parenthesis.

\*\* Session C was used because the Sergeant was absent in Session A.

TABLE 5. RATES OF TEAM INITIATED EXTERNAL INTERACTION \*

| Group | Intra-Organizational:<br>Number of Interaction<br>Sequences per Minute |     |     |     | Intra-Organizational: Number<br>of Words per Minute |      |      |      | Inter-Organizational:<br>Number of Interaction<br>Sequences per Minute |     |     |     |
|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------------------------------------|------|------|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|
|       | A                                                                      | B   | C   | D   | A                                                   | B    | C    | D    | A                                                                      | B   | C   | D   |
| 1     | 1.0                                                                    | 1.5 | 1.4 | 1.2 | 18.6                                                | 16.9 | 20.1 | 31.7 | .04                                                                    | .15 | .13 | .34 |
| 2     | 1.5                                                                    | 1.5 | 1.2 | 1.4 | 14.7                                                | 17.1 | 15.9 | 20.5 | .16                                                                    | .11 | .07 | .50 |
| 3     | 1.1                                                                    | 1.6 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 17.9                                                | 17.8 | 21.3 | 25.9 | .09                                                                    | .14 | .04 | .26 |

\* Interaction initiated by police officers in the lab to other (simulated) members of their organization, e.g., cruiser operators (intra-organizational) and to members (simulated) of other organizations, e.g., state police (inter-organizational).

formance. As indicated earlier in the discussion of group capacity, during the high stress session performance of all groups increased. One specific measure of task performance was the number of calls answered per minute. As indicated in Table 6, all three groups increased their rate of task performance during the high stress Session D.

As output levels increased three important changes in the pattern of task performance occurred. First, officers reduced the average length of time for telephone conversations (see Table 6). Second, they increasingly limited their activity to following up calls that were of highest priority. The simulation program was so designed that routine requests continued at a normal rate during the disaster. However, cruisers were dispatched to relatively few of these requests during Session D (Table 7). And when cruisers were dispatched, it was only for incidents of the highest priority, e.g., personal injury auto accidents, a cutting, shooting, and the like.

Third, and finally, officers sought out alternative modes of task accomplishment. This was done in two principal ways: (1) Many callers were encouraged to handle the request themselves even in some extreme emergencies. For example, detailed instructions were given to a rather frantic mother who had just spilled hot grease all over her

young son. The officer explained that ambulances were not available, gave explicit first aid instructions, and suggested that she find a neighbor to provide transportation. (2) And somewhat implied in the above example, officers "expanded" their organization by calling upon external resources available in the community. Frequency of team-initiated inter-organizational interaction was previously presented in Table 5. Many of these efforts were aimed at mobilizing organizational action which would hopefully meet specific demands made on the police. All of these findings were interpreted as supporting the more general hypothesis that as the degree of organizational stress increases, task processes will change.

Decision-making processes also changed during the response to the simulated disaster. Under normal demand loads, each officer functioned rather autonomously. Complaint clerks received requests through telephones, evaluated the requests, and then wrote cruiser request cards for the dispatcher when required by the call. However, during Session D, officers began to ask each other for information before making decisions as to how to handle calls (see Table 8). Thus, there was a much greater rate of consultation before decisions were made.

This consultation pattern changed greatly under increased stress. Of all requests for in-

TABLE 6. PATTERN OF TASK PERFORMANCE

| Group | Number of Telephone Calls<br>Answered Per Minute |     |     |     | Number of Words Per Telephone Call |       |       |       |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
|       | A                                                | B   | C   | D   | A                                  | B     | C     | D     |
| 1     | 1.7                                              | 1.6 | 1.5 | 2.4 | 115.7                              | 107.1 | 124.9 | 102.4 |
| 2     | 1.9                                              | 1.9 | 2.0 | 3.3 | 86.5                               | 90.6  | 100.1 | 81.7  |
| 3     | 1.7                                              | 1.7 | 1.7 | 3.4 | 131.7                              | 129.5 | 137.8 | 94.6  |

TABLE 7. CRUISER DISPATCH PATTERN FOR ROUTINE EVENTS

|                        | Session |     |     |    |
|------------------------|---------|-----|-----|----|
|                        | A       | B   | C   | D  |
| Group 1                |         |     |     |    |
| Cruiser dispatched     | 49      | 74  | 75  | 14 |
| Cruiser not dispatched | 22      | 16  | 8   | 5  |
| Group 2                |         |     |     |    |
| Cruiser dispatched     | 63      | 113 | 105 | 10 |
| Cruiser not dispatched | 8       | 6   | 8   | 11 |
| Group 3                |         |     |     |    |
| Cruiser dispatched     | 53      | 91  | 98  | 6  |
| Cruiser not dispatched | 15      | 17  | 21  | 18 |

formation received in normal sessions, about one-third were made by dispatchers. During the simulated disaster, the proportion of information requests by dispatchers decreased dramatically in all three groups (See Table 9). In contrast, sergeants, who accounted for about one-fifth of all information requests normally, increased their requests to about one-third of the total. Dispatchers also consistently demonstrated a further pattern change in the position to which information requests were directed. Nearly all such requests by dispatchers were directed to complaint clerks in sessions A, B, and C. In session D, most dispatcher requests for information were directed to sergeants (group 1, 57%; group 2, 60%; and group 3, 89%). These data were interpreted as supporting the hypothesis that change in decision-making processes would occur when there was increased organizational stress.

In summary, hypotheses related to communication, task, and decision-making processes strongly supported the general hypothesis that when there is organizational stress, change in performance structure will occur. Why did these changes occur and not

TABLE 8. INFORMATION REQUESTS PER MINUTE

| Group | Session |     |     |     |
|-------|---------|-----|-----|-----|
|       | A       | B   | C   | D   |
| 1     | .41     | .42 | .47 | .50 |
| 2     | .53     | .22 | .40 | .70 |
| 3     | .37     | .55 | .65 | .84 |

others? This question will be briefly explored in a discussion of the experimental results.

DISCUSSION

It should be emphasized at the outset that the communication system did continue to function under stress. In fact, in comparison to the kinds of changes which occurred in the simulated environment, the police system changed little. However, analyses of police communication systems which have confronted actual community disasters suggest that these laboratory responses were typical (Drabek, 1968a: 31-55); i.e., the lack of drastic system change was not an artifact of the laboratory setting. The police communication system is rather rigid because of the technology involved and cannot be changed easily unless advance warning and/or planning are available. Additional telephone lines could not be installed instantly; the police code could not quickly change to be more relevant to the new types of demands. In short, the nature of the communication function was such that one could well anticipate no change at all. Normally the system was an efficient "pipe line," and it did permit officers to cope reasonably well during the simulated disaster. However, there were changes in the performance structure and they were not random or unrelated.

TABLE 9. PERCENT OF INFORMATION REQUESTS BY POSITION \*

| Information Requester | Group  |      |       |      |       |      |
|-----------------------|--------|------|-------|------|-------|------|
|                       | 1      |      | 2     |      | 3     |      |
|                       | (A+C)* | D    | (A+C) | D    | (A+C) | D    |
| CC <sub>1</sub>       | 26.5   | 50.0 | 24.5  | 43.0 | 11.0  | 22.0 |
| CC <sub>2</sub>       | 31.0   | 9.0  | 26.5  | 10.0 | 29.5  | 25.0 |
| Sgt.                  | 13.0   | 18.0 | 12.0  | 34.0 | 22.0  | 35.0 |
| Disp.                 | 28.0   | 21.0 | 31.0  | 10.0 | 35.5  | 16.0 |

\* Session B was not included since Sergeants were absent during part of the session.

The conceptual framework, which was outlined briefly at the outset, suggests some helpful interpretations as to why the coping behavior of these groups assumed the forms observed. The concept of organizational strain was emphasized. We have hypothesized that as the degree of organizational stress increases, performance structure change will vary directly with the intensity and location of organizational strain. There were two major types of strain in the communication system under normal demand loads, and many of the changes which occurred under stress appear to be directly related to them.

The resource structure emphasized a functional division of labor, i.e., complaint clerks were to receive telephone calls, and dispatchers were to communicate with cruisers. An official norm prohibiting oral communication with the dispatcher was mildly enforced so that cruiser radio messages would not be missed. In fact, some consideration had been given by police officials in designing a new facility in which dispatchers would be physically separated from complaint clerks. This idea was based on a highly mechanical analysis of the functioning of the system. If separated, then each position incumbent would not be "impaired" by "irrelevant noise." Yet, oral communication did take place. Usually this interaction was directed at providing additional information which did not appear on the dispatch cards. Furthermore, given the ecological arrangement of equipment in use at the time, the complaint clerks could and did consistently observe the dispatcher's status board which indicated cruiser availability. The handling of the public's requests was directly affected by this information source. For example, if all cruisers in the geographical area where the call was placed were busy, complaint clerks might try to handle the call themselves by encouraging the caller to solve his own problem, interrogating the caller in detail so as to better assess call priority, suggesting that the police were very busy right then and requesting the caller to call back if the situation got worse, etc.

What was lacking in the resource structure was any type of "display" mechanism whereby information arriving through tele-

phone, radio, and intercom could be shared more efficiently. Oral interaction among the officers, viewed as undesirable and unnecessary, partially performed this latent function. Also, officers demonstrated an uncanny ability to engage in telephone conversation and ascertain police activity by simultaneously "listening in" on the radio exchanges and segments of telephone conversations of other complaint clerks and sergeants.

During the simulated disaster (Session D), the large increase in information requiring processing and qualitative changes in the types of information being fed into the system, greatly intensified the need for this "display function." The strain existed at time one, but a partial solution had evolved over time. Under increased stress, many of the observed changes in performance structure were directly related to this area of strain. Emergence of the sergeants as major initiators of oral interaction and the chief receivers of information requests from dispatchers was discussed above. Thus, sergeants moved to the center of the team, received information from all sources, and dispersed it among the team members. Officers were now too busy with their immediate responsibilities to "listen-in" on other conversations. Such activity was further curbed as the noise level greatly increased due to the almost continuous simultaneous interaction. Yet, each officer needed information obtained by other team members as to emergent traffic patterns, hospital loads, extra-organizational items required at the scene such as blood, and specialized equipment. Initial actions by sergeants were to assist complaint clerks in answering phones. Often, when backlogs occurred, they would assist for a few minutes until the team caught up. In Session D, sergeants gradually became attached to the dispatcher and performed the display function which became increasingly critical as the simulated disaster progressed.<sup>11</sup> Keeping

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<sup>11</sup> Several scattered findings from "communication network" studies are relevant here. For example, Lanzetta and Roby (1956:313) concluded "... that the limiting factor in the performance of the groups was not their gross information capacity. Rather the difficulty seems to lie in the inability of groups to set up an efficient system for detecting and communicating information

track of cruiser status became increasingly difficult for the dispatcher alone. Availability of extra-organizational personnel and equipment further complicated his task. Also, messages to or from extra-organizational officials were circulated through the police system, which gradually emerged as the major communication system for the total community.

A second source of strain during normal sessions was the code language used. Types of events had code numbers, e.g., auto-accident, 10-4; personal injury auto-accident, 10-5. Often additional information was needed to supplement address and code for type of event. This is not to suggest that the code did not increase communication effectiveness as it clearly did. However, unusual events required additional explanation, which was often too cumbersome to write on the back of a cruiser dispatch card.

Many of the findings reported above can be interpreted as being related to the inappropriateness of the police code during the simulated disaster. For example, data in Table 5 indicated that the length of interactions between the communication teams and other organizational members increased in Session D. Computation of the number of words used in such interactions specifically indicated that such exchanges were longer. As might be suspected, this was directly due to the general decrease in code usage

during Session D (see Table 10). Similarly data in Table 2 indicated a sharp increase in the length of interactions among the team members. Again, computation of the number of words used in such interactions indicated that they were longer and less frequently expressed in code language. Written communication, highly dependent upon code usage, dramatically decreased during Session D, as was indicated in Table 2. Thus, the qualitative demand change curtailed the use of one of the most important resources—the police code. Many of the observed changes in group structure can be directly related to this source of strain which remained relatively unimportant under normal demand requirements, but which became crucial during the simulated disaster.

In summary, we have described our efforts to use "realistic simulation" as a method to study system stress. While the method is clearly no panacea, it remains relatively unexplored and appears to possess much potential. Drawing upon a general theoretical framework, crude indices were constructed for the measurement of organizational stress. The general hypothesis was supported: as the degree of organizational stress increases, there will be change in organizational performance structures. And the location of these changes often appeared to be directly related to strains in the system prior to increased stress. Of course, these substantive findings should be viewed as suggestive since only three experimental groups were used. While probably not relevant to all or even most types of organizations, these findings do offer much insight into how information processing centers may change under stress.

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TABLE 10. NUMBER OF CODE WORDS PER INTERACTION  
SEQUENCE: DISPATCHER TO OTHER POLICE \*

| Group | Session |     |     |     |
|-------|---------|-----|-----|-----|
|       | A       | B   | C   | D   |
| 1     | .85     | .67 | .51 | .40 |
| 2     | .74     | .81 | .88 | .35 |
| 3     | .79     | .64 | .70 | .29 |

\* Interaction initiated by dispatchers to other (simulated) members of their organization, e.g., cruiser operators (intra-organizational).

changes." Also, the general conclusions regarding the effectiveness of the "wheel," and the emergence of a relay system in "circle-all-channel" nets during intertrial periods, reflect the "display function" referred to here. Since the police groups were free to modify their structures to cope with stress, some of the structural modifications observed were similar to those reported in earlier "network" studies. Excellent summaries of this research are Glanzer and Glaser, (1961) and Guetzkow, (1964).



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## A REVIEW AND COMPARISON OF SIMPLE STATISTICAL TESTS FOR SCALOGRAM ANALYSIS \*

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*Three statistical procedures for scalogram analysis are compared and evaluated using sets of real and hypothetical data as well as two distributions of coefficients of reproducibility for 35,000 sets of computer-generated data. The results suggest that Goodman's procedure for computing the standard error of Green's Rep is the most important and useful of the currently available techniques. In view of the work of Green, Goodman, Sagi, Schuessler and others in this area, users of widely distributed families of computer programs should expect any scalogram program to compute "chance reproducibility" and an accurate standard error figure for an observed reproducibility. Investigators using scalogram analysis should provide their readers with this information as well as a definition of error responses, the proportion of non-error responses, marginal frequencies, and the number of cases analyzed.*

SINCE its introduction after World War II, scalogram analysis has been repeatedly re-examined and several modifications of the original procedure have been suggested. Although a number of these attempts to improve the technique have produced some interesting results, perhaps the most important suggestions have been those which attempt to replace some of the subjective criteria for the acceptance of an observed pattern of responses as a cumulative scale with statistical procedures for achieving the same end (Green, 1956; Goodman, 1959; Sagi, 1959; Schuessler, 1961).

These statistical procedures have not been widely used and we can only speculate about the reasons for their neglect. It is possible that they have appeared to many social scientists too tedious or too difficult to com-

pute. But it is also possible that many users of scalogram analysis have been unaware of the most important developments in this area. This is suggested by the fact that the most widely distributed computer program for scalogram analysis contains virtually no discussion of the possibility of capitalizing on chance factors in such analyses and provides no test of significance at all<sup>1</sup> (Dixon, 1965; Werner, 1966).

The review and comparison which follows is an attempt to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of three statistical procedures for scalogram analysis by collating the work of several investigators and applying procedures suggested by them to two sets of "real" data

\* Revision of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, August, 1968.

<sup>1</sup> Although Werner's scalogram program (1966) includes several statistical tests, it is not widely distributed and contains some minor mistakes. Nevertheless, it is probably the most useful and promising attempt to include statistical procedures for scalogram analysis in a computer program.

and three sets of hypothetical data. In addition, two distributions of coefficients of reproducibility for 35,000 sets of computer generated data are used to illustrate the accuracy of one of the suggested procedures.

#### SUGGESTED STATISTICAL PROCEDURES

A simple statistical procedure for scalogram analysis was suggested by Green in 1956 which required the computation of an expected proportion of non-error responses (chance reproducibility) and the computation of a standard error estimate for an observed coefficient of reproducibility.<sup>2</sup> However, Green (1956:81) indicated that such a value should be used cautiously because of the many approximations involved. In its place he recommended an index of consistency as a basis for deciding the scalability of a set of items.

Green also presented two different procedures for computing coefficients of reproducibility from summary information for which Goodman later developed approximate statistical methods. One of Green's coefficients,  $Rep_B$ , is selected for emphasis here because it is an extremely good approximation, producing accurate results for sets with as many as six items and very similar results for sets with as many as ten items.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the expected value of Green's coefficient may be computed with a formula using the number of positive responses to each item, a procedure which is much less complicated

than the standard procedure for computing chance reproducibility.<sup>4</sup>

Green's procedure for computing an approximation of the coefficient of reproducibility and his procedure for computing an expected coefficient of reproducibility are explicitly stated. But the procedure ascribed to him in this paper for estimating the importance of chance factors is not; it had to be inferred from his discussion of the possible use of the formula he presented.<sup>5</sup> Although he stated that it would be possible to calculate a more accurate variance figure for either of his coefficients of reproducibility, as opposed to the approximation presented above, he did not provide the necessary formula which he described as complicated and as one requiring long but straightforward computations.

In 1959, Goodman presented the formula, to which Green had alluded, for computing the variance of one of Green's coefficients of reproducibility ( $Rep_B$ ), as well as the formula for computing the variances of  $Rep_A$  and two additional measures of reproducibility not suggested by Green.<sup>6</sup> The

<sup>4</sup> Using slightly modified form of Goodman's notation, this value is

$$Rep_1 = 1 - (E/Nk) \text{ with } E = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{k-1} f_i \bar{f}_{i+1}}{N} + \frac{\sum_{i=2}^{k-2} f_i \bar{f}_{i+2} \bar{f}_{i+1}}{N^2}$$

Where  $f_i$  is the number of positive responses to item  $i$ , and  $\bar{f}_i$  the number of negative responses to item  $i$ . For up to six items, this formula produces results identical to those produced by the conventional procedure for computing chance reproducibility. It produces very accurate results for as many as ten items. For details on the conventional procedure, see Riley (1954).

<sup>5</sup> The procedure inferred from Green's discussion is

$$z = (Rep_B - Rep_1) / S.E. Rep_B$$

where  $Rep_B$  and  $Rep_1$  are computed using procedures recommended by Green. See notes 3 and 4 above.

<sup>6</sup> Goodman's formula is:

$$S^2 = \sum_{i=1}^{k-1} f_i \bar{f}_i f_{i+1} \bar{f}_{i+1} / N^3 + \left( \sum_{i=2}^{k-2} \left[ S^2_{1,i+2} (E_{1-1,i+1} + E_{1+1,i+2})^2 \right] + S^2_{2,3} E^2_{2,4} + S^2_{k-2,k} E^2_{k-2,k-1} \right) / N^2$$

where  $E_{1,1} = f_1 \bar{f}_1 / N$  and  $S^2_{1,1} = f_1 \bar{f}_1 f_1 \bar{f}_1 / N^3$

<sup>2</sup> The formula presented by Green and suggested earlier by Guttman (1950:77) for computing the standard error estimate for an observed coefficient of reproducibility is

$$S.E. Rep_B = \sqrt{\frac{(1-Rep)(Rep)}{Nk}}$$

where  $N$  is the number of cases and  $k$  is the number of items.

<sup>3</sup> Using a slightly modified form of Goodman's notations for uniformity within this paper, Green's formula is

$Rep_B =$

$$1 - (e/Nk) \text{ with } e = \sum_{i=1}^{k-1} f_{1,i+1} + \sum_{i=2}^{k-2} (f_{1,i+2} f_{1-1,i+1}) / N$$

Where  $f_{1,i+1}$  is the frequency of cases with a positive response to item  $i$  and a negative response to item  $i+1$  and  $f_{1,i+2}$  the frequency of cases with a positive response to item  $i$  and a negative response to item  $i+2$  and  $N$  is the number of cases,  $k$  the number of items.

formula for the variance of Green's  $Rep_B$  is indeed complicated but, of course, consumes very little of the time of any contemporary computing machinery. For the reasons presented in the subsequent discussion, Goodman's formula for computing this value is probably the most important and useful of the statistical techniques now available. In comparison with other procedures which have been suggested, it appears to provide the most accurate estimate of the importance of chance factors in such analyses.

Working from a perspective slightly different from that of Green and Goodman, Schuessler later suggested two chi-square procedures for deciding the importance of chance factors in scalogram analyses. His first procedure requires the computation of an expected number of non-error response patterns (perfect scale types) and the corresponding expected number of response patterns, containing at least one error, which are then compared with a number of observed non-error response patterns and the corresponding number of observed error patterns to produce a chi-square value with one degree of freedom. The  $\chi^2$  obtained in this way is then converted to a  $z$  value by taking its positive square root.

Schuessler's second chi-square test re-

quires a comparison of the observed and expected frequencies of scale types within specific score intervals. In practice, this utilizes the same expected frequencies computed for his first test, but, instead of comparing the total number of observed and the total number of expected frequencies of all perfect scale types, this procedure requires a number of additional comparisons.<sup>7</sup>

#### ERROR COUNTING PROCEDURES

Since all of these statistical procedures require explicit definition of error responses and error patterns, it is necessary to review some error-counting procedures. In the first such procedure, which we will refer to as the original Guttman procedure, the rule is clear and simple. Any response which would have to be changed in order that it conform to a scale pattern is an error response. Using this rule, the asterisked patterns in Table 1 are non-error response patterns and the response to item 3 in response pattern 2 is an error response. Response patterns 4 through 6 and 8 through 14 also contain

<sup>7</sup> A third procedure is also suggested by Schuessler but no computational details are provided; so no attempt has been made to compare it with the tests suggested above.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF MARGINAL PROBABILITIES, ASSIGNMENT OF ERRORS AND OBSERVED AND EXPECTED FREQUENCIES FOR 100 HYPOTHETICAL CASES WITH MARGINAL PROPORTIONS OF .20, .40, .60, .80

| Row No. | Pattern | Distributed Marginal Probabilities |     |     |     | Probability of each Pattern | Frequency of each Pattern |      | Errors Assigned ** |   |   |
|---------|---------|------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------------|---------------------------|------|--------------------|---|---|
|         |         |                                    |     |     |     |                             | Exp.                      | Obs. | G                  | S | L |
| 0.*     | 0000    | .80                                | .60 | .40 | .20 | .0384                       | 3.8                       | 6    | 0                  | 0 | 0 |
| 1.*     | 0001    | .80                                | .60 | .40 | .80 | .1536                       | 15.4                      | 15   | 0                  | 0 | 0 |
| 2.      | 0010    | .80                                | .60 | .60 | .20 | .0576                       | 5.8                       | 2    | 1                  | 1 | 1 |
| 3.*     | 0011    | .80                                | .60 | .60 | .80 | .2304                       | 23.0                      | 27   | 0                  | 0 | 0 |
| 4.      | 0100    | .80                                | .40 | .40 | .20 | .0256                       | 2.6                       | 3    | 1                  | 1 | 2 |
| 5.      | 0101    | .80                                | .40 | .40 | .80 | .1024                       | 10.2                      | 7    | 1                  | 1 | 1 |
| 6.      | 0110    | .80                                | .40 | .60 | .20 | .0384                       | 3.8                       | 1    | 1                  | 1 | 2 |
| 7.*     | 0111    | .80                                | .40 | .60 | .80 | .1536                       | 15.4                      | 19   | 0                  | 0 | 0 |
| 8.      | 1000    | .20                                | .60 | .40 | .20 | .0096                       | 1.0                       | 4    | 1                  | 1 | 3 |
| 9.      | 1001    | .20                                | .60 | .40 | .80 | .0384                       | 3.8                       | 2    | 1                  | 1 | 2 |
| 10.     | 1010    | .20                                | .60 | .60 | .20 | .0144                       | 1.4                       | 1    | 2                  | 2 | 3 |
| 11.     | 1011    | .20                                | .60 | .60 | .80 | .0576                       | 5.8                       | 3    | 1                  | 1 | 1 |
| 12.     | 1100    | .20                                | .40 | .40 | .20 | .0064                       | .6                        | 1    | 2                  | 1 | 4 |
| 13.     | 1101    | .20                                | .40 | .40 | .80 | .0256                       | 2.6                       | 2    | 1                  | 1 | 2 |
| 14.     | 1110    | .20                                | .40 | .60 | .20 | .0096                       | 1.0                       | 2    | 1                  | 1 | 3 |
| 15.*    | 1111    | .20                                | .40 | .60 | .80 | .0384                       | 3.8                       | 5    | 0                  | 0 | 0 |

\* Indicates perfect scale type.

\*\* G=Guttman System, S=Sagi System, L=Loevinger System.

error responses, with patterns 10 and 12 containing two each.

Variations on this error-counting procedure have been suggested for a variety of reasons, but it is not clear how much they have contributed to the original procedure. Although some of them may have been easier to compute at one time, they are clearly more difficult to interpret. Moreover, recent machine developments have made any computational advantages they might possess less important.

Examples of such coefficients are provided by Sagi (1959), one of which he attributes to Loevinger (1947). Of the two, only the one attributed to Loevinger (1947) produces a sharply different value in place of the original coefficient of reproducibility. Sagi's procedure requires that the items be ordered according to the number of positive responses, most popular items to the right, and that each adjacent pair of responses be examined for a step-down pattern ("10"); i.e. that an error be counted when a positive response ("1") to a less popular item is followed by a negative response ("0") to a more popular item (popularity here referring to the number of positive responses an item receives from the set of respondents). Table 1 illustrates this procedure for four items by presenting all possible response patterns. The reader will notice that, with one exception, the number of errors assigned to each pattern in this way is identical to the number assigned in the Guttman error-counting procedure. For larger sets of items the Sagi procedure fails to count larger numbers of errors.

Just as the Sagi procedure produces fewer error responses than the original Guttman procedure, the procedure attributed to Loevinger results in a much larger error count. This occurs because, after the items are ordered by the number of positive responses they contain, each response is compared with each of the more popular responses. Not only are adjacent step-down patterns ("10") counted as errors, but a step-down pattern for a non-adjacent pair of responses is also counted as an error. Thus the pattern "1100" is not assigned one error, as it would be by Sagi, or two errors, as it would be by Guttman, but rather four errors. Table 1 indicates the number of errors assigned to

each possible response pattern for four dichotomized items by the Loevinger procedure.

With the increasing availability of computing equipment and computer programs, and in light of the contributions of Green and Goodman, there appears to be little advantage in these variations on the original error-counting procedure. Even without computing equipment, the simplest and most objective procedure requires only that the items be ordered according to the number of positive responses they contain and that the number of error responses be counted according to the original rule.

It is also appropriate to note at this point that the error-counting procedure which was developed as a paper and pencil approximation of the original Guttman procedure, the Cornell technique (Guttman, 1947), should clearly be abandoned now that simpler and more objective techniques are available. In addition, the practice of arraying both the positive and negative responses and counting as separate errors any out of place positive responses and their negative counterparts should be avoided (see Edwards, 1957). If this is done, the appropriate denominator is two times the number of items times the number of cases. Since this will produce exactly the same coefficient of reproducibility as the procedure, which utilizes only the positive response, there is little point in complicating the count.<sup>8</sup>

#### COMPARISONS OF TESTS

When the tests suggested by Green, Goodman, and Schuessler are employed for the same sets of data, three different estimates of the probable importance or chance factors are produced. For example, the  $z$  value of a set of data with an observed coefficient of reproducibility of .970 for three items and 100 cases with marginals of .35, .60, and .80 is 5.75 when Green's standard error procedure is used; 5.57 when Goodman's procedure is employed; and 3.88 when Schuessler's Test I is computed. For a set of data with four items and 100 cases, marginals of .20, .40, .60, .80 and an observed coefficient

<sup>8</sup> The practice may have some practical advantage in the analysis of data using paper and pencil techniques, but there appears to be no advantage in adopting it for machine analysis.

of reproducibility of .925, a similar discrepancy appears with Green's procedure producing a *z* value of 2.02; Goodman's a value of 2.82; and Schuessler's a value of 2.17.

When this comparison is made for the dichotomized response of 99 people to six items, with an observed reproducibility of .90 and an expected reproducibility of .82, the corresponding *z* values are Green, 6.29; Goodman, 8.65; and Schuessler, 5.83. For seven items and 100 cases, the divergence is slightly larger with Green's procedure producing a *z* value of 5.46; Goodman's a value of 8.15; and Schuessler's a value of 6.83. Finally, when eight items and 167 cases are tested, the *z* values are 7.47, 11.16, and 6.94.<sup>9</sup>

Goodman provides a comprehensive description of the mathematical bases for the

use of the formula presented in Footnote 6. But as an illustration of the accuracy of his procedure, Tables 2 and 3 present the distribution of Guttman's coefficient of reproducibility for 35,000 sets of randomly generated data. These distributions not only illustrate the normal distribution of coefficients of reproducibility for randomly produced sets of data around "chance reproducibility," but also show the accuracy of the *z* values computed with Goodman's formula.<sup>10</sup>

The earlier procedure implied by Green, for example, results in a  $\sigma$  value of .0098 for an observed reproducibility of .970 for three items, with the marginals of those presented in Table 2. This value would sug-

<sup>9</sup> For the six-item set of data, the marginals were .26, .33, .35, .40, .46, .68; for the seven-item set, .26, .34, .35, .40, .41, .47, .69; and for the eight-item set they were .28, .49, .49, .95, .101, .103, .123, .131. The observed and expected coefficients of reproducibility for the seven-item data were .873 and .804. For the eight-item data, they were .894 and .831.

<sup>10</sup> For additional details on this procedure, see Chilton (1966). The article also presents a variation on Green's test, which is less accurate than the procedure attributed to Green in this paper and therefore ignored. Computer work for both papers was performed at the Florida State University Computing Center using machines financed in part by the National Science Foundation Grants (NSF-GP-671 and NSF 1981).

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF ERROR FOR 15,000 RANDOMLY GENERATED SETS OF DATA N=100, MARGINALS .35, .60, .80

| No. of Errors | Frequency | Percent | Cumulative Percentage | Rep.  |
|---------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------|
| 15, 16        | 13        | .09     | .09                   | ....  |
| 17            | 32        | .21     | .30                   | .943  |
| 18            | 71        | .47     | .77                   | .940  |
| 19            | 144       | .96     | 1.73                  | .936  |
| 20            | 296       | 1.97    | 3.70                  | .933  |
| 21            | 482       | 3.21    | 6.91                  | .930  |
| 22            | 795       | 5.30    | 12.21                 | .926  |
| 23            | 1204      | 8.03    | 20.24                 | .923  |
| 24            | 1634      | 10.89   | 31.13                 | .920  |
| 25            | 1828      | 12.19   | 43.32                 | .916  |
| 26            | 1975      | 13.17   | 56.49                 | .913* |
| 27            | 1931      | 12.87   | 69.36                 | .910  |
| 28            | 1534      | 10.23   | 79.59                 | .906  |
| 29            | 1207      | 8.05    | 87.64                 | .903  |
| 30            | 806       | 5.37    | 93.01                 | .900  |
| 31            | 539       | 3.59    | 96.60                 | .896  |
| 32            | 292       | 1.95    | 98.55                 | .893  |
| 33            | 135       | .90     | 99.45                 | .890  |
| 34            | 49        | .33     | 99.78                 | .886  |
| 35            | 22        | .15     | 99.93                 | .883  |
| 36 plus       | 11        | .07     | 100.00                | ....  |
|               | 15,000    |         |                       |       |

\* Chance Reproducibility.

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF ERROR FOR 20,000 RANDOMLY GENERATED SETS OF DATA N=100, MARGINALS .20, .40, .60, .80

| No. of Errors | Frequency | Percent | Cumulative Percentage | Rep.   |
|---------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|--------|
| 26            | 1         | .005    | .005                  | .9350  |
| 27            | 8         | .040    | .045                  | .9325  |
| 28            | 20        | .100    | .145                  | .9300  |
| 29            | 35        | .175    | .320                  | .9275  |
| 30            | 75        | .375    | .695                  | .9250  |
| 31            | 142       | .710    | 1.405                 | .9225  |
| 32            | 228       | 1.140   | 2.545                 | .9200  |
| 33            | 426       | 2.130   | 4.675                 | .9175  |
| 34            | 657       | 3.285   | 7.960                 | .9150  |
| 35            | 931       | 4.655   | 12.615                | .9125  |
| 36            | 1309      | 6.545   | 19.160                | .9100  |
| 37            | 1678      | 8.390   | 27.550                | .9075  |
| 38            | 1942      | 9.710   | 37.260                | .9050  |
| 39            | 2182      | 10.910  | 48.170                | .9025  |
| 40            | 2154      | 10.770  | 58.940                | .9000* |
| 41            | 2083      | 10.415  | 69.355                | .8975  |
| 42            | 1760      | 8.800   | 78.155                | .8950  |
| 43            | 1432      | 7.160   | 85.315                | .8925  |
| 44            | 1091      | 5.455   | 90.770                | .8900  |
| 45            | 779       | 3.895   | 94.665                | .8875  |
| 46            | 464       | 2.320   | 96.985                | .8850  |
| 47            | 302       | 1.510   | 98.495                | .8825  |
| 48            | 146       | .730    | 99.225                | .8800  |
| 49            | 96        | .480    | 99.705                | .8775  |
| 50            | 39        | .195    | 99.900                | .8750  |
| 51            | 12        | .060    | 99.960                | .8725  |
| 52            | 6         | .030    | 99.990                | .8700  |
| 53            | 2         | .010    | 100.000               | .8675  |
|               | 20,000    | 100.000 |                       |        |

\* Chance reproducibility.

gest that approximately 18 errors, or a reproducibility of .940, would fall within 3  $\sigma$ 's of chance reproducibility, which is very close to the conclusion suggested by the distribution in Table 2. The standard error figure for the same data, produced when Goodman's procedure is followed, is .0102, which suggests that 17 errors or a reproducibility of .943 would fall within 3  $\sigma$ 's of chance reproducibility. For the distribution in Table 2 this is the more accurate figure.

A similar comparison of the standard error values produced by Green's and Goodman's systems for four items with marginals of .20, .40, .60, .80 is illustrated in Table 3. Following Goodman's procedure, we arrive at a standard error value of .0098 for an observed reproducibility of .925, which sug-

gests that 37 errors, or a reproducibility of .907, would fall within 1  $\sigma$  of chance reproducibility. However, when the Green approximation is used, the standard error for the same data is .0132, which would suggest that 68% of the randomly generated sets of data would have reproducibilities between .887 (fewer than 45 errors) and .913 (more than 35 errors). In this way, the distribution in Table 3 suggests that the Green approximation produces too large a standard error figure.

Schuessler's first procedure produces results which most frequently fall between those produced by the Goodman and Green approaches, and this suggests that it, too, is less accurate than the Goodman procedure. It has an additional disadvantage in its re-

quirement that the investigator count the number of perfect scale types and distribute the probabilities for  $2^k$  response patterns, where  $k$  is the number of items. Its advantage is that the results are the same regardless of the error-counting procedure being used, because it employs only the observed and expected number of perfect scale types. However, since there is little reason for using the alternative error-counting procedures, this does not appear to be an important advantage.

Perhaps the best procedure in most situations, and one which should be included in any general scalogram program, is the computation of chance reproducibility according to the Green procedure and the computation of the standard error of the observed reproducibility according to Goodman's formula.<sup>11</sup> Neither of these procedures requires the distribution of the marginal probabilities into the  $k$  by  $2^k$  matrix, which is required by the customary procedure for computing chance reproducibility. In addition, the results are so similar to those achieved by the earlier approach that the Green and Goodman procedures may be used interchangeably with great confidence.<sup>12</sup> Finally, since the simpler standard error formula suggested by Green usually results in a larger standard error value, the investigator working without the aid of a computer program may use it with the assurance that when it indicates that his observed reproducibility is significantly larger than the expected value, then the more accurate procedure would also support this conclusion. Only in borderline situations would it be necessary to use the more complicated formula. However, there appears to be no good reason why the more accurate procedure should not be included in any generally distributed scalogram program.

#### CONCLUSION

This re-examination and collation of the work of Goodman, Green, Sagi, and Schuessler suggest that scalogram analysis can be

employed in an objective, replicable, and easily reported manner and that such reports can include reasonably accurate estimates of the importance of chance factors in the production of the observed results. If interpretations or conclusions are based upon a scalogram analysis, the reader should expect to find a clear definition of an "error response," the exact proportion of non-error responses contained in the data (the coefficient of reproducibility), the marginal frequencies or proportions, and the number of cases analyzed. With this information and knowledge of the number of original items discarded, the reader could intelligently assess the importance of the findings and conclusions presented.<sup>13</sup> In addition, users of generally available computer programs should expect scalogram programs to compute an expected reproducibility and an accurate standard error figure which will assist them in deciding the probable importance of chance factors.

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<sup>12</sup> Tests of this formula for sets of data, with as many as ten items, indicate that it is even more accurate than Green's formula for an observed reproducibility, Reps.

<sup>13</sup> The importance of reporting the number of discarded items is made very clear in Sagi's article in which he indicates the futility of applying statistical techniques after extensive purification of the original data.



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## THE RELIABILITY OF RESPONDENT-CODED OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE \*

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*If Duncan's Socio-Economic Index is accepted as a measure of socioeconomic status, it is possible to have untrained college students code occupations (e.g., their fathers') and for a computer to convert such codings into socioeconomic scores. Thus the procedure eliminates the need for the researcher to code occupations into occupational prestige scores. With respondents from five campuses of diverse ethnicities, subject-coder correlations on prestige equivalents of the occupations correlated .85, and it is estimated that subjects' codings yielded 93% relative efficiency in estimating socioeconomic prestige scores.*

ONE of the most frequently used indices of socioeconomic status in survey research is occupational prestige, which is normally operationalized along the lines suggested by the methodological research of North and Hatt (1947:3-13) and Duncan (1961:109-138). In the standard survey research procedure, each respondent is asked to give a description of his occupation. As a part of the clerical process of coding, the respondent's description is later translated into an occupational code number to which a previously determined prestige score is attached. Diagrammatically, this process may be presented as follows:

### Procedure I:

| Subject's<br>description of<br>occupation | Description is<br>translated into<br>an occupational<br>code by<br>researcher | Occupational<br>title is con-<br>verted into a<br>pre-existing<br>prestige score |
|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

As survey researchers are acutely aware, this clerical operation is tedious, time-consuming, and expensive.

The basic question this study seeks to answer is whether a certain class of respondents—college students who are naive about the topic under study—can by themselves translate their occupational descriptions into occupational titles with associated SES scores that are similar to the SES scores of titles that would be assigned by

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experienced coders. In other words, we want to determine the consequences of eliminating the step involving the experienced coders in terms of the final SES score that is obtained. The alternative procedure we are suggesting is presented diagrammatically as follows:

Procedure II:

Subject's selection of occupational title that corresponds to his occupation → Occupational title is converted into a pre-existing prestige score

It should be emphasized that the problem addressed here is whether self-coding by a naive subject of an occupational description produces an SES level similar to that produced when an expert codes the same occupational description. The problem of this paper is not the matching of specific occupational categories.<sup>1</sup> It is obvious that the respondents and the experts could disagree on every occupational match and still produce a high correlation on the resulting SES scores if the two occupational categories had similar prestige ratings. While it may be necessary to obtain accurate matches for the occupational titles themselves in some research projects, many times it is perfectly adequate to achieve similarity in SES level.

This study has two additional products. First, it reports the findings of a small methodological experiment on the advisability of having experienced coders take income and education into account while coding occupations. Secondly, in addition to the subject-coder reliability which is the prime focus of this paper, intercoder reliability between two experienced coders is also presented.

#### THE DATA-COLLECTION PROCESS

The data of the present study were

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of some of the ambiguities in coding specific occupational categories, see Hodge and Seigel (1966:176-192). McTavish (1964:402-406) evaluates the usage of census occupational codings as an intermediate step between the subject's description and the assignment of the Duncan SEI score. He used the numeric codes of the U. S. Bureau of the Census (1960). Their volume was available to the coders, though not to the subjects, in the present study.

collected in the course of a much larger study. The sample has a number of relevant characteristics. The primary sampling units were college fraternities, stratified on the following variables:

1. Prestige of fraternity (high vs. low)<sup>2</sup>
2. Ethnicity of fraternity (WASP, Jewish, Roman Catholic, and Black)
3. Ethnically homogeneous campuses vs. ethnically heterogeneous campuses (hereafter referred to as "geneity").

Each fraternity selected for the study was fitted into a prestige-ethnicity-geneity cell. Since the black fraternities offered too little variation with respect to prestige on the five sampled campuses (all located in the north-eastern quadrant of the United States), the total number of cells is 14, not 16.

The data were gathered by group administration of a set of questionnaires, of which two are relevant to this study. On the first form the subject was asked to write a description of his father's occupation.<sup>3</sup> These descriptions were later used by the coders to assign the fathers to occupational categories. On another questionnaire, administered about an hour later, the subjects were once again asked to describe their father's occupations. Then the subjects were asked to locate these occupations on a list that had been provided for that purpose and to enter

<sup>2</sup> The prestige ratings of the fraternities were based on pre-test data gathered on each of the five campuses. A high-status fraternity was the one receiving the highest average prestige rating on its campus within its ethnic category. Conversely, a low-status house received the lowest mean prestige rating within its ethnic category.

<sup>3</sup> The instruction in the questionnaire was as follows: "What is your father's occupation? (If he has held more than one job recently, specify the job at which he worked the longest period in the last five years. If he is deceased, unemployed, or retired, please specify what his occupation was when he last worked. Please be as specific as possible—for example, sales manager in a small corporation, proprietor of a small business, vice-president of a four-man insurance agency, skilled laborer, sales clerk in paint department of a large department store, etc.)" The same wording was used in both places where the subject was asked to describe his father's occupation. The second time, however, the subject was asked to select an occupational title from a list and to write down the corresponding code number, in addition to writing the occupational description.

the code number for the occupation—appearing on the list—in the space provided in the questionnaire. There were 24 fraternity members in each prestige ethnicity-geneity cell, resulting in a total of 336 cases. Nine of the responses on occupation proved unusable, leaving a total of 327 cases used in the main analysis of this study.

The classification of occupations used in this study and appearing on the printed form was an edited version of the set of occupational categories appearing in the appendix of Reiss's monograph on the use of occupations as indicators of social status. The editing had two objectives. First, as is well known, the usual presentation of occupational categories in such a list begins with those of highest prestige (professional) and proceeds down the list to the lowest (laboring). Because of the "social desirability" set remarked in the literature (Edwards, 1957), the authors feared that the subjects might respond to the prestige-ordered set of occupations by a disposition to upgrade the occupations of their fathers. To eliminate this status-linked sequence, the major occupational categories were arranged alphabetically rather than in order of their prestige.

The second way in which the list was edited was to shorten it by omitting some of the detailed occupational titles toward the lower end of the SES spectrum. The fact that the sample was drawn from college fraternities implies that there should be relatively few fathers in the lower end of the occupational distribution. Conversely, the authors felt it was important to list as many categories as possible at the upper end of the distribution.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE BASIC PROCEDURE

The questionnaires asked each subject to describe his father's occupation in two separate places. The second time the subject himself coded his father's occupation in accordance with the procedures outlined above. The second written description was

subjected to the standard survey research coding process by two expert coders (two advanced graduate students in sociology), working independently of each other. The resulting set of three code numbers for each subject was then transformed into a corresponding set of Duncan SEI scores through a computer program called CODEJOB.<sup>5</sup> These prestige scores were used in the analytic portions of the research, the results of which follow.

*Question 1. Does information regarding education and income lead to increased reliability in the derived SES scores?* This question, while secondary to the major concern of this paper, is reported first because of its temporal position in the analysis.<sup>6</sup> Numerous types of ambiguities arise in the coding of occupations; information regarding the person's income and education might help in resolving some of these. For example, one of our subjects reported that his father was a "sand and gravel prospector." None of the reference works consulted listed such a job title. The coder had to choose between categorizing this job as professional (a geologist) or as an entrepreneur who is acquainted with the local terrain. Information about the number of years of formal education would provide a clue in the sense that a person could hardly be described as a geologist if he had been reported as having little education.

A small pilot study was designed to make an empirical determination of the effect on reliability produced by the availability of these two other SES variables. From the set of fraternity members not used in the main sample of 336, a subsample of 48 was drawn and divided into four treatment groups of 12 each. The "treatments" consisted of combinations of access (open) or non-ac-

<sup>5</sup> This program, written in CDC 3400 FORTRAN by Joyce Sween, is available from the authors on request. It also provides the North-Hatt NORC prestige score in addition to the Duncan SEI. Most of the analyses described in this paper were replicated using the North-Hatt score, and the results are substantially identical with those for the SEI presented here.

<sup>6</sup> To the authors' knowledge, this small pilot study is the first to report on the effects of the availability of additional SES information on occupational coding reliability.

<sup>4</sup> Of the 425 census occupational categories to which Duncan was able to assign an SEI score, the form given to the subjects and used by the experienced coders listed 323.

cess (blind) to the additional information by each of the two coders, as follows:

| Treatment Group | Coder 1 | Coder 2 |
|-----------------|---------|---------|
| a               | Blind   | Blind   |
| b               | Open    | Blind   |
| c               | Blind   | Open    |
| d               | Open    | Open    |

The results of the analysis appear in Table 1. Since the rows of correlation coefficients are based on the same cases, Hotelling's test is appropriate (Walker and Lev, 1953:257). No difference between a pair of correlations within the same row is significant at the 0.05 level of alpha. Within the columns, the correlations are based on different cases. It is appropriate, therefore; to test whether the correlations within each column are homogeneous. With alpha equal to 0.05, the first two columns are homogeneous, but the third is not ( $P=0.01$ , see Snedecor and Cochran, 1967:186-187). When rows and columns are considered simultaneously, it appears from the two low correlations in the third row that subsample c presented problems. It turns out that this subsample did include several unusually difficult cases, including the "sand and gravel prospector." Table 1 shows that the use of the auxiliary information does not increase the reliability of the resulting SES scores.

RULES FOLLOWED BY THE CODERS

The following rules, based on difficulties encountered in the pilot study, were promulgated to assist the coders in minimizing ambiguity:

- 1. Information on education and income may be used only when doubt exists as to the precise nature of the occupation. It is *not* to be used simply to

buttress the argument in favor of any particular status score over another. An example of legitimate use would be a case in which the subject reports that his father was an engineer. This term, as we know, may refer to a janitor or to a man who designs bridges. The number of years of education would be a very helpful datum.

- 2. If the subject's father has two or more jobs, try to determine from what the subject writes what his main job is. If this determination cannot be made, code the job with the higher prestige score on the SEI.
- 3. If an occupation seems dually classifiable (a pharmacist who owns his own drug store would be a "manager, official or proprietor" of some type as well as a pharmacist; a physician who is a hospital administrator could also be legitimately classified as a manager of some type), code the occupation of the higher SEI score.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The coders kept a record of the number of cases in which various forms of problems were encountered in the main sample of 327 cases. The following table gives the percentage of cases in which various problems were identified by the two coders:

| Type of Problem                                                              | Coder 1 | Coder 2 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------|
| Existence of any problem                                                     | 10.7%   | 7.0%    |
| Multiple job problem                                                         | 2.1     | 1.8     |
| Confusion between Salaried Workers and Entrepreneurs                         | 1.2     | 1.0     |
| Confusion between "managers, officials, and proprietors" and "professionals" | 3.7     | 2.8     |
| Unspecific response on part of subject                                       | 5.8     | 0.6     |
| Other problems                                                               | 4.0     | 2.1     |

N=327 for both columns. The detail adds to more than the total in each column because more than

TABLE 1. EFFECT ON RELIABILITY OF PRESTIGE RATINGS OCCASIONED BY THE USE OF INFORMATION ABOUT EDUCATION AND INCOME

| Group | Conditions |         | Reliability Coefficients |                 |                 |    |
|-------|------------|---------|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----|
|       | Coder 1    | Coder 2 | Intercoder               | Subject-Coder 1 | Subject-Coder 2 | N  |
| a     | Blind      | Blind   | .89                      | .90             | .87             | 12 |
| b     | Open       | Blind   | .86                      | .83             | .99             | 12 |
| c     | Blind      | Open    | .87                      | .59             | .64             | 12 |
| d     | Open       | Open    | .89                      | .87             | .91             | 12 |

## THE RELIABILITY OF SELF-CODING

*Question 2. How reliable is the prestige rating resulting from the subject's coding of the occupation?* This is the basic question of this study. The reliability coefficients, both in terms of the familiar Pearsonian correlation coefficient (above the diagonal) and the less frequently used measure of agreement devised by Robinson (1957:17-25) (below the diagonal), for the main sample of 327 cases, are presented in Table 2.<sup>8</sup>

The intercoder reliability of 0.88 (Pearsonian) is a quite satisfactorily high value, especially when it is recalled that the procedure is intended for the analysis of groups of subjects rather than for individual prediction, as in the case of clinical diagnosis. But how can the reliability of the subjects' codings be assessed? To perform this task, the authors assumed that the most stable measure of the prestige score assigned to each subject is the mean of the prestige scores derived from the codings provided

by the two experienced coders. The Pearsonian correlation of this measure with the subjects' codings is 0.85. An estimate of the relative efficiency of the coding done by the subjects may then be measured by the relation between subject-coder and intercoder reliability. As is well known, the squared Pearsonian correlation coefficient is interpretable as the proportion of "explained" variance. If we construct a ratio with the square of the subject-mean coder reliability as the numerator and the square of the intercoder reliability as the denominator (or base), we can estimate the average subject's coding efficiency relative to the experienced coders as

$$\frac{(0.85)^2}{(0.88)^2}, \text{ or } 93\%.$$

Since the total sample used in this analysis contains several categories with respect to type of fraternity and with respect to background variables, it may be useful to inquire whether or not the levels of the correlations reported in Table 2 differ as among these categories.

These breakdowns for the three variables defined in the section of this paper on data collection are shown in Table 3. The upper figure of each pair is the Pearsonian coefficient, and the lower figure in parentheses is Robinson's measure of agreement. The correlations within each of the categories defined by the three variables show considerable stability with a fairly high level of reliability across categories. Using the Pearsonian measure, intercoder reliability fell no lower than 0.81 in any category (the median across categories 0.87), and the subject-mean coder reliability fell no lower than 0.78 in any category (the median across categories is 0.83).

The only set of rows showing much interest is that for the prestige of the fraternity. All four of the coefficients for the low prestige fraternities are significantly higher (at the 0.05 level) than the corresponding values for high prestige fraternities.<sup>9</sup> The authors

one problem may have been identified on a given subject's response. The percentages were essentially invariant across the categories on which the sample was stratified.

<sup>8</sup> Another measure of reliability that could be presented is the coefficient of intraclass correlation ( $r_1$ ). It is omitted for reasons of space economy, since Robinson (1957:21) shows that for two variables (as in the present analysis)  $r_1 = 2A - 1$ .

By reason of this relationship Robinson's A will generally be higher than Pearson's  $r$ . The Pearsonian measure is a ceiling on  $r_1$ , the two being equal when the two variables have identical means and variances. This situation is almost met in the data discussed in this paper: of the correlations reported in Tables 2 and 3, two-thirds of the  $r$  and  $r_1$  values were identical to two significant digits, and the maximum difference between any two corresponding values of  $r$  and  $r_1$  was 0.02. Since the mathematical relationship between A and  $r_1$  indicates that A is always greater than  $r_1$  (except in the limiting and empirically trivial case in which both are equal to unity), the close empirical correspondence between  $r$  and  $r_1$  for these data would indicate that A should be greater than the corresponding  $r$  values.

TABLE 2. MATRIX OF CORRELATIONS FOR ALL 327 CASES

|         | Coder 1 | Coder 2 | Subject |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Coder 1 | ...     | .88     | .82     |
| Coder 2 | .96     | ...     | .83     |
| Subject | .91     | .91     | ...     |

<sup>9</sup> One other set of values in the table shows a statistically significant difference: the intercoder reliability for the Roman Catholic fraternities is significantly higher than that for the other three ethnicities. Since only one value appears to differ significantly from the others in that column, and,

TABLE 3. RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF BACKGROUND VARIABLES

| Variable and Category                         | Reliability Coefficients |                 |                 |                    | N   |
|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----|
|                                               | Intercoder               | Subject-Coder 1 | Subject-Coder 2 | Subject-Mean Coder |     |
| Status of Fraternity                          |                          |                 |                 |                    |     |
| High Status Fraternities                      | .84<br>(.92)             | .75<br>(.88)    | .74<br>(.87)    | .78<br>(.89)       | 138 |
| Low Status Fraternities                       | .90<br>(.95)             | .85<br>(.93)    | .86<br>(.93)    | .88<br>(.94)       | 189 |
| Ethnicity                                     |                          |                 |                 |                    |     |
| WASP's                                        | .87<br>(.92)             | .81<br>(.90)    | .86<br>(.93)    | .87<br>(.93)       | 95  |
| Jews                                          | .86<br>(.93)             | .80<br>(.90)    | .78<br>(.89)    | .82<br>(.90)       | 93  |
| Roman Catholics                               | .93<br>(.97)             | .80<br>(.90)    | .80<br>(.90)    | .82<br>(.91)       | 95  |
| Blacks                                        | .81<br>(.90)             | .85<br>(.92)    | .81<br>(.90)    | .88<br>(.93)       | 44  |
| Geneity of Campus                             |                          |                 |                 |                    |     |
| Subjects on Ethnically Homogeneous Campuses   | .90<br>(.95)             | .79<br>(.90)    | .81<br>(.90)    | .82<br>(.91)       | 163 |
| Subjects on Ethnically Heterogeneous Campuses | .87<br>(.93)             | .84<br>(.92)    | .84<br>(.98)    | .87<br>(.92)       | 164 |

will offer an inductive hypothesis for this difference. As might be expected, the high prestige fraternities do have a significantly higher mean score on the Duncan SEI, by about five points. It was noted above that some of the detail had been pruned from the lists of occupations of low prestige. This suggests that the nature of the task assigned to both coders and subjects required finer distinctions at the higher end of the range of occupational prestige than at the lower end. Agreements, therefore, should be a bit easier to achieve at the lower end. The hypothesis, then, is that the difference in reliability is an artifact of the measuring instrument used.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Each subject in a sample of 327 college fraternity members was asked to do three things: (1) to give a written description of his father's occupation, (2) to select from a list of job titles the one most closely corresponding to the job he had just described, and (3) to write down the code number that had been assigned to the job title. A com-

puter program converted the arbitrary code number written down by the subject into Duncan's Socio-Economic Index for Occupations. Later, two experienced coders who did not have access to the code number written down by the subject independently read the subject's verbal description and selected the job title and code number that seemed to them to correspond most closely to the written description.

The resulting sets of prestige scores were used as tests of intercoder reliability and as tests of reliability of the self-coding done by the subjects. Overall intercoder reliability was 0.88, and the correlation between the SEI rating based on the subject's coding and the mean of the two SEI ratings of the two expert coders was 0.85. From these two coefficients it is estimated that the subjects showed 93% relative efficiency. This would indicate that with college students little reliability is lost in using such a method of self-coding, and, of course, the saving in research costs can be substantial.

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## REVIEW ESSAY

SEYMOUR DRESCHER, *Dilemmas of Democracy: Tocqueville and Modernization*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1968. 302 pp. \$6.95.

The historian, Seymour Drescher, has written another splendid book on Alexis de Tocqueville. Indeed, this volume and his earlier *Tocqueville in England* together constitute a most important critical study of Tocqueville's social and political thought, intellectual development, and political ideology. *Dilemmas of Democracy* continues *Tocqueville in England*, whose chapter on the Industrial Revolution asserted that Tocqueville's "moral vantage point was fundamentally and narrowly that of the proprietary class to which he belonged." *Dilemmas of Democracy* is largely devoted to further substantiation of this proposition. Again Drescher skillfully shows that Tocqueville's proprietary interests and values shaped his overall outlook, so that he wrote and acted as a dedicated member of a ruling elite and not as a dispassionate student of social and political institutions.

This interpretation is supported by a careful examination of Tocqueville's concern with those who did not fit well into his scheme of providential universal equality: prison inmates, slaves, industrial workers, the poor, and other victims of the gross inequalities of 19th century society, particularly in France. Like other French notables, Tocqueville believed that there would always be a large reservoir of poor people in every mature society. His struggle with the apparent options created by this belief is reflected in both his politics and his scholarship, with the result that his thought was unsystematic and often ambiguous—sometimes deliberately so. For example, he never defined two of his most basic concepts, "democracy" and "liberty." Drescher maintains—rightly, I believe—that Tocqueville did not fully understand the process of "modernization" and that he remained fundamentally ambivalent toward it, which produced many unresolved contradictions in his work.

In *Democracy in America*, Tocqueville perceived this society to be "primarily agricultural, middle-class, and to a much lesser extent, commercial." He passed through every major American city but did not really see them or understand their historical significance. To Tocqueville, an aristocratic *propriétaire*, the most important consequence of the democratic revolution was the creation of a large class of small property holders. Ownership of small property was to be

an important social basis of liberty. Only very late in life did Tocqueville see clearly that such a class could also become the social basis of the despotism he so feared.

Tocqueville missed not only the significance of cities, both in America and England, but also of industry. His agrarian orientation blinded him not only to what Marx saw clearly soon afterward but even to what Tocqueville's Saint-Simonian contemporaries, notably Michel Chevalier, understood so well—that "the wedge of industrial feudalism was already insinuating itself beneath the democratic institutions of the American republic." Similarly, Tocqueville's main interest in England, especially during his first visit, was in "its castles and landed estates rather than its factories and railroads." His main orientation was toward land and land questions. England, he believed, had not yet seen its 1789, and he was surprised that the English aristocrats failed to realize this. Tocqueville was looking backward, believing all the while that he was glimpsing the future.

Moreover, his approach to land-holding was legal and social-psychological: large-scale ownership necessarily implied aristocratic social conditions. He did not understand that in England large-scale ownership preserved the aristocracy and transformed them into capitalist farmers. Applying the same perspective in America (viewed as agrarian, middle-class, and located primarily in New England), Tocqueville not surprisingly described America as a one-class or "classless" society, missing the significance of urbanism, industry, and the poor, and regarded the main sources of conflict as "territorial and sectional."

Tocqueville consistently conceived of economic change as primarily *psychological*, and paid almost no attention to the mode of production and the social relations accompanying it. His few and scattered remarks on economic factors, far from constituting a coherent view, are contradictory: capitalist behavior is, depending on the context, libertarian, authoritarian, or servile. In Drescher's words, "psychological typology and portraiture were substituted for an analysis that would take into account technological, productive, and market factors."

In the first volume of *Democracy in America*,



Tocqueville paid almost no attention to manufacturing and did not view it as presenting major social impediments to democratization. Social mobility and the sovereignty of the masses "were the decisive facts of American life, and they simply canceled out all hierarchical and inequalitarian tendencies." And if industrialization was dismissed as exceptional, then "poverty was simply excluded from the mainstream of his prognosis of democracy in America." Indeed, as Drescher cogently argues, Tocqueville and Beaumont effectively banished poverty, crime, and slavery from their model of American society by dealing with these problems in separate works: in the jointly written *Penitentiary System* (1833), in Tocqueville's *Democracy* (1835), and in Beaumont's *Marie* (1835). The same is true even for the black people in America. Notwithstanding Tocqueville's humane and sensitive description of their condition, he treated them as forever destined to remain outsiders. Moreover, though he was a sincere and committed abolitionist, when French colonial interests were at stake he wanted definite limits imposed on the freedom and independence of the blacks. In 1839, in a speech to the Chamber of Deputies, he said: "If it be thought necessary to the cultivation of colonial produce, and the continuation of the white race in the Antilles, that the services of the enfranchised Negro may be permanently hired by the great proprietors of the soil, it is evident that we should not create for him a domain, where he can easily live by laboring for himself alone."

With respect to industry, Tocqueville, in the second volume of *Democracy*, did call attention briefly to the aristocracy of manufactures and its consequences: on the one hand the concentration of economic power in the hands of a small minority, and on the other, the helpless and subservient laborers. But even here one cannot give Tocqueville too much credit. As Drescher reminds us, Tocqueville's observation was by then (1840) quite commonplace. More importantly, even when he did regard industrial development as unexceptional, he focused his attention on the dangers to society as a whole of the growth of a new aristocracy—particularly the dangers accompanying power centralization, which we feared more than industrial serfdom.

Whatever intellectual and political attention Tocqueville gave to problems of urban industrialism, unemployment, poverty and welfare, was not innovative. These interests were not only in the "mainstream of contemporary reform but were also the residue of a respectable notable tradition going back to the old regime." Tocqueville's approach was in the spirit of this tradition, which in his time emphasized "the need to

achieve the voluntary acquiescence of all those in high positions who could be adversely affected by any reform." Anything which remotely resembled an appeal to the people was unthinkable. Poverty, which was essentially a psychological and relative phenomenon for Tocqueville, could be attributed largely "to the overgenerosity of the rich, who by misplaced benevolence had stirred the imaginations of the poor into a vicious cycle of escalating demands." Ultimately, the poor were among those who, in Tocqueville's words, received "from God the special and dangerous mission of providing for the material well-being of the rest of society." Or, as Drescher accurately summarizes Tocqueville's view: "Permanent poverty and insecurity were thus as providential and permanent for industrial workers as equalization was for the remainder of society."

Also of interest is the fact that, while Tocqueville spoke of the inevitability and even the justice of the growth of democracy and equality, "he did not express a twinge of uneasiness at the creation of new dependent peoples by European colonization in the nineteenth century or how it might affect democracy." In the decade after *Democracy* he gave much of his attention to French colonial interests, and his views on the subject are expressed in this statement: "It is neither necessary nor useful to give our Moslem subjects exaggerated ideas of their own importance, nor to persuade them that we are obligated always to treat them precisely as if they were fellow citizens and equals." Domination of the colonies by force would be required "for a century, if not forever."

As for industrial workers, Tocqueville gave direct attention to them only when forced to in 1846-47, when economic depression stirred the working classes to great unrest. Here again, however, he remained well within the ideological framework of his class and continued to believe that incredibly mild reforms, paternalistically granted, would check the revolutionary movement. When the revolution came, he "identified totally with the 'party of order' and welcomed the battle when victory seemed assured. His pattern of reaction followed that of the bulk of the old elite class." And during the so-called June Days he was at the barricades, quite literally, but on the side opposite the insurgents.

Finally, and most significantly, having perceived clearly that a gathering reaction to the revolution was threatening to destroy liberalism as well as "Socialism," Tocqueville took an unequivocal stand. On the eve of the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon, he wrote to Nassau Senior:

## BOOK REVIEWS

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*As a Tale That is Told: An Autobiography*, by R. M. MACIVER. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1968. 269 pp. \$7.50.

This quiet autobiography by Robert MacIver tells more about the man and his times than about the emergence and development of his thought. The 86-year-old MacIver has given younger sociologists—and that includes most of us—a portrait of the life-style of a scholar developing during the greater part of this century.

MacIver's early professional years at Aberdeen provided opportunities for that leisurely reflection much coveted by academics, but by the 1920's and his emigration to Toronto, he was fully engaged in the diverse activities of teaching, research, administration, consulting, and public services that now make up the schedule of the active scholar. The pace quickened when MacIver came to Columbia, where he first headed the Department of Economics and Sociology at Barnard and later the Department of Sociology in the Graduate Faculty. Even after his ostensible retirement, MacIver directed four major research programs and, reaching still another stride at 81, took over the presidency of the New School for Social Research. This last appointment was not at all a holding arrangement designed for an elder statesman; MacIver was called to set a foundering institution to rights—and that is just what he did. During his "retirement," as before, MacIver had to fight other obligations to find time to write—"this self-imposed incessant task" which was, for him, the part of scholarly life he liked best.

This multiplicity of roles expresses MacIver's catholic interests. He sees himself, for example, not as a scholar confined to a single discipline, but as a broad-gauged social scientist concerned with fundamental issues of order and freedom, the place of intention in action, the limits of state power, and the consequences of varying forms of political and economic organization. He leaves the microscopic examination of social life to others, and his tart comments on the frequent parochialism of sociology testify that his own horizon extends far beyond the usual borders of the field. His candor in expressing judgements of this sort is matched by his willingness to describe his own difficulties with sociology. He writes, "Sociology has always been

for me a kind of beloved mistress with whom I seemed unable to get on really comfortable terms. I regarded, and still regard, it as a great and challenging subject. . . . Yet I was never happy with my accomplishment in that field."

His fellow scholars were less demanding than MacIver himself in their evaluation of his work. MacIver's scholarship has received wide recognition in nearly all of the symbolic forms found in academia: honorary awards and degrees, membership in major learned societies and eponym in the form of the MacIver Award. Nor is he reticent about his pleasure in these symbols, for "They . . . give [one] the comfortable feeling that he has the respect of his colleagues and that his endeavors are not wholly without influence." Still, "I have my own standard and my own judgement as to how far I reach it and where I fall short." Nevertheless, his self-demands did not make him ascetic. Over the years he has remained a hard-working man who can, without a sense of guilt, take long holidays, alternate between playing bridge and playing the piano, and express his life-long fascination with nature by becoming an expert mycologist. (It is said that he has one of the great libraries on mushrooms.)

In these pages, MacIver emerges as a high-principled person who treasures personal freedom and abhors violence, while realizing that violence has often been necessary as a means of liberating people from powerlessness. This ready recognition that human action often entails conflicting principles not easily resolved in practice is another sign of his moral sensibility, although MacIver says nothing of this quality. On the whole, he is reticent about his virtues, forthright about his failings, and utterly discrete about the failings of others—perhaps too much so. MacIver alludes to situations of conflict within and outside universities, and hints strongly that he has had his share of battles. In one sense, these are as much a part of the history of sociology as the printed record, but they find little place in this engaging book. So we must be satisfied with vivid portraits of some of the people he liked—among them Znaniecki, Laski, Bertrand Russell—and puzzle over the tantalizingly anonymous sketches of those he did not like.

*As a Tale that is Told* stands as a record of one academic life during the first two-thirds

of the century, presaging things to come rather than extending the victorian past. It is a record that sociologists can read with pleasure and pride.

HARRIET ZUCKERMAN

Columbia University

*Dialectical Sociology, An Analysis of the Sociology of Georges Gurvitch*, by PHILLIP BOSSERMAN. Boston, Mass.: Porter Sargent, 1968. 316 pp. \$7.95.

This is an important book because it deals with the life, times, and thought of a neglected person in contemporary world sociology. Many of us recall Georges Gurvitch (1894-1965) from his New York years of exile—the short, pugnacious scholar possessed by ideas (his own and the sum-total of the Western world), ready at the drop of a comma to fight for what he believed in.

Dr. Bosserman acknowledges an immense debt of gratitude to his teacher and mentor with whom he studied for 18 months in Paris, and with whom he thereafter corresponded and conversed for several years in order to write this book. Included within the volume are (a) an account of Gurvitch's background and life, (b) an overview of his sociological theory, focusing on his sociology of "the total social phenomena" which gives a "horizontal view of social reality," (c) an explanation of the "operational processes" of Gurvitch's dialectic method, and (d) a critical evaluation of Gurvitch's sociology and philosophy.

One cannot do justice to every chapter and facet of this not-very-smoothly written book; the reviewer must restrict himself to a few major highlights. Because Gurvitch was greatly concerned with the law, considerable space is devoted here to a discussion of his concepts of social and natural law, his ideas of justice, and his intellectual itinerary.

Gurvitch's belief that law is always an attempt at the realization of justice (which Bosserman apparently shares) is untenable in the eyes of central European thinkers, for whom law is simply posited power (*gesetzte Macht*). It is rather difficult, however, for a sociologist to write about law in a society whose language does not contain an equivalent for the German *Recht* or the French *droit*. Moreover, American sociologists have only recently begun to incorporate the concepts of law and the state in their writings.

"Natural law in the classical sense is impervious to Gurvitch's way of thinking" writes Bosserman (p. 263), but he notes that Professor Gurvitch re-established the idea of natural law

by widening and deepening the concept of social law to such an extent that the two became almost identical.

Dr. Bosserman wonders about the apparent neglect with which American sociologists have treated Gurvitch's work and thought; it may not be amiss to point out that Gurvitch is not pseudo-empirically oriented but rather juridically conditioned as were most of the classic theorists in Europe. His dependence on Fichte—one of the more abstruse idealistic German philosophers—his affinity to Proudhon, and his wide erudition are simply not palatable to the sated petty pedants who dominate the American sociological scene. Moreover, Gurvitch tries to be a system-builder and a draftsman of empirical techniques at the same time. No wonder that he has not found the enthusiastic following Dr. Bosserman thinks he deserves.

This book is most welcome, if for no other reason than because it should give our young graduates pause to reflect, and encourage them to return to the founts of sociological wisdom and theory by rereading the masters, especially Durkheim and Mauss. It is quite true that a monkey on the giant's shoulders sees farther than the giant, but let him not forget that, once down on earth, he is still a monkey.

JOSEPH H. BUNZEL

State University of New York at Buffalo

*Explanation in Social Science*, by ROBERT BROWN. Chicago, Illinois: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968. 198 pp. Paperbound. \$2.95.

It is a welcome relief to see a book on the philosophy of social science written by a social scientist rather than a philosopher. Others must feel the same way, as this book is already in its fourth printing since 1961. There are not many discussions of social science epistemology, and the few that do exist have been contributed mainly by philosophers of science (such as Nagel, Hempel, and Kaplan). With the notable exception of Kaplan's *Conduct of Inquiry*, most appear in general treatises that deal with all of the sciences, and the social sciences usually get second billing. The consequence of this, as Robert Brown points out, is that the thorny methodological problems particular to the social sciences, such as self-fulfilling prophesies and goal-directed behavior, receive scant attention. His book attempts to fill some of this void, especially in regards to the problem of scientific explanation of social behavior.

The first part of the book discusses social description and observation, distinguishing between the documentations of social life written

by journalists and some historians and the observations of social scientists. The main point here is that non-scientists are interested only in reporting a particular event and its circumstances, while the scientist is concerned with a particular event only as a means of finding general regularities among classes of events. Social description by a social scientist usually involves, explicitly or implicitly, explanations of the connections between the social behaviors described. These explanations are scientific to the extent that they attempt to be general, but they are not always identical to the kinds used in the natural sciences.

The second and largest part of the book is devoted to a discussion of seven different types of explanations relevant to the social sciences: genetic, intentions, dispositions, reasons, functions, empirical generalizations, and theories. This is not a very analytic classification scheme, but there are more serious difficulties here than the logic of the author's typology.

For example, the genetic category refers to the explanation of a specific event in terms of its origin and development. As the author readily admits, this is no different from historical description, a type he clearly excluded from scientific explanation in the first part of the book. If this is the case, it is not clear why it is a type particularly relevant to the social scientist interested in "sound generalizations about classes of events."

A similar objection can be raised about explanations based on intentions, dispositions, and reasons. All three are seen as explanations accounting for specific actions of individual persons or collectivities. Intentions and reasons refer to cognitive states, while dispositions refer to less conscious states of action such as customs or motivations. As such, it is not clear why they should be more relevant to the social scientist than to any other observer of human affairs. At several points the author seems to concur, indicating that these kinds of explanations play a relatively small role in the work of the social scientist. If so, one wonders why so much space is devoted to them. On the other hand, by focusing on specific social behaviors, justice is not fully done to the important role of normative structures as a general causal agent in human action systems.

The last two types, empirical generalizations and theories, take up only about a third of the book, even though they are probably most central to the development of a science of social behavior. The discussions are reasonably clear, however, in spite of their brevity. The most noteworthy weakness in the discussion of theories is the absence of a good example of a social-science theory. The author tends to rely on ex-

amples of specific hypotheses, rather than on more comprehensive theoretical schemes from which hypotheses can be deduced. We may not have any theoretical schemes which have been fully (or even partially) validated, but theories do exist in sociology, and their forms can be analysed and compared to theoretical structures in the natural sciences.

In spite of these shortcomings, the book is quite readable and would probably serve as a good text in an introductory course on the logic of the inquiry in the social sciences. For the practicing social scientist, it should provide a good stimulus to further thinking about the logic of social science explanation and, hopefully, more treatises of this type.

DAVID J. ARMOR

*Harvard University*

*The Study of Total Societies*, edited by SAMUEL Z. KLAUSNER. Garden City, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967. 220 pp. Cloth-bound, \$6.00. Paperbound (Anchor Books), \$1.25.

The plastic society has brought forth the plastic publication. Symposia reprints were not unknown at lower stages of societal evolution, but the distinctive nature of this volume is an emergent property of the subsystem structuration of adaptations to current stressful inputs in the U.S. total society. Put another way, American political-military opposition to independence movements in subject states includes the harnessing of social scientific knowledge for their efficient repression. A key intended tool for this effort was the general mobilization dubbed Project Camelot. And Camelot, in its brief shining moment, engaged many of the most eminent among us through devices like the "conference" which produced this volume, although the editor fails to so indicate.

Nevertheless, the sinisterness of that storied enterprise will have to be sought elsewhere than in this book, the contents of which deserve at least the term innocuous. For here are manifest most of the picturesque trappings of the Big Social Science ceremonial, e.g. transactions featuring redundancy, thinness, irrelevance, pompous solemnity, and chaste abstraction. With the exception of pieces by Tiryakian and Etzioni, none of the eight papers included contributes significantly to work available elsewhere or gives evidence of original effort for the purposes of this conference.

As organizer and editor, Klausner sets as a theme the consideration of analytical and methodological requirements for the "total study" of "total societies." By this he has in mind

theoretical treatment of the full phenomena of "action" at all levels encompassed by a distinguishable societal system. The appropriate basic approach he then suggests is the formulation of a new theory that incorporates propositions bridging or linking the separate human sciences. This initial invocation is predictably ignored by the participants, although a rationale is furnished for their presence as "interdisciplinary" researchers.

Among the contributions, James S. Coleman offers a skimpy peek at two game models of economic and political systems, briefly suggesting their usefulness for theorizing on this scale. Ithiel Pool supplies a few superficial remarks about computer simulations of total societies, drawing illustrations from his earlier "supported" work on such projects as "Criciscom" and "Comcom" (mass communications flow in China and the Soviet Union). Kenneth Boulding uncharacteristically presents some unincisive and undeveloped musings, mainly regarding information and learning processes in the dynamics of total societies. Anatol Rappoport adds a relatively long if bland discussion of some applications of systems theory, with emphasis on social evolutionary aspects rooted in biological analogues. Marion Levy very briefly reproduces some preliminary reflections on family structure as a promising "lead-in" to wholistic societal analysis. And Abram Kardiner makes some off-hand observations on psychological concomitants of breakdowns in "social homeostasis" as exemplified in tribal Madagascar and the current American Black revolution. The quality of his analysis and underlying assumptions are revealed in his views that "the critical problem" about the latter "is to contain the potential collective rage," that "the locus of the trouble is the culture and personality development in the lower-class Negro family," and that what we want to know is how "to direct our efforts to integrate the Negro."

Tiryakian and Etzioni come as some relief, although they could not be expected to justify this volume by themselves. Tiryakian is engaged essentially in an effort to introduce a dynamic perspective into Parsonia by tracing the underlying roots of revolutionary process to the "latent pattern maintenance-tension management" societal subsystem. While conceiving of revolution as societal change involving basic normative or "religious" transformation, Tiryakian unfortunately fails to tell how the "latency sector" causally initiates such change. Instead, he disappointingly pursues the evidently more practical question of how to conceptualize and measure a society's potential for revolution. Etzioni and co-author Dubow play for big stakes,

arguing that a theory of "macroaction" is critical to macroanalysis, that power is central to understanding social structure and process on this scale (as recently have Blau, Dahrendorf, Lenski and Parsons himself), and that the roles of elites therefore must be systematically incorporated into any such analysis. This poses what in the reviewer's judgment is perhaps the most crucial theoretical and human issue of contemporary sociology—who and to what degree exercises guidance or control over the core processes of the "superindustrial" total society?

CHARLES W. WHEATLEY

Princeton University

*The Next 500 Years: Scientific Predictions of Major Social Trends*, by BURNHAM PUTNAM BECKWITH. New York: Exposition Press, 1967. 341 pp. \$10.00.

This book will blow your mind. Dig:

"In the year 2500 the entire world will be governed by a single, stable world government. The leaders . . . will be professionally trained social scientists and public administrators responsible only to their superiors or to their own professional association. Elections will have been completely replaced by public-opinion polls, and public opinion will be molded by education, publications, and broadcasts planned by the government to promote sound scientific thinking about all current socio-political problems.

"Each major industry . . . will be organized as a single publicly owned worldwide monopoly.

. . . The world . . . will have a single near universe culture. The vast majority of people in each occupation will speak the same language, read the same books, attend similar schools, . . . eat similar food, wear similar clothes, . . . live in similar housing built in communities and cities planned by the same international architectural organization. . . . The great majority of the world's adults will be non-religious and amoral. . . . No laws or court decisions will be based upon natural rights or unverifiable moral principles. . . .

"Police systems will gradually assemble more and more complete files containing the names, addresses, photographs, descriptions, signatures, fingerprints, voice prints, occupational records, car types and license numbers, police records, etc., . . . for every citizen. By 2200 all people in the world will be required to provide their government with all data useful for police work, social research, eugenic reform, and other social purposes. Moreover, every person will then have an identification number indelibly inscribed on his body. . . ."

Horror story? Cautionary tale? Scarcely. "My predictions of American life in the year 2500 may seem utopian . . . I am convinced that they are realistic. . . . The results will be utopian. But, then, a medieval European peasant would look upon a modern American town as a utopia."

Very well, they are "scientific predictions" as the title promises; values are extra; Beckwith has his; choose your own. Right? Scarcely. There is no prediction of internal social conflict in any industrialized country—indeed, precisely the opposite: "No democratic European nation will experience a spontaneous social revolution, because such revolutions are unnecessary, and have never taken place, in democratic countries." (Is that a prediction or a verbal tautology? If upheaval occurs—e.g. France—does it prove the country wasn't democratic?) Although a few revolutions in "backward countries" are predicted, they are not discussed in more than one sentence. There is no hint that the emergence of the "new class" might provide the ground for confrontation with older classes. There is no discussion of the possibility of a transnational new-class peace movement, of a transnational anti-bureaucratic student movement, of a transnational under-class-Third World movement.

All social change is predicted to result from two processes: whatever the rich have now, the poor will want and will get (except, *N.B.*, power); and whatever improves economic-bureaucratic efficiency will be adopted. The words "slowly" and "gradually" recur dozens of times. The only predicted major cataclysm is World War III, and that is predicted to "speed up more social trends" (that is, the "utopian" trends predicted in the rest of the book) than it would slow down or reverse. (It would speed up arrival of a world government, centralization of power, bureaucratic rationalization of the economy, eugenic reform—through increased demand for infanticide of deformed children—comprehensive city planning, and universalization of medical care. It would reverse only the increase of personal income and the decline of religion, and those temporarily.)

Is this "value-free," "scientific" prediction? Somehow it seems remarkably in accord with a politics that is never explicitly acknowledged. It is the politics of Establishment bureaucratic corporatism: the convergence, already well along, of George Meany and Alexei Kosygin. It ignores already visible seedlings of gigantic social change or at least intense conflict: seedlings like the Vietnamese revolution, the French upheaval, the Berkeley-Columbia revolts, the Detroit and Washington uprisings. Politically and in personal

psychological spheres, it both predicts and celebrates the one-dimensional society.

The book begins with a favorable foreword by Daniel Bell. Small wonder.

ARTHUR I. WASKOW

*Institute for Policy Studies*

*Modernization: Protest and Change*, by S. N. EISENSTADT. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966. 166 pp. \$4.95.

Reviewing a book ten printings and nearly four years after publication seems a tardy exercise. Still, it may be useful to indicate whether this work meets certain criteria.

The first three chapters describe the basic conditions of modernization, social disorganization, structural change, and problems of sustained growth. The remaining sections treat patterns of development during different stages of modernization, as well as conditions related to breakdown or continued development.

The book, one of a series on "modernization of traditional societies," is directed to undergraduates as well as advanced students. As one of a series it is limited in space, and one accepts the absence of details necessary to support adequately the author's conceptual scheme. But one might question whether the lack of documentation need be aggravated by a profusion of concepts without empirical indicators. Although much of the book is plausible, it is very abstract. For example:

Modern or modernizing societies all differed greatly with regard to the extent to which they retained various elements of traditional social structure, attempted to obliterate them, or tended to develop within them various ways of revival of traditional forces. Even in most European countries we find a very great variety of ways of incorporation of traditional elements and orientations within the more differentiated modern frameworks, of ways in which ascriptive and particularistic criteria spread out and became crystallized within these frameworks, and of ways in which different functions coalesce within the same collectivities or organizations. (p. 45)

References to other studies, while plentiful, primarily point to work by scholars who are at home in a world of abstractions, and have put unmeasurable concepts into an order comprehensible to themselves. The appearance of unanimity among scholars conveyed by this book is an artifact of omitting those who disagree. The extent to which one accepts a line of thought indicates the faith one has in the authority rather than one's assessment of hard evidence presented by the authority.

It is remarkable, given the breadth of this

inquiry, that Eisenstadt finds no place for a discussion of the role played by imperialism in the development of European powers, although he indicates that some negative effects of external economic domination may accrue to the subordinate nation. Also neglected are the factors that resulted in moderation of population pressure in European nations during their modernization period. More incredible, the discussion of barriers to modernization of presently underdeveloped areas manages to omit the population problem entirely.

The treatment of social problems has, as its main point, the thesis that certain problems emerge in the process of urbanization and the loss of informal social controls. No evidence is offered that informal controls have declined or that "certain social problems" have increased. If Eisenstadt is talking about excess consumption of alcohol, infanticide, prostitution, or illegitimacy, it is likely that most of these problems have declined in nearly all presently developed nations over the past 100-150 years. Lack of specification of what problems are supposed to increase with urbanization makes it impossible for the reader to agree or disagree.

Researchers willing to organize and operationalize Eisenstadt's concepts may find the book useful. The general reader should realize that the conclusions reached by the author are based on the logic of his conceptual scheme. The book is not a compact summary of empirical knowledge.

PHILLIPS CUTRIGHT

*Washington University*

*Inducing Social Change in Developing Communities*, by HERBERT H. HYMAN, GENE N. LEVINE and CHARLES R. WHITE. New York: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 1967. 224 pp. Paperbound. \$3.50.

This book is a landmark in the community development field. It includes both the observations of a specialist and also an analysis of the answers a large number of informants gave to systematic questions. As the book moves along this methodological track, it also advances our understanding of community development as a phenomenon.

Much progress has been made in this field during the last fifteen years. In 1953 the United Nations Division of Social Welfare asked me to prepare a handbook on Community Development. I went through all the U.N. file materials on this subject and prepared a manu-

script that was duplicated and sent to more than 80 people in several countries who were well-informed about community development matters. Their responses were then incorporated in the volume. However, it failed to gain approval from the Economic and Social Council because, as one influential member said: "If the government is taking care of the needs of its people there will not have to be any community development."

When one compares that earlier effort with this book by Hyman, Levine, and White, one realizes the progress that has been achieved in methodology. Their analysis is not limited to personal experiences or published manuscripts and documents, but also incorporates data from interviews or questionnaires from 326 foreign experts and 119 national experts in community development. The two groups are compared with each other on every item, with interesting variations. In addition, the foreign experts are divided into those who are more authoritative (defined as those who had been connected with at least four community development projects) and those who are less authoritative. Here, then, are presented for the first time careful statistical analyses of the best informed opinions about many aspects of community development.

In making this study, the authors had to work out careful procedures dealing with the following: selection of countries, selection of informants within countries, selection of foreign informants, and selection of national informants. The steps taken to eliminate bias in the sample were well chosen and in some cases original. Since three languages were used in the responses, the investigators had to deal with errors resulting from language differences, as such problems as interviewer bias related to language, nationality, and ideology. The methodological note describing their techniques of data processing should be required reading for courses in methods and social research. A further advantage is that the Appendix lists all the forms used in the total project.

Much could be written on the interesting conclusions that emerged from this study. In the opinion of the informed experts, the problem of dealing with felt needs of community members was not salient, which is counter to much of the current community development literature. The importance of the human factor in the success of community development projects is demonstrated, since much depends upon the way the local people are approached. In many cases this factor outweighs the technical competence of those who are trying to give assistance. The informants agreed that one

must change the method and approach to suit special local conditions, and that the approach must be selective and slow. While they considered it a safe strategy to use schoolteachers as intermediaries in approaching the local population, they did not agree on the utilization of other types of intermediaries. The respondents tended to favor professionals with broad skills or untrained but "sensible" persons, rather than technical experts, as change agents in all stages of such projects. Demonstrations were thought to be the most effective type of presentation, while lectures were least effective.

In their conclusion the authors sound an optimistic note. They recognize that good planning and an exceptional staff are needed for this work. But they also point out that local people, though resistant initially, can be won over. Overall, the results of this study provide many useful guidelines and suggestions for avoiding common pitfalls, thus quickening the pace of social development at the village level. This volume shows, in a remarkable way, how the skills of the social scientist can be brought to bear in an applied field, without sacrificing his professional role.

In closing, one might also point out that this is the first publication of the recently created United Nations Research Institute for Social Development in Geneva. Herbert H. Hyman, the Senior Author of this study, contributed a year of his time and expertise to helping this Institute get started in its important work. One can only hope that the Institute will continue to publish surveys of such high caliber.

IRWIN T. SANDERS

*Education and World Affairs*

*Society, Politics, and Economic Development:*

*A Quantitative Approach*, by IRMA ADELMAN and CYNTHIA TAFT MORRIS. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967. 307 pp. \$8.95.

This book could have been a major contribution to the literature, but it fails to fulfill its potential because ingenuity and substantive intelligence were betrayed by faulty technique. It is an interdisciplinary cross-national study of 74 "developing" nations, *mis*using factor analysis. This methodological fault is regrettable, for the premises of the argument and the merger of social, political and economic concepts are all reasonable, while the discussion is pertinent.

Chapter II thoroughly (120 pages) discusses the meaning of, and reasons for, 41 empirical indicators, all of which display considerable ingenuity and hard work—but all of which are

wasted effort. One may cavil at the unidirectional evolutionary path implied in Chapter IV, which suggests that, in the long run, less developed nations will mimic the pattern of those higher in the development scale. But from this, the authors extract a factor scores measure of economic development (which, if we can accept the data, is surely preferable to older per capita income measures) that is used to group the 74 countries into three levels of development. Factor analysis within each level is used to account for characteristics of the development process at each level (Chapters V to VII). The differences between levels are intuitively reasonable; but the verbal interpretation, though well-informed, is hardly as "rigorous" as the authors (and publisher's blurb) claim. The book concludes with speculations about causalities in social change and implications for policy. The key concepts employed in the book (I simplify for lack of space) are familiar: development as differentiation of institutional structures, and "bottlenecks" to economic growth which vary by stage of economic development. The only striking findings may be spurious: that there is little or no systematic correlation between political and economic development.

Among the major technical flaws in the book are these: (1) Ordinal variables (which means most of the social and political indicators) are converted to metric scales without any analysis or justification, so as to meet the requirements of factor analysis. (2) The authors' conclusions need causal arguments, yet neither modeling nor path analysis are used, though if the data can stand factor analysis, they can stand these techniques also. Factor analysis is simultaneously too blunt a tool and too demanding in its statistical assumptions. Especially questionable is the use in correlational analysis of crude ordinal data, since we know little about the internal consistency of rank intervals within any of this study's qualitative indicators, nor are we told about the degree of consistency among the expert judges (area specialists) in their subjective rankings of nations. These data may be valid in metric scales, but who knows, since no proof is given. Hence there remains the distinct possibility that the findings are spurious. On the other hand, assuming that the data were validly used, we still remain disappointed, for the authors could have done more with their correlation matrices, perhaps positing causal orderings of variables that could easily have been explored with path analysis. All the key arguments of the book hinge on at least some such quasi-causal analysis; it is as if the vital concluding analytic chapter were missing. Since Mrs. Adelman is the author of two books



on development theory, it is curious that no models or hypotheses were confronted "rigorously" with the findings. At best, this work is merely plausible; at worst, its techniques are wrong, outdated, and weak, falling short of the authors' aspirations.

This study may show that we are rapidly reaching the point of diminishing returns for comparative cross-sectional studies based on secondary data with nations as units of analysis. To gain some meaningful understanding of the internal dynamics of societal change, it may be necessary to shift our data and analysis from total societies to more limited sectors. Also, as the authors note, only longitudinal studies can handle many social change processes. The authors had to postulate important threshold effects (implying non-linear and multiplicative relations) but nevertheless restricted themselves to a common linear, additive statistical technique. Students of social change, political and economic development, comparative studies, and interdisciplinary research will want to decide for themselves how to weigh this book: an interesting treatment of the subject versus some major methodological defects.

PAUL H. RAY

*University of Michigan*

*A Strategy for Research on Social Policy*. Vol. I of *The Politics of Change in Venezuela*, edited by FRANK BONILLA and JOSE A. SILVA MICHELENA. Cambridge, Mass.: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1968. 384 pp. \$15.00.

This volume is the first report on an ambitious project undertaken in Venezuela by researchers from MIT and the Center for Development Studies (CENDES) of the Universidad Central de Venezuela. For the purpose of determining "the feasibility or relative social cost of (development) strategies," the editors headed a research team that interviewed 5,500 Venezuelans in three dozen social groups, as well as 193 members of Venezuela's political, cultural, and economic elites. The study promised to be a major contribution to our knowledge of social change in Latin America.

If this first volume is representative of what will follow, the results are disappointing. The editors present 12 chapters written by themselves and others connected with the research. After chewing our way through them, we are left wondering how there could be so much gristle and so little meat.

An opening essay by the late Jorge Ahumada is intended to give the book coherence. Although the editors compare this essay to de Tocqueville's

*Democracy in America* ("close in spirit and in terms of the evidence presented"), this reviewer was not impressed. Ahumada believes that "modern societies are characterized by dissociation of power with consensus" (which is questionable both with regard to power and to consensus). From this he concludes that the "obstacles to transition" in Venezuela are "cultural dualism, social dualism, and dissociation of power without consensus." By dualism he means traditional versus modern attitudes or institutions. Ahumada's main concern, however, is with consensus (or the lack of it), and he devotes considerable attention to the processes of evaluation which might affect consensus.

From this perspective, the main task for those wishing to bring about social change is to harmonize people's attitudes along lines conducive to development. Unfortunately, "it ain't necessarily so." There is impressive evidence that attitudes are not the main problem in economic development, and it is disturbing to see psychological reductionism reappearing. Ahumada and the other authors make no attempt to incorporate economic variables into their frame of reference, despite the fact that they are presumably aiming at determining the costs of alternative development patterns. Ahumada states off-handedly, "It is relatively easy to identify the important transformations a society must carry out if it has exhausted the possibility of growth offered by traditional paths." If this were true, a great many economists would be out of work.

In Chapter 2 the editors give an overview of the research project, but they do not bother to describe the research design; one must examine the appendices to find a cursory description of the sample and an unelaborated list of hypotheses (none of which reappear later in the book). The sample of groups looks impressive, as does the sample of elites. We should note, however, that three important elite groups were not successfully sampled or not sampled at all: the military, the revolutionary left, and the foreign entrepreneurs. This last group controls 90% of Venezuela's exports, which in turn provide 60% of the government's revenue.

Chapter 3 by Michelena is devoted to a discussion of Venezuelan attitudes towards the nation. He distinguishes the "apathetic" from the "flag-wavers" and from a third group of "reformists" who are issue-oriented. Not surprisingly, Michelena finds that persons in education and government are reformist, those in business tend to be flag-wavers, and the working poor are apathetic. Michelena also characterizes the ideological orientation of these groups; those who reject both right and left extremes he calls "unstable centrists" (why they are "unstable" is not evident.)

In Chapter 4 Michelena attempts to explain why many bureaucrats say they will leave their jobs in the future. He draws inferences from survey data apparently unsupported by systematic observation (or even discussion with the bureaucrats themselves). Because the bureaucrats disagree with statements of both left and right extremism, Michelena concludes they suffer from "avoidance-avoidance conflict." Because other groups are critical of them, he concludes that they suffer from lack of social support. Finally, he suggests that bureaucrats feel ideological strain since their universalist values do not fit particularist political practices.

Mathiason summarizes survey findings for the campesinos, or rural poor, in Chapter 5. In general, his data support the usual picture of the campesino as the most impoverished and socially isolated member of Venezuelan society, whether he lives in a land-reform settlement or a pre-existing rural village.

Bonilla returns in Chapter 6 to tell us how he transferred interview material into computer jargon. This chapter is not of general interest and should have been relegated to an appendix. In Chapter 7, Bonilla discusses the perspectives of the elites interviewed. The main finding is a remarkable extent of agreement between cultural, political, and economic elites on national issues, despite different images of the role of the state.

In Chapter 8 Bronfenmajer describes elites' evaluations of businessmen, university students, and government functionaries; the functionaries receive the most criticism and the businessmen the least. Then in Chapter 9 Kessler presents an intriguing piece of sociometric analysis which finds that "the average member of the elite knows 88.9% of the other members." This is an interesting confirmation of the extent to which Latin American elites move in small circles.

Chapter 10 is Walter Slote's psychoanalytic case study of young Communist revolutionary, which paints a fascinating picture of the impressive young man and his background. This sketch illustrates social change in Venezuela better than any other part of the book. It is followed, in Chapter 11, by Daniel Lerner's description of the sample population in eastern Venezuela. The people in this newly settled area were found to be geographically mobile, optimistic, though income-poor, and tended to agree that the nation faced urgent economic problems that required governmental action.

The final chapter by Michelena is devoted to describing a computer model of the Venezuelan polity based on the research. Given (a) the theoretical limitations of the study, (b) the fact that military, revolutionary, and foreign elites were not interviewed, and (c) the problems in-

herent in one-shot cross-sectional surveys, any attempt to describe the workings of the Venezuelan polity through time using this information would appear presumptuous. This reviewer must agree with Michelena that "Venutopia I, obviously, is still a very crude model of a national political system."

As a whole the book is pretentious, poorly organized, and lacks any clear focus. It tells us something about attitudes but little about social organization. It does not generate or test hypotheses (the editors state: "We never conceived of the study as a direct test of certain hypotheses about variables but rather as a working representation of Venezuelan society to which certain questions could be put.") Nevertheless, the editors have spent much time and money in Venezuela, and this volume, though not satisfactory, does provide a good deal of data which, properly presented, might be extremely useful. Let us hope that in their next volume they will talk less about policy implications and computer simulations and more about Venezuela.

GILBERT W. MERKX

*University of New Mexico*

*Rural Canada in Transition: A Multidimensional Study of the Impact of Technology and Urbanization on Traditional Society*, edited by MARC-ADELARD TREMBLAY and WALTON J. ANDERSON. Ottawa, Canada: Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada, 1966. 415 pp. Paperbound. \$3.00.

Social scientists concerned with rural Canada will welcome the appearance of this book, because of its thorough and professional treatment of the impact of technology and urbanization on traditional ways of rural life. They will also undoubtedly be amazed by the extent of recent changes in rural Canada.

This is the first major attempt to examine rural Canada since the monumental nine-volume work, *Canadian Frontiers of Settlement*, published four decades ago. It describes the nadir of the agricultural era whose apogee was immortalized in the earlier work, presenting a story of striking social change that illustrates and supplements the book's discussion of professional theories, facts, developmental programs, and research needs.

This work is the result of a symposium designed and sponsored by the Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada, held at Levis, Quebec, in November 1965. The senior editor and eight of the writers are sociologists.

A social psychologist and two economists complete the roster of writers. Each contributor has had research experience in rural Canada, as one can readily see from the bibliographies, the vivid examples, the concreteness and relevance of suggested research, and the sensitivity to theoretical and methodological issues as they relate to the study of Canadian society. It should be noted, though, that Tremblay's introduction and the chapters by Fortin and Martin were first written in French. The English translations are well done, but the bilingual reader cannot avoid the impression that some of the clarity and vigor of the original has been lost, especially in Fortin's remarkable chapter.

The book is organized around five themes selected by the symposium planners. Each theme is dealt with in a lengthy chapter consisting of two parts: a commissioned monograph written by one social scientist and a discussion of the monograph by another. The following comments are arranged by chapter numbers:

(1) Donald Whyte presents an over-all picture of rural social change. His demographic analysis combines regional and national data—a most useful contribution. In his examination of the changing rural situation—the farm family, rural education, the church and the rural community—Whyte deftly combines theoretical insight with descriptive data. Mayer Brownstone, the discussant, rightly calls this monograph “imaginative, bold, and inventive.”

(2) Laskin's chapter has the long but accurate title, “Report on a Survey of Non-agricultural, Semi-agricultural, and Agricultural Service Centres in Predominantly Agricultural Areas in Canada.” Though methodologically unsophisticated, Laskin's treatise does identify an important research area.

(3) Helen Abell deals with farm modernization and its consequences, giving special attention to vertical integration in Canadian agriculture. The discussant, Coolie Verner, illustrates from his own research the growing disparity among rural people arising from inequitable educational and economic opportunities.

(4) Earl J. Tyler finds that while a definite Prairie Province farmer social class could be operationally identified between 1911 and 1931, farming has lost many of its social class characteristics in the transition period following 1931. James N. McCrorie attempts to rectify Tyler's approach by placing the farmer in the social ranking system of the larger Canadian society.

(5) Writing from his experience in regional development in the Lower St. Lawrence-Gaspe area of Quebec, Gerald Fortin makes in this chapter a major contribution to the theory of rural social development. The discussant, W. B.

Baker, calls Fortin's work “brilliant and relevant.” After depicting the emerging rationalistic-bureaucratic society of today, Fortin analyzes present methods of training farmers and shows how inadequate these methods are. He then outlines a comprehensive program of farmer socialization which involves a coordinated system of training within a context of regional planning and development.

The concluding chapter of the book is by Jean-Marie Martin. It is a short summary of the preceding chapters and an enumeration of research needs that have been mentioned during the symposium.

B. Y. CARD

*University of Alberta*

*Prospects for Soviet Society*, edited by ALLEN KASSOF. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968. 586 pp. \$10.00.

The prospects for Soviet society are good, according to the eighteen scholars from assorted disciplines who contributed to this volume. They agree that the USSR is secure, stable, and in some respects quite successful. To be sure, Soviet society is not without its problems, but it is judged able to handle them.

These essays grew out of discussions sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations and the American Council of Learned Societies. The authors are reported by editor Kassof to have had an unusual opportunity to inspect each others' draft chapters and talk over controversial points. The result offers three things to the reader—compact sketches of recent patterns and trends, systematic attention to major social institutions and structures, and a modest amount of speculation about the Soviet future.

After an introduction by the editor identifying elements of persistence and change, historian Cyril E. Black provides further perspective in the form of a large amount of comparative data and two significant conclusions: on a per capita basis the USSR ranks about 20th in the world on most economic and social indicators, and its rank has not changed significantly since the start of the century. He also argues that in the future a more secure and relaxed USSR will be less of a threat and also less of a model to other nations.

Political scientist Jeremy R. Azrael reviews the role of the Communist Party, appraises the significance of the Khrushchev era, notes substantial orthodoxy in the thinking of the younger political elite, and sees little chance that the Soviet system will soon produce a free regime and an open society.

Sidney I. Ploss writes on Soviet interest

groups, identifying functional, ideological, sectional, and generational groupings and blocs. He proposes that since the death of Stalin the lack of a Supreme Leader has necessitated that important decisions be improvised in ways which amount to "the quiet acceptance of pressure-group politics." For the years ahead he anticipates continuing "extemporization and fluidity" in Soviet political life.

Law professor Leon Lipson stresses that law remains secondary to party policy and that the Soviet citizen still lives in a command polity which presumes that wisdom resides at the top and which strives to "make the people worthy of their government," to use the memorable phrasing of Walter Ulbricht. Thus, the outlook at present is that Soviet legal reform will remain partial and precarious.

Thomas W. Wolfe of the Rand Corporation discusses political-military relations in recent years, the internal social structure of the Soviet military, the current debates over military policy between "modernists" and "traditionalists," and speculates about the role of military power as an ingredient of general policy.

Political scientist Vernon V. Aspaturian writes about the non-Russian nationalities. He identifies three types of assimilation process—Sovietization (modernization and industrialization in Marxist-Leninist style), Russianization (acceptance of Russian language and culture), and Russification ("objective" and psychological transformation of non-Russians into Russians). With these concepts he is able to spotlight some interesting details (Armenians and Georgians are highly Russianized but among the most resistant to Russification), and come to the general conclusions that the Soviet population is becoming more homogeneous and that ethnic minority nationalism is in a way to lose its significance.

Economist Warren W. Eason reviews Soviet population growth, distribution and policy, and concludes that if the USSR wants to maintain its forward economic momentum it must raise worker productivity in both agricultural and non-agricultural occupations. William K. Medlin documents how fully the Soviet educational system has responded to the recent growth of knowledge and the consequent changing functions of education. He also emphasizes the remarkable speed with which peoples from culturally backward areas have rapidly been educated.

Arcadius Kahan provides an account of the economics of Soviet agriculture in relation to the Soviet style of political control and the national planning system. On the basis of many ill-chosen policies and the poor performance of

this sector of the Soviet economy, Kahan describes specific changes needed from the point of view of an economist.

In his sketch of Soviet industry Herbert S. Levine pays special attention to the crossroad currently faced by the Soviet leaders. Large-scale planning and campaign-style control methods, successful in their day, have now outlived their usefulness and there is need for continuing decentralization and more indirect controls in industry. Some of these, however, such as increased reliance on market prices for production decisions, meet with strong ideological opposition.

Sociologist Alexander Vucinich discusses the importance of science in the Soviet world view, describes its organizational context, and explains why certain disciplines (e.g. social psychology) have been neglected and others (e.g. cybernetics) enthusiastically supported. Vucinich also argues that the USSR as yet has no genuine community of scientists.

Robert A. Feldmesser treats the problem of stratification in terms of the model envisaged for the future by the 22nd Communist Party Congress held in 1961. He is persuaded that the model is within the realm of possibility, but that the difficulties of actually achieving it might explain why little has been written about it since the dismissal of Khrushchev in 1964. Sociologists Mark G. Field and David E. Anderson provide an informative review of the family and attendant social problems, many of which are familiar in Western societies, and Paul Hollander discusses the Soviet preoccupation with leisure as a case of "the unity of pleasure and purpose." Both of these chapters are welcome for the insights they provide into the patterns and problems of Soviet everyday life, and for revealing how much there still is in the behavior of the people which is not to the taste of their communist leaders.

James H. Billington's essay on the intelligentsia gives attention both to this important group and to patterns of the Soviet cultural scene. He states that the closest thing today to genuine debate about alternatives for Soviet development is found in writings that reassess the experiences of the past 50 years. Billington also claims that the Soviet Union is searching for a new identity, for a new beginning, based on the widespread recognition of the cultural and moral degeneration brought upon the nation by Stalin.

The final substantive chapter is by John C. Campbell of the Council on Foreign Relations, who contributes the only essay devoted exclusively to the international context of the Soviet future. In an excellent summary of

Stalinist foreign policy, policies of Khrushchev, and changes made since 1964, he reminds us that although a return to the revolutionary militancy of the Cold War is unlikely, unanticipated drastic shifts in Soviet foreign policy are always possible.

It used to be said in Western scholarly circles that the USSR's most serious unsolved problem was that of leadership succession. The contributors to this volume apparently see that problem as no longer crucial, judging by their lack of attention to the topic. But several of them do call attention to what might qualify as the successor to the succession problem: a large, empty social space between the party and the masses. Soviet society is said to suffer from a dearth of middle-level organizations—occupational, regional, professional, religious—that would be independent, genuinely voluntary, and responsive to emerging needs. The absence of true voluntary organizations in the USSR strikes the Soviet leaders as a virtue more than a vice, however, so we are left with the challenge of learning how they manage to do without them, or perhaps the pleasure of watching them develop in the future even while the party ideologues intone the now traditional Leninist distrust of such manifestations of "spontaneity."

H. KENT GEIGER

*University of Wisconsin*

*War: The Anthropology of Armed Conflict and Aggression*, edited by MORTON FRIED, MARVIN HARRIS, and ROBERT MURPHY. Garden City, N.Y.: The Natural History Press, 1968. 262 pp. \$6.95.

A plenary symposium on the anthropological study of war was held at the 1967 annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association in Washington, D.C. The organizers, motivated by concern for the war in Vietnam, invited papers and discussions from about sixteen scholars who had shown interest in the study of war. This volume contains the papers, discussants' contributions, and comments from the floor during the symposium.

The editors point out in their introduction that no particular view of the Vietnamese war or any other war was demanded of the participants and that the symposium was planned as a scholarly venture rather than as a Teach-In. In theory, this responsiveness to problems of our time should have pleased *engagé* university students and teachers who in 1967-68 are calling for scholarly involvement. As it turned out, many radical students and committed anthropologists were disturbed by the detached

and unpolemical tone of many of the contributions, and they concluded, as the editors tell us, "that the entire performance was nothing but a diversionary tactic intended to occlude the need for more drastic action" (xii). Still others, of course, accused the organizers of staging a thinly disguised Teach-In. The editors reject both charges, and wish the symposium to be judged "as a highly self-conscious attempt to survey what contributions have been made or can be made by anthropologists of diverse political opinions, specialties, and theoretical orientations to the scientific understanding of war and its causes" (xiii). Judged solely on these terms, the symposium is a disappointment.

The book is a grab bag of papers and discussions on such varied themes as the following: the genetic and demographic effects of war (Livingstone and Thieme); war and disease, with emphasis on Vietnam (Alland and Paul); possible hypotheses for a functional study of primitive war (Vayda); some general thoughts on psychological preparations for war (Wallace); an ethnographic account of fighting and aggression in one contemporary primitive society (Chagnon); and the modern U.S. draft system (Tax and Hoebel). Much of the book is not specifically anthropological, but rather makes use of miscellaneous data from other disciplines or merely attempts to apply common sense to history and headlines. Instead of working from the strengths of anthropology—comparative knowledge of world cultures, *controlled* comparison of processes and structures, the holistic and relativistic analysis of specific cultures, and a careful loyalty to the empirical record—several of the papers take off on flights of uncontrolled speculation. There is irony and an implicit rebuke to professional anthropologists in the fact that it is Seymour Melman, the one non-anthropologist in the symposium, who stresses the need to deal with decision processes and the institutional ways of *particular* war-making societies (p. 229).

This is not to say, however, that there are not useful contributions and insights to be found scattered throughout the symposium. Ralph Holloway's paper, "Human Aggression: The Need for a Species-Specific Framework," deals with the discontinuities between human and other animal aggression and the peculiar characteristics of the human brain, which, through evolutionary development, has become suited to human types of aggression. He sounds the symposium's consensus in rejecting the Lorenz-Ardrey suggestions of human instincts for aggression and territoriality. Most of the participants who considered the matter emphasized the need to understand human warfare in

a specifically human context. Holloway, a physical anthropologist, declares: "Claims that we need to study lower animals to find out about human aggression seem to me as dangerous as simply attributing human ills to a few instincts or need for increased displacement activities. It is power, organizations, socioeconomic conditions and symbol systems that need study" (p. 48). Unfortunately, as Aberle and Leeds rightly pointed out from the floor (p. 100), not enough of the other papers deal with these peculiarly human problems.

Napoleon Chagnon's paper (about five times longer than the average in this volume) is an extended ethnographic discussion of aggressive behavior in an atypically bellicose contemporary society, the Yanomamö of the Venezuelan-Brazilian border area. His material, much of which is currently being published elsewhere, is probably the most detailed and extended anthropological inquiry into fighting among a nonwestern people ever made. The quality of the work, its inherent interest and its relative rarity will assure its widespread dissemination.

Alexander Alland's contribution to the symposium is a well-argued presentation of the frightening prospect of the growth of plague and other epidemic diseases in Vietnam due to the physical weakening and dislocation of peoples, the destruction of biotic communities, and other ecological effects of the war. However, his discussion owes more to epidemiology and related biological fields than to anthropology.

The comments of the discussants frequently form a counterpoint to the papers themselves, as discussants attack contributors for their presumed lack of commitment to current problems or their failure to take unequivocal moral stands. These comments mirror the dissatisfactions of some of those in the audience, as applause at the time indicated. For myself, I found the symposium neither an impressive contribution to the cause of peace (although I know personally of the good intentions of most of the participants and the editors) nor a convincing example of the ability of anthropology to study war and aggression (although I have the highest professional regard for most of the contributors). I feel certain that anthropology is well placed to make a far greater contribution to the study of war (its origins, growth, causes, and the analysis of specific world situations) than this symposium indicates.

In this failure to please either the political right or left, nor the discipline of anthropology, there may be a lesson for students and scholars who (in 1967-68) demand that we make our

work "directly relevant." Most scholars are not in a position to make an immediate translation of their political commitments into professionally valid contributions to their disciplines. Nor are they *necessarily* fortunate enough to be able to turn their professional work into useful contributions to the political struggles of their time. More power to those whose area of concern or professional skill enable them to do so. Many others of us will have to separate our commitments from our discipline, at least for the time being. This is not a plea for an impossible ethical neutrality, for as the editors say, "when one's society arrives at a fateful crossroads, to stand still, to keep quiet is no less politically decisive than to march loudly and resolutely to the right or left" (xii). But the failures of this symposium suggest that many anthropologists may serve both their disciplines *and* their political commitments better by not combining and confusing the two tasks.

HERBERT S. LEWIS

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*Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values*, by MILTON ROKEACH. San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass, 1968. 214 pp. \$6.95.

Assembling a collection of one's papers is an easy and popular way of producing another book. Such books usually warrant minor attention outside the classroom. But those who casually dismiss *Beliefs, Attitudes and Values* because it is a collection of papers should be forewarned that they are passing up a book of considerable value. The articles were published in a wide range of journals, and it is doubtful that many readers will be acquainted with all of them. In addition, Rokeach has revised some of the articles, added transitions across chapters, and included new data in this book. The result is a relatively unified presentation of concepts and research that provides numerous provocative ideas—even for those who keep up with the literature in this area. It should be required reading for all those interested in empirical research on beliefs and attitudes.

Chapter 1 lays the groundwork for the first four chapters, all of which are concerned with the nature and impact of beliefs. Rokeach begins by suggesting four assumptions for interrelating beliefs in terms of their centrality, although no defense is presented of these assumptions. It would appear that several of them could be replaced by the simple assumption that those beliefs required as premises for other beliefs are the more central or basic. Nevertheless, these assumptions do emphasize

the worthwhile distinction between central and peripheral beliefs. Much of the research reported in the book illustrates the usefulness of this distinction.

Rokeach shares with George Kelly the assumption that a person's beliefs or constructs are a prime determinant of his actions. However, Kelly had one definite advantage over Rokeach: he stressed the uniqueness of each person's organization of beliefs and approached man on an individual basis. Rokeach has, in this book, made the simplifying assumption that any given belief is essentially at the same point on the central-to-peripheral continuum for all individuals. Most of the beliefs that he selected for use in his research appear to meet this criterion. But Rokeach will need to extend his theory to include individual differences of belief organization when he considers those beliefs that do not readily fall into any of his typologies.

Chapter 5 acts as a bridge from the first four chapters on beliefs to the last three on attitudes. The foundation of this bridge lies in Rokeach's conception of attitude as "a relatively enduring organization of related beliefs" (p. 132), but the chapter also provides background for the research presented in the rest of the book.

In his discussion of attitudes, Rokeach emphasizes a point that is often mentioned by writers but which exerts surprisingly little influence on research: that in a given situation any response is the result of multiple determinants. His discussion does not take into account as many influences on actual responses as one might like, but he does distinguish two important interacting forces: the person's attitude toward the object (the traditional approach of social psychology) and his attitude toward that particular situation. Unfortunately, the discussion of these two forces is incomplete and does not include operational distinctions. Furthermore, the factor of attitudes toward the situation is largely ignored in the research presented in the last two chapters.

Most of the chapters were published previously as individual papers, and have undergone some revision for the present book, but one questions whether the revision has been sufficient. An example is Rokeach's statement in the chapter on "Paradoxes of Religious Belief" that religious people are more bigoted than non-religious people. It has been known for six or eight years that only the religiously *inactive* person is bigoted.

Rokeach writes well, presenting his ideas without unnecessary jargon. His style is relaxed and sufficiently clear for undergraduate majors in

the social sciences. The fact that the book is well written and presents valid ideas leads me to predict that it will be quite influential in its area.

RICHARD L. GORSUCH

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*Social Interaction: Process and Products*, by MUZAFER SHERIF, Chicago, Ill.: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968. 512 pp. \$9.75.

These twenty-five selections are intended to present the evolving concepts, methods and findings in Sherif's studies of social interaction. Evolution aptly describes his work; for, as we move through essays spanning more than thirty years, there are none of the drastic revisions or new departures found, for example, in Freud. Sherif has persistently studied the conditions in which social norms and structures arise and generate stability or change in human behavior. His famed autokinetic experiments in the thirties convinced skeptical psychologists of the reality of social norms by providing empirical evidence of their growth and impact on perception. Currently, he is investigating the emergence of norms and regulatory structures in relations among functionally interdependent groups (e.g., nations). Throughout, the theme that behavior must be understood within the frame of reference provided by the actor's physical, social, and cultural moorings is reiterated.

In an introductory chapter written for this volume, Sherif relates that he turned to social psychology out of a desire to understand the contradictions—the alternation between compassion and vindictiveness—in human relations. The common thread running through his work is his insistence that research bear on real conditions and be devoted to significant problems in human affairs. Not surprisingly, his methodological preference runs to field studies and natural experiments with unobtrusive measures, where the isomorphism between research and life can be maximized.

The papers comprising the book are grouped into five sections. In part I, entitled "Interdisciplinary relations and methodology," Sherif defines social psychology as "the scientific study of the experience and behavior of individuals in relation to social-stimulus situations." The unit of analysis is thus individual behavior. But social psychology must necessarily be interdisciplinary, since human activity is always partly responsive to patterned, structured interrelations among social stimuli whose meanings are culturally and normatively determined. This emphasis on the structural and cultural context of behavior leads Sherif to criticize much small

group research, to call for the integration of "institutional" and "behavioral" approaches in political science, and to warn of psychological imperialism in the behavioral sciences.

Part II purports to offer "Experimental models for social interaction" through the investigation of factors that influence the emergence of norms of judgment in the autokinetic situation, the perception of norms, and conformity with them. Sherif's conception of social interaction seems sterile, however, contrasted with views of interaction as a process of mutual interchange of intentions, appearances, commitments, and resources by actors seeking to control their fates (c.f., Mead, Goffman). Such distinctive components of social interaction as subtle bargaining over emergent norms, and pressures from significant others to internalize norms, are missing or downplayed in his experiments. Nor are they closely analyzed in later work on intragroup relations.

The remaining three sections include papers on the self and reference groups (Part III), attitudes and ego-involvements (Part IV), and intergroup relations (Part V).

There is space for me to mention only a few of Sherif's concepts and techniques that sociologists should find useful: analysis of attitudes in terms of latitudes of acceptance and rejection, rather than as single evaluations; measuring involvement in an issue by width of latitudes of rejection of alternative views; and crosschecking sociometric and observer ratings of status against an index based on distortion in the perception of peer performance by group members. His conception of the self as a subsystem of interrelated attitudes would be more applicable if the bases of integration and the criteria for inclusion in this subsystem were specified. Hopefully, Sherif will reconsider his exclusion of behavior in formal groups as an object of study. A rounded analysis of social interaction should explore how men regularly take account of situational definitions imposed on individual behavior by formal organizations.

Of particular interest are the papers describing Sherif's extensive field research. A program of participant observation in 24 natural groups of adolescents, systematically sampled from different economic and cultural settings, examines group values and structures as functions of the peculiar histories and the sociocultural contexts of the groups and their members. Many sociological generalizations about differential aspirations, group structure, and change are empirically tested in this research. Even more is learned about group development from the sequence of natural experiments on intergroup conflict in specially staffed summer camps, with

Sherif unobtrusively playing Mr. Mussee, the caretaker. In the concluding essays, Sherif discusses the implications of using "superordinate goals" for reducing conflict in international relations.

Sherif's contributions to social psychology are of unquestioned importance. What does this volume add? Fortunately, his ideas have been widely published, since for the reader familiar with them, there is little new insight and much repetition in this work. Those interested in specific segments of his work are well-advised to read the available volumes on these topics. For a general introduction, however, this book may be suitable.

SHALOM SCHWARTZ

*University of Wisconsin*

*Organisation and Bureaucracy: An Analysis of Modern Theories*, by NICOS P. MOUZELIS. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968. 230 pp. \$5.00.

[By mistake, two different people were asked to review this book. Both reviews are included here.]

Mouzelis' coverage, like girls' skirts these days, is tantalizingly abbreviated. Of course, it wouldn't be so tantalizing if what he presents were not rather interesting. His aim is "... to provide some guidance which may help students to orient themselves. . . in the labyrinth of organizational writings" (p. 1). To this end, he summarizes, compares, and criticizes most of the major approaches to the study of organizations, focusing more on their conceptual frameworks and theoretical problems than on an exhaustive review of their findings.

Part I is devoted to the "Classical Approach" to bureaucracy—principally the Marxist and Weberian traditions, emphasizing their preoccupation with the impact of bureaucratization on the "political existence" of men and groups in modern society. The author does a good job of reminding us of the usually neglected Marx, of explicating Weber's ideal type constructions, and of summarizing developments in the post-Weberian tradition, notably the work of Merton, Gouldner, Blau, and Selznick.

Part II consists of a discussion of the development and principal work of "the managerial tradition." Specifically, Mouzelis deals with the nature and limits of scientific management, the human relations school, and the Barnard-Simon "decision-making" approach (which is treated as an integration of formal, rationalistic components and informal, non-rational ones). Their



over-all similarities are sketched out, useful distinctions among the sub-schools are made, and the limitations imposed by their neglect of organizational structure and by their over-concern with methodological rigor are pointed up.

Finally, Part III discusses some of the convergences in the field and some work which seems particularly needed. Mouzelis emphasizes two important theoretical trends: (1) the growing attention to the power and conflict aspects of organizations, and (2) the increasing focus on the structure of the organization as a whole. Essentially, the managerial tradition, starting from a concern to enhance productivity, has worked its way "up" from the material conditions and individual physiological level through individual feelings and attitudes and small group situations to aspects of organizational structure, while the classical tradition was working "down" from a concern with freedom and power at broad societal levels to the internal organizational structures and processes. In this regard, he sees Parsons' work as the most significant contribution to the development of a general theory of organizations, particularly valuable in its differentiation and articulation of levels of analysis, its applicability to all types of organizations, and its reliance on general sociological theory.

In general, I think the author is to be commended for the breadth and criticalness of this work as well as its balanced appreciation of often maligned aspects of the literature (e.g., general theory, functional analysis, Parsonian theory, and ideal type concepts). His points about needed future work are also well taken. Perhaps the major theme which is emphasized is the need to broaden the scope of organizational theory. Empirically, this would involve looking at various organizational levels and the organizational context, as well as conducting more systematic controlled comparisons, historically and cross-culturally. It also implies paying more attention to the interdependence and interaction of actors within organizations and their emergent consequences. Theoretically, he urges more contact with developments in general sociological theory and more work on synthesizing the value-integration and power-conflict schools.

Perhaps the most dissatisfying feature of the book is that it borders on being a series of intelligent book reviews—the author has not reworked and integrated the literature into a sound analytical framework. Nor does it move as far beyond similar works (such as Etzioni's *Modern Organizations* or Krupp's *Patterns in Organization Analysis*) as might have been desirable. Nevertheless, the book does provide a

useful introductory overview of organizational theories.

ANDREW EFFRAT

*The Ontario Institute for  
Studies in Education*

Dr. Mouzelis' excellent book of European vintage and scholarship, written originally as a Ph.D. thesis, is a critical analysis of the main currents in modern organizational theory. In a relatively short volume he gives a comprehensive and unified picture of the complicated field of bureaucratic organizational theory, identifying, clarifying, and critically examining the main theoretical issues in this area.

Four main features make this work both unique and worthwhile: (1) The author includes the Marxist position along with the Weberian model of an ideal type of bureaucracy, whereas American sociologists tend to omit Marx and begin with the Weberian model. (2) Mouzelis examines the "scientific management" tradition of organizational writings that began with Taylor but which is absent from most sociological writings on organizational theory. (3) The 38 pages of footnotes included in the Appendix offer a well documented source of comments, summaries, and clarifications, as well as a bibliography of the main issues raised in the text. (4) The author's writing is concise and clear, with a minimum of technical lexicon.

The book is divided into three main parts. Part One deals with the contributions of the classical writers: Marx, Weber, and Michels. Mouzelis contends that these writers raised the same questions and dealt with the same issues—power, alienation, and individual freedom—that confront our present organizational society. Their main focus was on the total society, while their writings reflect a humanistic and historical perspective.

The post-Weberian writers on bureaucracy (Merton, Blau, Gouldner, Selznick, and others) shifted their focus from the societal to the organizational level of analysis. The one-sided "Weberian model" was modified and became the "empirical model" based on middle-range theories of the internal dynamics of bureaucracies. Mouzelis criticizes these writers for being "myopic" and ignoring the broader aspects of bureaucracy raised by the classical writers. Current organizational theory is described by Mouzelis as "ethnocentric" and "ahistorical." His plea is for comparative, developmental, multi-stage organizational analysis, with more concrete organizational research and closer contact and understanding between "organizational" and "sociological" theories.

In Part Two, entitled "Managerial Tradi-

tion," the mechanistic notions propounded by Taylor and the scientific management movement are both analyzed. They are seen as reflecting the "ethos" of American capitalistic ideology that reigned until the depression of the 1930's. The focus of analysis here shifts from individual freedom and democracy to maximum productivity. The individual worker was looked upon as merely an organizational tool to be manipulated and motivated by economic incentives. This perspective was further emphasized by formal theories of administration that stressed "rationalization" and "efficiency." In reaction to this trend, the "human relations school" of Elton Mayo and his associates developed.

Emphasis now shifted to the informal and human-oriented aspects of organizations, with studies focusing on patterns of informal organization, styles of leadership, primary group relations, and morale. The findings of the "human relations" studies, along with new research on decision-making processes, marked a new era of capitalistic managerial ideology. The authoritarian capitalistic entrepreneur of an earlier period was replaced by the professional manager.

In his final analysis, Mouzelis sees a convergence of the "human relations school" and the "managerial tradition" of organizational theory, with the focus shifting to the structure of the organization as a whole and more attention being given to general sociological theory.

Dr. Mouzelis writes primarily as a European sociologist; his analysis reflects the classic tradition and orientation of European sociology. Apparently empirical sociology and middle-range sociological theory have not yet come of age in Europe, which would partly explain his emphasis on the theoretical concerns of the classical writers.

Despite Mouzelis' contention, many organizational studies of such variables as power, alienation, professionalization, bureaucratization, and legitimacy are presently being conducted. Furthermore, we are now on the threshold of a vast increase in comparative organizational studies, both within and between societies.

This book deserves our attention; we need more of this type of work in sociology.

GEORGE A. KOURVETARIS

*Northwestern University*

He maintains that by concentrating on one concept, the theorist is freed from the demand to explain all social forces and processes, which facilitates the development of abstract theory. The reader is asked to think of autonomy not as something separate from a social structure that the individual captures for himself or finds in particular roles, but rather as a factor that is part of every social structure and that brings people together instead of separating them. On this premise, the author seeks to determine "how autonomy is incorporated in complex social organizations."

The volume is divided into two parts, plus an Appendix in which two mathematical approaches to autonomy are developed. The material in the first section is abstract, difficult to read, and made more complicated than necessary. Tentative answers to a series of questions are offered, all of which point to an organization in which both power and independence are encouraged and built into the social structure. Both autonomy and social control are seen as intrinsic to the organization and its successful functioning. The second part (based largely on the author's M.A. thesis and Ph.D. dissertation) describes in easily readable language four different types of medical pathologists: the hospital-based pathologists who are salaried; hospital-based pathologists who are paid a fee; entrepreneurs who have their own laboratories; and university pathologists who are research oriented.

While the author admits that there is no one-to-one fit between concrete examples and abstract theories, a general picture does evolve showing the different patterns of autonomy and subservience that can be observed among various kinds of pathologists and their organizational work situations. Although all four types have similar spheres of autonomy, based primarily on their professional roles, some differences in autonomy do occur as a result of the way these roles are practiced. For example, the pathologist who is paid a fee is his own administrator and sets his own rate; while still dependent on the hospital administrator, his business arrangements with the hospital "assure recognition of his professional status." The salaried or "house" pathologist is free of administrative tasks and concentrates on the more technical and professional aspects of his job. The entrepreneur is virtually free of bureaucratic hospital pressures, and is not dependent on any one client. He feels that he is his own man and has autonomy in both the business and the professional aspects of his work. However, he has to find and hold clients. Each has a degree of autonomy that differs

*Autonomy and Organization: The Limits of Social Control*, by FRED E. KATZ. New York: Random House, 1968. 179 pp. \$5.95.

In this book Fred E. Katz presents an anatomy of autonomy in an organizational milieu.

somewhat according to the kind of situation in which he works. Each accepts social control in one area of his work life in order to achieve autonomy in another.

One of the assets of *Autonomy and Organization* is that it provides alternative ways (at the price of underplaying psychological factors) of looking at the familiar and related subjects of autonomy, power, and social control. Its concentration on one concept, however, forces one to focus on that phenomenon in a new way. Although this book asks more questions than it answers, the end result is a valuable volume.

ERWIN O. SMIGEL

*New York University*

*The Affluent Worker: Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour*, by JOHN H. GOLDTHORPE, DAVID LOCKWOOD, FRANK BECHHOFFER, and JENNIFER PLATT. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1968. 206 pp. \$7.00.

This provocative monograph is a by-product of a more general study, conducted in 1962-1964, of working-class assimilation into middle-class life. For this reason, as the authors point out, the data are not always entirely adequate. The 229 male workers who provided the core data for analysis were selected as a purposive sample from three firms in Luton, England, a locale noted for its high wage rates. All the men were between the ages of 21 and 46, married, earning at least £17 (\$48) per week in 1962, and engaged in shop-floor jobs from semi-skilled to craftsmen levels. The selected firms represent small-batch, mass, and continuous-process production environments. An additional sample of 54 white collar men drawn from the small-batch and process firms allowed for some comparisons with the manual sample.

Six of the eight chapters present findings on the worker's (1) orientation to his job, (2) relations with his work group, (3) attachment to his firm, (4) participation in his union, (5) orientation to his economic future, and (6) orientation to work and its social correlates.

The sample is rather small and not random, individual items rather than attitude scales were used, and (contrary to expectations aroused by the book's title) measures of behavior were obtained through the interview schedule. Nonetheless, the arguments are carefully constructed and directly addressed to several fundamental questions of industrial sociology and organizational analysis. The answers suggested by the pattern of findings are compelling.

The authors were concerned with assessing the extent to which the "human relations" im-

age of the worker (Mayo, Maslow, Argyris) and the "technological implications" viewpoint (Woodward, Blaumer) can explain workers' reactions to their jobs and employing organizations.

The familiar story that job satisfaction is much influenced by type of work task emerges here clearly; a large majority of assembly-line workers, almost half of the machine operators, and nearly one quarter of the process workers experienced their jobs as monotonous, while the craftsmen and machine set-up workers experienced boredom with work much less frequently. Sixty-two percent of the assemblers wanted some other shop-floor job, as did 29 percent of the machine operators, with smaller proportions among the other workers.

Nevertheless, except for the craftsmen, a majority of all workers had not thought of leaving their firms, the main reason given was that their pay provided for a satisfying off-work, family-centered life. This raises serious questions about the human relations emphasis on the need to integrate men into the organization through involvement in their tasks. The firms with large proportions of bored workers appeared in no danger of losing their personnel—indeed, the men performing the most monotonous tasks were the most attached to their organizations. The pay nexus was apparently adequate to achieve this state of affairs. Nor was organizational effectiveness reduced since the mass and continuous process technologies controlled work pace, and economic interests in keeping the job maintained acceptable performance.

Affective bonds between workmates were of the loosest sort among these men. Overall, 68 percent indicated they would not mind being shifted to another shop-floor location away from present coworkers, with only slight variations of that proportion between men performing different tasks. A scant 11 percent of the manual sample, moreover, reported entertaining men from the plant at home. "Mates," they said, "are not friends" (p. 58). Although technological barriers may have inhibited the formation of close-knit work groups, the world of work was not defined by these men as a location where primary group ties are formed. The responses of the white collar sample yield similar conclusions.

A very large majority of the manual workers (86 percent) reported quite satisfactory relationships with their foremen. These foremen were not particularly adept at interpersonal relations, but they left the men alone, which most of the workers liked. Only craftsmen and white-collar workers valued con-

tacts with supervisors and resented aloofness. These data raise questions about the importance of the supervisor-worker relationship among those men for whom work is essentially a means to an end outside the place of work. Below the level of craftsmen, a markedly instrumental orientation to work was, in this sample, the predominant link to the employment situation.

There was no indication in the findings that different technological environments underlay differences in industrial relations. The "technological implications" viewpoint was clearly not borne out in this regard. The majority of workers, including the assemblers in the mass-production plant, indicated no hostility to their firms. The explanation suggested by the investigators was that since these industrial workers primarily sought from the jobs—and felt they received—opportunities for a satisfying life apart from work, attitudes toward the employing firms remained separate and distinct from negative attitudes toward intrinsically unsatisfying work tasks.

This study provides critical appraisal of several major themes in the literature on work organizations. Scholars should find it useful, and advanced undergraduate and graduate students will find it very readable.

CURT TAUSKY

*University of Massachusetts*

*Law and Society: A Sociological View*, by EDWIN M. SCHUR. New York: Random House, 1968. 239 pp. Paperbound. \$2.95.

This essay discusses ideas and problems in the sociology of law and summarizes some examples of recent empirical research on several aspects of the American legal system. Chapter One begins with a review of the major schools of western jurisprudence, traces their influence on the contemporary study of legal phenomena, and offers some pertinent observations on civil disobedience and the Nuremberg trials. Discussed in Chapter Two are some of the well-known attempts to identify the distinctive characteristics and functions of law, the close link between law and social stratification, and the role of the legal profession in sustaining the legal and social order. Chapter Three examines some of the more familiar sociological formulations of the relationship between law and social change, describes the Soviet effort to incorporate law into a socialist order, and adumbrates some modern trends in American law.

Under the heading, "The Law in Action," Chapter Four considers several topics: courts, judges, and juries; the administration of jus-

tice; styles of legal work; and the public and the law. All of this material is restricted to the United States, and is largely based on relevant empirical studies of juries, judicial decision-making, police behavior, bail practices, the practice of law, and public attitudes toward law. The fifth, and last, chapter describes efforts to use social science data as evidence in American courts, examines controversies concerning juvenile courts and psychiatric commitment procedures, and considers advantages and disadvantages of adversary principles in law.

It should be obvious from this brief summary that Schur's essay attempts to cover an exceedingly wide range of subjects. Indeed, he manages to bring together in one comparatively short volume a great many, though certainly not all, of the significant names, ideas, problems, and findings normally associated with the sociological investigation of legal phenomena. Maintaining a steady course between the shoals of superficiality and the deeper waters of scholarship, Schur generally handles this diverse material competently, though his analysis of any single problem or idea is, of course, necessarily elliptical. His own judgments, however, are not always enlightened or enlightening, as the following unqualified and unexplained assertion illustrates: "Laws would not exist unless they served *some* functions, manifest or latent, for society at large or for important elements within the society." On the other hand, Schur does emphasize a number of important points that even specialists in this area have been known to neglect, such as the ideas that legal systems often generate serious conflict within a society, and that a reciprocal relationship exists between substantive law and the activities of attorneys.

Unfortunately, the usefulness of the book is impaired by the absence of any unifying theme, thesis, or explicit intellectual formulation. Consequently, it is not possible to know with any degree of certainty what Schur is really trying to accomplish. His vague statement of intent is not very helpful: "What is attempted here," he tells us, "is simply a discussion of those aspects of legal systems that seem most relevant to the development of a sociological understanding of legal phenomena, a summary analysis of some of the directions empirical research in the sociology of law has already taken, and an indication of the general issues that seem to the writer to be central to work in this field." But what does this mean? Why are some aspects of a legal system, some lines of empirical inquiry, and some issues considered more rele-

vant or central than others to the sociology of law? In other words, what criteria determined the author's selection of problems, concepts, and data? Schur does not answer this critical query. Yet without this information, even a sympathetic reader is apt to view his highly selective analysis as needlessly arbitrary and disorganized. As the book is written, its only discernible unity is supplied by the circumstance that the material examined is in one way or another related to legal institutions. One would expect an author of a volume like this, apparently intended for undergraduate sociology courses, to brush aside such an inconsequential unity, with all its misleading connotations for the uninformed, and attempt to substitute a sociologically coherent picture of his chosen subject. Unfortunately, Schur prefers a different approach, which is probably best reflected in his own words: "In presenting this material it would be misleading to attempt to impose an artificial organization that would neatly order the various lines of analysis and research. Sufficient unity is provided by the fact that all of the investigators [whose work is to be discussed] share the overarching aim of expanding and systematizing our understanding of the legal order. . . ."

HUBERT J. O'GORMAN

*Wesleyan University*

*Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy*, edited by JAMES N. ROSENAU. New York: The Free Press, 1967. 340 pp. \$7.50.

The eleven essays comprising this symposium were originally given at a conference on Public Opinion and Foreign Policy, held in Princeton and sponsored by the Foreign Policy Association and the Princeton Center of International Studies. Like the products of so many symposia, it was perhaps inevitable that the essays should emerge as a book. There is little doubt that Rosenau, the editor, is correct in saying that the domestic sources of foreign policy are immensely important. The truth and timeliness of that assertion makes the title attractive. It is, however, extremely misleading. For the most part the essayists make no attempt to examine specific foreign policies and determine their domestic sources. Beyond accepting an inadequately explained conception of external decision making by key actors, they do not make clear what is meant by "foreign policy making" or "domestic source." At least the collection does have the great merit pointed out by Whitehead: it makes the darkness more visible.

In an essay on foreign policy as an issue area, Rosenau first suggests that foreign policy de-

cisions are distinctive in that they rarely seem to threaten people's lives or goods. This would seem to be a pretty fair definition of inconsequential decisions, and one suspects that it might apply to many domestic decisions as well as to those in the foreign "issue area."

McCloskey assembles an imposing array of attitudinal data to show that contemporary isolationists (not necessarily George Washington or even Herbert Hoover) are likely to be psychologically "sick" and cognitively deficient. At least the characteristics he pins on them are nasty.

Milton Rosenberg discusses the functionality of "hard-line" attitudes toward the Cold War, among both foreign policy makers and their followers. Despite the importance of these attitudes for their holders, he believes that they can and should be changed to support the political "thaw" he regards as desirable.

John Galtung constructs an interesting typology of a dialogue between "top dog" and "underdog," which he uses in conjunction with data on party composition and identification to explore the handling of foreign policy issues. Galtung is sure he has a theory rather than a typology. Others may doubt it.

Bernard Cohen deals with the subculture of the media and its treatment of foreign affairs. His essay is persuasive on the point that we know all too little and need to know a great deal more.

Warren Miller makes the old point that the electoral shifters on foreign affairs are likely to be the least informed and the least competent. If they performed the classical function of the marginal economic man or the independent voter we would be in bad shape. Fortunately, a leader may, after election, adopt the foreign policy of the losing opponent and actually convert his own party to it. Eisenhower did this. Leaders are freer than they think.

Milbrath discusses the influence of pressure groups on foreign policy, but does not refer to any studies in this area. As the most cited authority on pressure groups, he may have found empirical data unnecessary.

Greer devotes a few pages to the expanding scale of social life and its possible effects in creating a new kind of man who might have a new and significant world view. Unfortunately, his piece is so brief that one can not be sure what precisely he has in mind.

Waltz has a solid essay debunking the pessimistic conclusion (drawn from the supposed lessons of the Korean War) that the electorate makes presidents powerless. He argues persuasively that the evidence indicates there is a great deal of leadership freedom in foreign

policy. He does say, and correctly, there are situations where you are damned if you do and damned if you don't.

Lowi's final essay—to my mind the best of the lot—deals with the different kinds of politics involved in foreign policy decisions. He finds that the politics of crisis handled by a narrow consensual elite best exemplifies rational goal-oriented action in the national interest. In contrast, noncrisis foreign issues involving the regulation or distribution of resources tend to spill over into domestic politics, and to involve either conflicting elites appealing to diverse publics or else political log rolling. Neither pluralist compromise nor log rolling is cognitively appropriate to the attainment of national foreign policy goals. Lowi contends that "American foreign policy is subject to domestic political forces to a degree unknown to other modern democratic or nondemocratic states." One would like to know if this is the case and, if so, what price is paid for it.

NORTON E. LONG

*University of Illinois*

*The Working-Class Tories: Authority, Deference, and Stable Democracy*, by ERIC A. NORDLINGER. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1967. 276 pp. \$8.95.

*Angels in Marble: Working Class Conservatives in Urban England*, by ROBERT MCKENZIE and ALLAN SILVER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968. 295 pp. \$11.00.

If every member of the British working class voted for the Labour party, the Conservatives would never win an election. The Conservatives' ability to win about one-third of the working class vote has, however, enabled them to govern alone or as the dominant partner in a coalition for 37 of the last 50 years. These two studies attempt to ascertain why so many British workers vote across class lines in apparent disregard of their economic interests.

Income, sex, and age, in combination but not individually, are associated with working-class Conservatism. Women are markedly more favorable than men to the Conservatives only among those 65 or older. Among those with incomes below the working class average, Conservative voting is much more prevalent among those over 44 than among those under this age. Conservatives poll much better among women 44 or older than among those younger, regardless of income, while they do well with only those older men who also have lower incomes. Other categories of people who are more likely

than their counterparts to vote Conservative include church attenders, those having a middle-class father, Protestants, union members, and those identifying with the middle class. In the latter case, however, only persons who are not economically dissatisfied support the Conservatives; dissatisfied persons are as likely as working-class identifiers to vote Labour. Similarly, only the economically satisfied who also identify with the middle class prefer the Conservatives.

Working-class Conservative and Labour voters perceive society and politics differently. Although they are somewhat more inclined to believe that class conflict is important in Britain, Conservatives tend to be less class conscious. They view political parties in terms of policies, leadership qualities, and national interest, while Labour voters think of them primarily in terms of class interests. Workers voting Conservative are more inclined to prefer a political leader with an elite social background than one who originated in the working class; Labour voters opt heavily for the latter. The Labour voter believes that the working class should try to advance collectively rather than individually, and is quite likely to suspect the upper class of preventing the workers from gaining their fair share. Conservative voters also differ from Labour voters in being better informed politically and more self-confident.

These findings are secondary, however, to the basic inquiry into the role of deference in working-class political behavior—that is, attributing to Conservative leaders innate intelligence and abilities bordering on the magical, while denying these qualities to Labour leaders. Both studies agree that more than one-fourth of all working-class Conservatives are deferential. Deferential persons (especially those 44 or older) are generally more likely than "seculars" or "pragmatists" to vote Conservative, and those who do vote in this way are more committed to their party than are Conservative "seculars." Although deference cannot explain all cases of working class Conservatism, it remains a crucial factor because, according to McKenzie and Silver, it leads low-income voters to eschew pragmatic political judgments and vote conservative. As deferentials they accept subordinate status for themselves and trust the Conservatives' almost superhuman leaders.

McKenzie and Silver believe that the importance of deference for politics is declining, since their data indicate that deference is less prevalent among younger than older persons and is less likely to result in a preference for the Conservatives among younger voters. Hence

unless this trend should be reversed, Conservatives would have to rely increasingly on the second of their two traditional appeals to the working class—the pragmatic argument that they can deliver more benefits than can Labour.

In contrast, Nordlinger maintains that deference is not disappearing; if anything it is becoming more common among working-class Conservatives, especially younger ones. He discovered the greatest incidence of deference among Conservative voters aged 30 to 45, while deference was only slightly more prevalent among older Conservatives than among older Labour supporters.

Perhaps such contradictory results are attributable to variations in sampling. McKenzie and Silver's quota sample appears on several characteristics to be representative of the universe of urban working-class voters, but may be compromised by the facts that half of it was drawn from London and that important manufacturing centers like Sheffield and Birmingham were excluded. Although Nordlinger's sample is broader geographically, it excluded women and all those who did not intend, when interviewed, to vote for the same party at the next election as they had in the previous one. Furthermore, it suffered from a 62 percent response rate.

The heart of the problem, however, may lie in their differing operational definitions of deference. Nordlinger classified his respondents on the basis of their responses to two questions about preference for a Prime Minister's social background. While McKenzie and Silver sometimes relied on responses to one similar question, they usually applied six criteria embracing such considerations as attitudes toward authority and conceptions of individual's role in the political process. Although their two methods of classification produce similar results, they are far from perfectly correlated. On balance, McKenzie and Silver's findings and interpretations seem more likely to be accurate, but doubts remain.

Going beyond the study of working-class Conservatism, Nordlinger examines the attitudes of British workers toward authority and political participation, and relates these data to the requisites of viable democracy. In part he replicates *The Civic Culture* and offers a theory of stable democracy, which he dubiously claims is an improvement over Almond and Verba's formulation because it reduces democratic requisites to the single factor of attitudes toward political authority. Perhaps it is because his two research goals are only loosely related that Nordlinger frequently percentages his tables with party preference as the independent

variable. If we are to discover why workers vote across class lines, preference should be the dependent variable.

McKenzie and Silver succeed quite well in their attempt to combine quantitative, qualitative, and historical data into a unified explanation of working-class voting behavior. They present their findings with admirable clarity and buttress their case with extensive cross references. A notable asset of their study is a succinct and excellently integrated summary of the doctrines and electoral appeals of the Conservative party during the past century.

JORGEN S. RASMUSSEN

*Columbia University*

*Five Towns: A Comparative Community Study*, by LOIS R. DEAN. New York: Random House, 1967. 173 pp. Paperbound. \$2.25.

In *Five Towns*, Lois Dean reports a study of leadership attitudes in five midwestern communities ranging in size between 10,000 and 80,000. In each town 14 recognized leaders were given open-ended questions on contemporary issues. They were also asked to identify two of their favorite heroes and to justify their choices.

Originally designed to test attitudes toward civil defense, the data suggested to the researchers the possibility of broader analysis. The towns were thus arranged along a continuum of levels of economic growth, whereas the interview data were classified along continua of Parsons' pattern variables. When correlated, the two sets of data were found to covary in the expected direction: leaders in the more developed towns tended to be more universalistic and achievement oriented—in short, more cosmopolitan—than their counterparts in the less developed localities.

From her data, Miss Dean generalizes on two levels. First, she attempts to predict the economic future of each town. Then she proceeds to formulate hypotheses with respect to American society, as well as other industrial societies. Classifying local industries according to their "systemic linkage" to larger units and leaders (i.e., according to their position with respect to community and industry), she hypothesizes that towns with independent local industries will be dominated by leaders whose primary link is to the locality, whereas communities containing branch industries of national units will tend to bring to the forefront leaders who are placed in intermediary positions (e.g., governmental officials) between company and locality. Finally, assuming it to be "self evident" that, (1) the trend is toward absentee-owned corporate forms,

(2) economic concerns are central to Americans, (3) most Americans view the world from a local perspective, and (4) the present governmental "matching funds" formula renews emphasis on local initiative, the author suggests that knowledge about local leaders' orientation is essential for an understanding of future trends in such areas as alienation or economic growth.

The book is rather well written, the over-all sketches provide a fine view of the towns, and the author does a competent job in operationalizing Parsons' pattern variables and demonstrating their utility for comparative research. Also, the local level analysis offers some valuable insights into the growth problems of communities.

The author would have done well if she had rested her case at that point, without surrendering to the temptation of generalizing about the national and international scenes. Miss Dean recognizes that the most she can offer from her meager data are tentative hypotheses. Nevertheless, what emerges amounts to gross oversimplification. For example, we find no intimation that class, race, or ethnicity may be relevant variables in the study of alienation. Or, of what use is it to speculate about affluent suburbia—which the author sees as the "wave of the future"—without considering it in the context of a metropolitan complex with attendant problems of transportation and population movement? The basic difficulty here lies in the neglect of complex structural divisions and subdivisions other than political town boundaries, and in the disregard of multiple systemic linkages other than those between local and national industries.

In all, *Five Towns* makes a worthwhile contribution to our community-study literature, although one suspects that more elaborate and sophisticated studies will be necessary before we shall be allowed even as much as an educated guess about the nature of our society's "wave of the future."

ISRAEL RUBIN

*Cleveland State University*

*Power, Poverty, and Urban Policy*, edited by WARNER BLOOMBERG, JR. and HENRY J. SCHMANDT. Volume II of *Urban Affairs Annual Reviews*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1968. 608 pp. \$20.00.

Urban studies is a field that lends itself naturally to the publication of anthologies or readers. The wide range in subject matter produced by several academic disciplines militates against attempts at single or small-group authorship. The lack of a clear definition of the contents and boundaries of the field invites the produc-

tion of "package deals" whose chief merits are the speed of publishing and the economy of effort, relative to the anticipated economy and status rewards, needed to get the material into print.

*Power, Poverty, and Urban Policy* is a reader that has attained more universally desirable goals than quick and easy publication. It treats the subject through the compilation of relevant writings under conceptually appropriate headings. The editors, relying mainly on new papers or on special adaptations of published articles, organized their materials under four captions: "Affluence and Poverty: Some Basic Dimensions of the Problem," "Urban Institutions and the Deprived," "Poverty and Power: The Role of the Poor in Urban Politics," and "Knowledge, Policy and Poverty." The contributors represent a variety of disciplines: sociology, anthropology, social work, philosophy, economics, political science, law, medicine, and theology. Such diversity of background and experience imposes considerable constraint on efforts to maintain an analytic social science focus. Nevertheless, though most of the writings differ in degree of theoretical sophistication and in extent of orientation toward social action or policy, they all contribute arguments and empirical data to the main thesis of the book: that poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon.

The first part of the volume looks at the nature of poverty and its spatial dimensions relative to the patchwork of programs designed to deal with the problem. Part II, probably the strongest section of the book, examines the role of basic American institutions in perpetuating poverty, and advances the thesis that the elimination of extreme deprivation, whatever its monetary cost, requires changes in entrenched institutional patterns. Part III deals with the actions of the poor themselves, using the "maximum feasible participation" clause of the Economic Opportunity Act as a focal point for analyzing past events and advocating future policy. Sanford Kravitz, who views the community action programs in historical perspective, and Howard Hallman, who surveys some structural and functional aspects of a cross section of such programs, seem to agree that, relative to total need, CAP represents a trivial beginning. At the same time, they take the view that an important start has been made and that there is at least a possibility that the high purposes of CAP might be realized. Both writers had had direct experience in program planning at the national or local level. In Part IV, dealing with action and policy, a much less sanguine attitude is expressed by Warren Hagstrom, whose own involvement in CAP as a director of a university affiliated train-



ing center found him operating in opposition to the local political structure. It may be questioned whether the conflict model advocated by Hagstrom, though perhaps appropriate to situations such as those he encountered, constitutes a universally effective means of leading the poor out of poverty. Warner Bloomberg and Florence W. Rosenstock's presentation of three alternative models, though somewhat rudimentary in conceptualization, should provide a useful foundation for a systematic inquiry into relationships among the social situation, program inputs, and outcomes.

An international and cross-cultural perspective of poverty is given by Phillips Cutright's remarkable study, adapted from articles in *ASR* and *Social Forces*, entitled "The Distribution and Redistribution of Income: Political and Non-Political Factors," as well as by articles on the poor in Africa, Latin America, and other underdeveloped areas. Steven F. Pflanzner's essay "Poverty, Urban Policy, and the Mature Welfare States of Europe" views the genesis of welfare in a socio-cultural and historical context and warns against hasty borrowing of programs from other countries. Such scholarly caution in policy development appears misplaced in the light of the well known magnitude of U. S. poverty, or the fact, reported by Cutright, that "of the 14 high GNP nations (led by the U. S. with a wide margin) the United States is lowest in its effort to redistribute income through government programs."

*Power, Poverty, and Urban Policy* is a most useful addition to the mushrooming library on urban studies. Sociologists and other students of the urban field will welcome this multi-dimensional approach to poverty. This perspective can open the way for cross-discipline research and action on a problem that is obviously beyond the bounds of any one discipline. The bibliographies following the articles provide good leads to other studies in these areas. Unfortunately, the editors of *Urban Affairs Annual Reviews* neglected to supply the book with another indispensable tool of serious study: an index.

LUDWIG L. GEISMAR

*Rutgers University*

*Poverty: Power and Politics*, edited by CHAIM I. WAXMAN. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1968. 330 pp. \$6.95.

The lamentable aspect of this book is that it was published in 1968 but consists of selections appearing elsewhere no more recently than 1966. Nine of the 21 reprints (including the only original piece in the book) were published

in 1966; five in 1965; five in 1964 or earlier (including the famous 1908 essay by Simmel), and two are undated. Some of the selected readings were actually published in previous anthologies on poverty. On issues such as poverty, about which facts, events, policies, and judgments are so ephemeral, it is regrettable that it takes so long for these selections to appear in the Waxman museum.

The essays are organized into three sections. The first, titled "The Poor in Society: A Sociological Background," contains Simmel's old essay, along with a reprint of Coser's 1957 "Social Conflict and the Theory of Social Change." The editor does not make clear why this article was included in an anthology on poverty, power and politics. Concluding this section is the one original essay, "The Proper Study of Poverty: Empirical vs. Normative Perspectives" by Deborah I. Offenbacher, which seems to take offense at the fact that poverty has come to be defined as a social problem "rather than as a social phenomenon." The Offenbacher musing is a weak straining toward a "sociology of the concern about poverty," but does not offer any help in understanding, analyzing, or solving the phenomenon of poverty.

The second (and longest) section, devoted to "The Politics of the Program: A Critical Survey," contains a potpourri of writers ranging from Charles Silberman to Saul Alinsky, from Douglass Cater to S. M. Miller and from James Ridgeway to Michael Harrington. Harrington's article, though originally published in *Dissent* in 1965, is still relevant as we move into a new national administration whose intentions and policies concerning poverty issues are as yet unrevealed. Harrington's distinction between the old poor of pre-World War II days and the new poor of the 1960's is a major insight, and much of what he says in his article is inconvenient truth, such as the fact that "the new poor have fewer internal resources with which to combat their degradation and to seize chances when they appear." The one point on which I would criticize Harrington is his almost myopic obsession with the notion that the new poverty is a youthful phenomenon. The fact is that the aged constitute an increasing proportion of the poor in America. Clearly the solution for this population category lies in the direction of income maintenance guarantees. The youths who are not moving out of poverty are to be found increasingly in large, female-headed families. It is significant that since 1959 there has been no decrease in the number of poor persons 65 or older or in female-headed families. Recent social and economic trends in this country may have helped some people—especially those

in families with male heads—to escape from poverty. But as Harrington cautions, any resulting prosperity “which leaves slums and race ghettos standing and which creates a desperate generation of uneducated youth will be threatened, not by revolution, but by constant outbreaks of individual, nihilistic violence. . . .”

The final section consists of several articles dealing with “The Problems of Poverty: Possible Solutions.” The first, by Sar Levitan, is actually concerned about adequate and trustworthy statistics on poverty, not about solutions. At least three of the remaining five selections focus on involvement of the poor (often as an end in itself, not as means of eliminating poverty). Nathan Glazer’s contribution is a more-or-less historical chronicle—beginning with the various task forces of 1963 under John F. Kennedy—of how the OEO program ultimately developed its initial format.

Considering the variety of writings on poverty presently available to both the academic world and the educated public, I cannot give this collection of essays a very high recommendation. In addition, a five-and-one-half page Introduction by the editor is not enough to give the reader any insights into, or justifications for, the 21 selected pieces. And the absence of an Index is not helpful.

HAROLD L. SHEPPARD

*Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies*

*Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter Proposals*, by CHARLES A. VALENTINE. Chicago, Ill.: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968. 216 pp. \$5.95.

Two kinds of sociologists will find this essay of interest: those who welcome the recently revived legitimacy of sociological concern with social policy formation, and those who are concerned with untangling culturally shaped behaviors from actions that are primarily situationally shaped. The author sets himself a series of difficult tasks: he examines the concept of culture and criticizes theories that posit the existence of a culture of poverty to explain its continued existence; he evaluates the methodology and data of these theories, and outlines both alternative explanations of poor people’s behavior and a research strategy; he interweaves criticisms of the implications of theories with many cogent criticisms of assumptions, methods, and data; and, refreshingly, he suggests solutions to poverty.

Valentine criticizes present uses of “culture theory” and concludes that middle-class based research is probably inaccurate as both descrip-

tion and explanation. A number of studies are examined and found to be deficient, including E. Franklin Frazier’s work on the family, Glazer’s and Moynihan’s *Beyond the Melting Pot*, Walter Miller’s writings, and Daniel P. Moynihan’s report for U. S. government. The works of Charles Keil, Kenneth Clark, and Herbert Gans are seen as closer approximations to adequate research. Severe and lengthy criticisms are directed at Oscar Lewis’ methodology and analysis (he is criticized for not clearly explaining how he edits informants’ materials, and for studying only the family) and his conclusion about the existence of a culture of poverty is rejected.

Valentine presents propositions which formalize the theories of Lewis, Miller, and Gans, and proposes alternative propositions which interpret behavior as situational responses to the conditions of poverty. Use of the ethnographic method of participant-observation is urged for developing an accurate description of the life of the urban poor. Valentine’s solutions to poverty are full employment, a guaranteed national income, retraining for jobs, inclusion of the poor in decision-making, and mandatory participation of private industry.

I am disturbed by the inaccuracy of some of the criticisms which Valentine finds so telling, especially since the book is aimed at the general public, most of whom are probably unfamiliar with the original works. For example, Lewis is criticized for concluding that slum families do not participate effectively in the political life of the community, since several of his informants did comment at some length about political affairs. Is Lewis really contradicting himself by describing the slum as “a little community of its own with a cemetery, a church, a small dispensary and maternity clinic,” etc., and then stating there is little social organization among slum dwellers? Or, are the U. S. Census and a special study done by a New York council really to be played down as the only (sic) sources for a demographic description of the poor?

The validity of the ethnographic approach is weakly supported. We depend ultimately on the insight, maturity, and integrity of the researchers. Quite disappointingly, Valentine’s solutions to poverty are largely conventional programs for handing power over to councils of the poor under the auspices of private enterprise and the federal government.

For the formation of social policy, it seems to me that an adequate theory about relationship of the poor to the non-poor—politically, economically, socially—is as important as theory about relationships among the poor. The latter would probably tend inevitably to suggest solu-

tions that do something to, or with, poor people, rather than to the social order.

NONA GLAZER MALBIN

*Portland State College*

*Black Neighbors: Negroes in a Northern Rural Community*, by GEORGE K. HESSLINK. Indianapolis, Ind.: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1968. 190 pp. Clothbound, \$6.00. Paperbound, \$2.95.

As our often unwarranted generalizations about "Negroes," "whites," "Jews," or "Italians" indicate, the structure of our language, the nature of American culture, and the scientific ethos of our discipline too often make benign racists of us. If for no other reason this little study is an important reminder of the significant qualitative variation that exists in American black-white relations.

Cass County in rural Southwestern Michigan has had a stable bi-racial population for more than a century. Its relative racial harmony and formal integration make it an atypical American community well worthy of study.

Using an imaginative array of methods that vary from the analysis of tombstones and real estate documents to observation and unstructured but focused interviews, Hesslink seeks to describe and understand this community. In the tradition of earlier demographically oriented University of Chicago studies, this work is complete with charts, maps, and census-like data, some of which are not of overpowering interest.

The core chapters in the book deal with "historical antecedents," "economic institutions," "the political process," and interaction and stratification. These vary considerably in quality, with the latter two clearly being the best.

Of the "basically unique combination of events" that promoted the original settlement of blacks, the most important seem to have been the following: the desire of Quaker abolitionists (themselves Southern migrants) to create a haven for fugitive slaves; the convergence of the major Midwestern underground railroad lines in Cass; and an agriculturally based economy based on sparsely settled land, which removed competition and increased inter-racial cooperative efforts.

Today there are some small black industries and businesses in the town. Banks freely give credit. Schools are integrated and blacks can live almost anywhere. However, in spite of the Quaker traditions and the absence of overt rancor, whites have a definite sense of group position and a disproportionate share of scarce resources. Integration is restricted primarily to impersonal and instrumental relationships. Social relations and patterns of residence tend to

be structured by race and length of time in the community.

The most interesting material in the study deals with the stratification of the community into three groups: whites, recent Negro migrants, and Calvinites. The latter are firmly established, long-time residents with some dark skin pigmentation who are described (and treated) as "light, bright and damn near white." These three "status groups" show varying degrees of separation and intermeshing. Patterns of association transcend race and vary considerably within racial groups, depending on whether or not an individual is known as a long-time resident. Such distinctions provide continuity with the area's history and traditions, while still permitting exclusion of threatening (and culturally somewhat alien) recent black migrants.

Calvinites forsake identification with blacks (to the point of picketing the NAACP) and in return receive relatively better treatment from whites, though national civil rights events and continued immigration pose a clear threat to this delicate and essentially hypocritical pattern.

This book is clearly written and contains an abundance of facts, though at times the clarity borders on superficiality and some of the details are extraneous. Whatever unity the study has comes from its subject matter, not from a dominant intellectual theme, a consistent theoretical framework, or a carefully articulated set of research questions. There is an unfortunate tendency to take the point of view of the actor as if it were the only reality. The unit of analysis is sometimes unclear, and varies from the Cassopolis school district to the entire County, to the township of Calvin. Black behavior is viewed almost entirely as a reflexive response to white behavior. However, the study does offer useful insight into a curious phenomena.

One finishes this work feeling both optimism and pessimism: optimism in that it suggests that a stable biracial community with an appreciable degree of integration is possible; pessimism in that significant, if muted, racial inequality and separation continue to exist despite Quaker traditions, the area's unique history, and the diffuseness and egalitarianism of rural life.

GARY T. MARX

*Harvard University*

*Voluntary Servitude: Whites in the Negro Movement*, by CHARLES J. LEVY. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968. 125 pp. Paperbound. \$1.95.

No one can doubt that something of great significance took place as the civil rights move-

ment developed from "Black and white together; we shall overcome" to "Black Power." Charles Levy has written a perceptive, subtle, and complex book on how whites involved in the civil rights movement came to be disengaged from it.

The research is based on four years of "unstructured participant observation." During this time the author served on the faculty of a Negro college and was involved in a Southern-based civil rights organization. As Levy makes clear in his preface, the central notion of the work is *trust*. Since all the material of the book plays on that central theme, it has remarkable coherence and unity. Its purpose is to describe the process that denies whites their fondest wish: a legitimate role based on mutual trust.

Ironically, the white person entering the civil rights movement usually begins his adventure in an optimistic mood, shielded from any real sense of the mistrust he must face. He feels certain that his noble intentions, the great differences he perceives between himself and ordinary whites, and his willingness to embrace black culture will all serve him in good stead.

The next stage is indignation. At this point the white begins to sense that Negroes do not trust him. However, he regards their mistrust as uninformed and subject to correction. He is now intent on proving himself. He goes about this in various ways, to which Levy gives the apt label of "awkwardness."

These gambits include attempts to out-Negro Negroes, to identify a common enemy that transcends race, and to escape from the consequences of the power and deference which normally accrue to whites.

The final stage—which is given the greatest attention in this book—it titled "dismay." Success is denied to whites; Negroes will not trust them. The powerful forces that built a system under which *no* Negro could ever be regarded as white now operate to guarantee that the reverse will also be true: no matter what he does, *no* white will be regarded by Negroes as black. A fascinating consequence of the phenomenon of mistrust is its impact on white consciousness. Levy reports instances of Jews and persons of Irish descent returning to their own "roots," and of other whites, though passionately committed to the idea that race is irrelevant, nevertheless turning to each other for comfort and racial solidarity. From this he concludes that there is a triumph of sorts in the white man's realization that the blacks' distrust of him cannot be overcome. He can, however, at last "think Black," with all that this implies for social distance between the races.

Levy's work is peculiar and even mysterious

in some respects. He gives almost no information on the details of either the setting or the methods of his study. There is no explicit indication of the intellectual background that informs his perspective. While it is easy to see affinities with Levy and Simmel, Goffman, and ethnomethodologists such as Harold Garfinkel and Harvey Sacks, none of these figures are cited. In fact, no references are made to conventional sociological literature. One has difficulty "placing" the book intellectually.

Indeed, we are even denied information on Levy's own identity. There is not a word about institutional or disciplinary affiliations or connections with other people. It is as though an obviously "well-informed source" were transmitting a sensitive report with the understanding that there would be no questions asked.

Substantively, some serious questions must be raised. First, Levy writes about Negroes and whites as though they were natural elements with known properties—quite like hydrogen and oxygen. He treats intra-racial differences as almost insignificant. We get no sense of the *range* of patterns in each race, or the incidence of exceptions to his generalizations. We cannot tell to what degree the material has been deliberately schematized. Finally, he implies that the patterns he has elucidated are inherent in all Negro-white relationships. Could not the backgrounds of the particular whites and Negroes who came together in the civil rights movement be of some significance? Similarly, would the exact same processes have taken place in a setting in which the tasks were not explicitly racial?

Despite various difficulties in the work, Levy's book deserves to be widely and carefully read. It is as tightly written as any book I have seen. The author has crammed into a mere 125 pages more thought and acute analysis than we are accustomed to finding in our most weighty tomes. The book is an impressive tribute to the potential of sociological work to grapple with the delicate nuances, infinite detail, and astounding complexity of social life.

HOWARD ELINSON

*University of California, Los Angeles*

*Patterns of Religious Commitment*, by RODNEY STARK and CHARLES Y. GLOCK. Volume I of *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1968. 230 pp. \$6.75.

This is the first of a three-volume series on American religiosity, in which the authors explore the dimensions of religious commitment, interpret the relationships between their pre-

ferred dimensions, and consider the imminence of a post-Christian era. Stark and Glock work with two bodies of data: a church-member sample (3,000) of four counties in Northern California and a national sample (1,976) of the adult population of the U.S.A. (The battery of questions was less comprehensive in the second sample.) They capitalize on their previous discussions of the dimensionality of religiosity, discarding the so-called "consequential dimension" used in previous work. This deletion was overdue, since it is logically impossible to include within a schema of dimensions of religiosity a dimension which is a consequence of religiosity. The new schema thus includes *belief, practice, knowledge and experience*.

Stark and Glock conclusively demonstrate that a unitary conception of Protestantism is a "statistical fiction" and cite many examples of greater variation among Protestant denominations than that occurring between Catholicism and Protestantism. (Judaism is not dealt with.) On nearly all their indexes, the authors discovered two categories to be outstandingly religious (in effect, religiously conservative): the sects and the Southern Baptists, with Missouri Lutherans and American Baptists running close on a number of variables. The major exception to this pattern was that on an index of "ethicalism" for the church-member sample, three of these categories were relatively low, with Southern Baptists markedly so. The sects, however, scored highest of all on ethicalism. In general, there was a slight tendency for Protestants to be either ethical and unorthodox or non-ethical and orthodox; among Catholics the pairings were reversed and even less clean-cut: ethical with orthodox and non-ethical with unorthodox.

Despite its many merits, this book exhibits a number of analytic difficulties. Glock's schema has been criticized previously for an alleged overlap between the belief and knowledge dimensions. The distinction is defended in the new book and the authors present statistical evidence for the independence of these dimensions. But there is still room for doubt. According to Stark and Glock, belief refers to the degree to which a person acknowledges the truth of theological tenets, such as those pertaining to supernaturalism; whereas knowledge has to do with information, such as familiarity with Biblical detail. Stark and Glock themselves concede that knowledge of a belief is a precondition for accepting it, and this raises the question whether they have come to terms with the nature of belief. Do some respondents affirm a belief simply because they feel they ought to do so? Admittedly, the question

whether a response represents a real opinion or merely what is thought respectable or expected plagues all survey research. But it looms very large here precisely because the authors are trying to assess the intensity of commitment. The degree to which beliefs are internalized has been a crucial problem in the sociology of religion. Thus, instead of measuring the range of religious knowledge, Stark and Glock should perhaps have probed the significance attached to beliefs and the degree to which they are internalized.

Although a wealth of vital material is presented, this book lacks perspicacity. One good example of this is the failure to recognize the ambiguity of the question: "Do Jews believe in the Ten Commandments?" More seriously, the authors misconstrue Lenski's communal dimension of religiosity by using it under the rubric "Churches as Moral Communities" and then invoking as indicators of communalism items which clearly relate, in Lenski's terms, to an associational dimension—such as percentage of organizational memberships that are religious. Another example of confusion is the contradiction between saying that "until now the vast majority of people have remained unshaken in their faith in the otherworldly premises of Christianity" (p. 205) and, "there simply is no reliable evidence of faith in past times" (p. 206).

By far the most valuable chapter is the one dealing with "switchers,"—those who have changed their denominational allegiance. Here Stark and Glock begin to make an important contribution to our understanding of American religion. Although the national evidence is rather unsatisfactory (in contrast to the evidence for California), it appears that liberal and moderate Protestant denominations are gaining members at the expense of the conservatives. Furthermore, it is plausibly inferred, although not empirically demonstrated, that there is a tendency for individuals to *flow through* the liberal denominations to a non-religious or secular stance. It is in this chapter and in the interpretive final chapter that the real significance of this book emerges. Stark and Glock depart from the tendency to proclaim the inherent religiosity of American society. They cut through the old Herbergian wisdom and the vogue of talking about America's civic religion and the religious foundation of American cultural values. Realistically, they go straight to what is essential: the cognitive core of religious commitment. Almost certainly they do not go far enough and, as I have suggested, their discussions and methodological procedures are open to criticism—as is also

the expository structure of the book, which periodically introduces new and supplementary issues without prior analytic warning. But the overriding impression is that this is an important book.

ROLAND ROBERTSON

*University of Pittsburgh*

*Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectation and Pupils' Intellectual Development*, by ROBERT ROSENTHAL and LENORE JACOBSON. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968. 240 pp. Paperbound. \$3.95.

This book and the research that generated it will certainly be widely discussed among behavioral scientists and educators. If the conclusions suggested here are supported by confirming evidence a major revolution in educational practice should occur, but many persons committed to contemporary theories and practices have already mounted counter-pressures to support the established system.

This volume is primarily a report of the authors' study of the effects of teachers' expectations on the measured intelligence and school achievement of elementary school children. However, it also reviews research dealing with experimenter effects on animals and with the effects of labeling students as "disadvantaged."

The major findings of the research on teacher expectations have been widely publicized although sometimes overstated. The experiment involved identifying a random sample of 20 percent of the students in each of 18 elementary school classrooms as "spurters." This information was given to the teachers after their students had been administered an alleged intelligence test. Post-testing at the end of the year revealed that the experimental children labeled as "spurters" had significantly higher gains in measured intelligence than the control children in the same classrooms who were not thus identified. Although this finding is true for the total group, significantly different changes were not found in all classrooms. Such differences were found only in the first and second grades and in most "average" ability tracks at other grade levels. Girls accounted for more of the observed gains than boys, especially in the first two grades.

The authors consider several alternative explanations of why younger and middle-track children are more likely to be affected by teachers' expectations. In the first case, the most plausible hypotheses appear to be that teachers are more significant for younger than for older students, and that teachers tend to

have less firmly fixed notions of younger children's abilities. In the second case, it may be that teachers simply expect to find more "spurters" among average children than among those classified as either slow or superior. Teachers would not expect children of presumed low ability to show sudden marked improvement, and they already have high expectations for children identified as superior. But the information that some middle-track children may "spurt" would not contradict any of their present expectations.

The teachers' differential assessments of the characteristics of experimental-group "spurters" and control-group "spurters" is probably as significant as the changes in intelligence scores. Children in the control group who were not expected to show marked improvement but who did anyway were more likely to be rated unfavorably by teachers than were experimental children who made similar gains. This was particularly evident among lower-track children. As the authors indicate, "there may be psychological hazards to unexpected intellectual growth," while children who fulfill teacher's expectations avoid such hazards. This pattern did not hold, however, among ethnic (Mexican) children—especially boys. Teachers tended to react unfavorably to them even when they were identified as spurters and did show rapid intellectual growth.

The authors are generally cautious in interpreting their findings, but rigorous critics will undoubtedly find some statements to question. For instance, statistical differences that do not quite meet the commonly accepted five percent probability criterion are sometimes discussed as if they were significant (pp. 82 and 113). Also, the number of experimental students in some cells is very small, which may have affected some of the findings.

The significance of this research for educational practice can hardly be overestimated, but its impact would be even greater if it were related to a systematic theory of interaction. The authors discuss the concept of self-fulfilling prophecies and sometime refer to expectancy theory, but they have not related their work to either role theory or symbolic interaction theory, both of which appear to be highly relevant. Rosenthal and Jacobson's study should stimulate sociologists and social psychologists to give more attention to applying their theories of socialization and interaction to intellectual development and school situations.

WILBUR B. BROOKOVER

*Michigan State University*

*Education, Interaction, and Social Change*, by HAROLD L. HODGKINSON. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967. 228 pp. \$5.95.

This book puzzles me. I am not sure what the author intended. At one point in the introduction he writes that his book is dedicated to the development of a particular kind of analytic thinking in the reader, regardless of his profession: "The assumption is that we will be better teachers, social scientists, wives, mothers, fathers, husbands, friends, and citizens as a consequence." He asks too much. He is on safer ground elsewhere in the introduction when he describes his monograph as covering most matters dealt with in courses in social foundations of education, educational sociology, the American school, and the like. In short, this is a textbook on the sociology of education, albeit an unusual one.

In each of the first six chapters, Hodgkinson briefly surveys the theory and research on a particular sociological topic, and then applies these to educational processes and institutions and elaborates their implications for policy. The areas thus covered are role theory, bureaucracy, functionalism, social stratification, social mobility, and community organization. The last three chapters deal with more specialized topics: creativity as a social phenomenon, the impact of the American college on student values, and some "revolutions" of our time. Throughout all of this, Hodgkinson's goal is to reveal some ways in which social scientific theory and research can increase our understanding of the role and function of education in society. He does achieve some modest success in demonstrating the possibilities of relating social science to education.

Hodgkinson is aware that in trying to write for several audiences, he risks displeasing all of them: "... the trained sociologist may be unhappy about the treatment of some of his pet terms and with having to deal with mundane things, while the teacher or administrator may grumble at having to learn new and occasionally long words" (p. xvii). I have no way of knowing the extent to which teachers and administrators will grumble at the new and long words they find in the book. I do know that I am indeed unhappy with much of it—not because Hodgkinson has maltreated my pet terms, but because I am not convinced that he has an adequate command of existing sociological knowledge or can create new and valuable sociological propositions.

The application, in Chapter 1, of the dramaturgical model of sociological analysis to educational processes is uninspired. Everyday hap-

penings are redescribed in new terms without the illuminating insights that can be gained from the dramaturgical approach. The presentation of the Weberian model of bureaucracy in Chapter 2 is more a caricature than a general, non-technical exposition. (It is possible to write of complex, technical matters in a simple and not overly distorted manner for a nonprofessional audience.) The extended criticisms of structural-functionalism in Chapter 3 are informative, but a number of straw men are set up in the process. Given the extensive research on the impact of college on students, the sixteen pages devoted to this subject in Chapter 8 are extremely lightweight. Although the chapter does serve as a brief, readable introduction to this field, it does not give a particularly accurate impression of current work in the area. There is a tendency in Chapters 4, 5, and 9 to reduce complex social phenomena—such as social class, social mobility, and social change—to questions of individual perceptions. In the chapter entitled "The Quest for Community," the author never comes to grips with the problem of establishing the definitional parameters of "community." To say that the megalopolis cannot be called a community in any sense because there is too much diversity, too much competition, and too little recognition of common concerns, is a back-handed definition at best. To propose that "the quest for community is in our time the quest for personal identity" is not very helpful, and is probably misleading.

Social scientists—"trained" or otherwise—will find many propositions to challenge. For example, how many will agree with the proposition, made in Chapter 1, that the well-adjusted or mentally healthy person is an individual who displays a basic consistency in his performances as he goes from role to role? Certainly many readers may reject the assertion (also made in Chapter 1) that it is almost impossible for an individual to play a role well and also think about himself playing the role at the same time. Is it really the case, as argued in Chapter 3, that the American culture makes "no distinction between youth and adult stature," and, therefore, that initiation into adult culture is not "necessary or possible" since the predominant mode of our culture is youth and not adulthood? The author quite overstates the matter when he proposes in Chapter 3 that "any description of a *latent* function is as much a description of the observer as the observed."

On occasion, the thread of an argument is not evident, or the logical connections among sentences or paragraphs is not immediately clear. Some conclusions do not appear to follow in-

evitably from what has preceded them. Part of the problem is that certain assumptions are made indirectly or inexplicitly. Consider the following: "Cities may indeed be depersonalizing, but judging from suicide figures on small towns and rurally dominated states, these seem to be rather good at it also" (p. 143). This statement makes sense only on the assumption—nowhere presented and probably not defensible—that depersonalization is the necessary condition, or at least the overwhelmingly predominant cause, of suicide.

On a more personal level, I found aspects of the author's writing style irritating. There are "cutesy" asides and reworkings of aphorisms ("many a slip between the educational cup and the occupational lip") which do not appeal to my taste. At times, remarks border on pretentiousness or condescension, especially the gratuitous insults at presumably easy targets such as the poetry of Edgar Guest, or the "sociology" of the biologist Cannon. Also, the framing of certain thoughts in unconditional, black-and-white terms make them more moralistic and pompous than they might otherwise be.

For all my complaints, there are many positive things about the book. Some of the analyses are striking, including the discussion of latent functions of the American system of education (in Chapter 3) and the exploration of the social conditions in our schools which do and do not facilitate creativity (in Chapter 7). The footnotes serve well as selected bibliographies on various topics. The author obviously has read widely outside the social sciences; the text is sprinkled with interesting quotes from, and paraphrases of the thoughts of, such figures as Keats, Sartre, Stanislawski, Dreiser, and T. W. Eliot. There are fascinating polemics—such as a humanistic concern for persons and their involvements in depersonalizing bureaucratic structures, a demand that the student's imagination and conjectural powers be made a central focus of every educational activity, and a plea that schools as well as the family exert greater effort in developing standards of "success" and personal worth other than those involved in occupational status. This mixture of social science, humanism, social philosophy, personal philosophy, and the rhetoric of reform is intriguing—even refreshing—but in the last analysis the book is too much an amalgam in which what "ought to be" is not clearly differentiated from what "is."

KENNETH A. FELDMAN

State University of New York at  
Stony Brook

*The College Student and His Culture: An Analysis*, edited by KAORU YAMAMOTO. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1968. 493 pp. \$7.50.

In happy contrast to many other anthologies, the selections comprising this one form a fairly well-integrated whole. All of the papers focus on the limited topic of college student interaction and culture, and each section contains several related articles. The editor's introductions to the various sections also help to make clear the mutual relevance of all the articles. Complete unity is not obtained; some of the sections do contain unrelated materials, and an occasional article seems to have little relevance to the overall topic. There is no question, however, that this volume is a book, not a haphazard collection.

Nevertheless, a book such as this must be evaluated primarily in terms of the quality of its individual articles. Skillful editing is helpful, but the whole cannot be worth much more than the sum of its parts. In this case the parts do not add up to much. There are, of course, some valuable materials: examples that come to mind at once are Eckland's careful study of occupational achievement, and Katz and Sanford's brief but insightful discussion of student power. Still, after 500 pages, even the nonspecialist is likely to feel that he has gained relatively little additional information and insight.

Part of the trouble lies in the fact that some of the selections are, technically, just plain bad. What can we hope to learn about the effects of college on students from studies that do not use a nonstudent control group? Is a four-page catalog of the characteristics of college dropouts an example of the best work being done in the social sciences? A number of the selections are ephemeral or limited in content, and do not belong in a book of sociological readings; these include an inaugural address, a preface from *Daedalus*, and several summary chapters from other books. (Some of the latter undoubtedly served useful purposes in their first locations, but they do not "travel" well. When separated from their original sources, they appear to provide only unrelated facts and unsubstantiated generalizations, not an understanding of the original materials.)

The inclusion of some poor or inappropriate selections would not doom the book if the rest of the articles were superior, however. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Although many of the remaining selections might not be labeled "bad," they are certainly pedestrian and unstimulating. There are a number of exceptions,



but in general we find too much description and not enough analysis, too much speculation and not enough real theory, too much counting and not enough concern for the meaning of measures, too much assertion and "suggestive evidence" and too few clear findings. All in all, the pickings are rather slim.

JEROLD HEISS

*University of Connecticut*

*Readings on the School in Society*, by PATRICIA CAYO SEXTON. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967. 272 pp. Paperbound. \$3.95.

The premise of this collection of readings in the sociology of education is that schools exist in society but are "usually . . . out of the mainstream of society." Sociology is said to offer "educational analysis a new perspective, one that may help to bring the schools into the mainstream of American life."

A useful sociological perspective on schools as social systems must reflect a unifying theoretical scheme, however. Sexton's reader contains a scheme of seven categories—power, economy, social stratification, values, organization, structures of interaction within the school, and research and development—but these do not constitute a theoretical scheme. Under each broad heading the editor has included several articles and selections: some are empirical and analytical, some are socially provocative statements of protest, some tell it as it is, some tell what should be, some describe portions of the ongoing system of education, and some attack the establishment. Among the authors represented are Floud and Halsey, Sidney Hook, Rossi, Jencks, Gans, Gross, Lipset, Mayer, Ralph Turner, McClelland, Riesman, Paul Goodman, S. M. Miller, Parsons, Frank Riessman, Friedenberg, Silberman, and Conant.

The criteria used in selecting articles to be included and the rationale of their arrangement in the book are not made clear. An article on system theory precedes one on "the credentials trap." Another on experiences in Watts is followed by a discussion of education in the military services. Gans' article on "the white problem" is backed up by Neal Gross on "who controls the schools." An article on teacher professionalism written for a union magazine castigates the NEA and then observes that "union professional teachers have not been 'strike happy,'" even in New York City. From this one turns to Lipset on university students and politics in underdeveloped countries.

How much the student's analytic abilities will be furthered by this collection is at best unclear.

Certainly beliefs may be reenforced or offended by a number of the articles. Whether a student can improve his grasp of how to organize his reactions and perceptions as a sociologist for analysis of the schools is uncertain.

Reading through the collection, one wonders still why schools have become the arena for white and black conflict and for contests with local community interests.

One must look elsewhere for discussions of such important matters as (1) professionalism as seen by the NEA or other associations, (2) segments within professions, (3) the community (Dr. Sexton claims that not enough good literature exists on this topic), (4) occupational education outside the schools, (5) the schools' treatment of the mentally retarded and the handicapped, (6) accounts of successful changes initiated from the top, bottom, or outside, (7) community-school-teacher conflict and cooperation, (8) life in the colleges and professional schools, and (9) education in other developed societies.

Such a listing is perhaps unfair, since each editor has the prerogative of organizing his own reader as he sees fit. While the selection and arrangement of articles in this reader may leave one somewhat puzzled, a sociologist of education can assign the book as supplementary reading that will usually hold the reader's attention.

LOUIS H. ORZACK

*Rutgers University*

*The Changing Catholic College*, by ANDREW M. GREELEY, with the assistance of WILLIAM VAN CLEVE and GRACE ANN CARROLL. Chicago, Ill.: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967. 226 pp. \$5.95.

Anyone familiar with the sociology of American higher education knows the work of Andrew M. Greeley. In this stimulating book, Father Greeley carries on his interest developed previously in articles and (with Peter Rossi) in *The Education of Catholic Americans*. *The Changing Catholic College* reports an interview study of recent changes in Roman Catholic colleges and universities, conducted during 1965 by Greeley with the assistance of William Van Cleve and Grace Ann Carroll. The aim of the study was to discover what kinds of institutional changes had occurred during the past decade in the quality of education offered by Catholic colleges, and to account for such changes if possible.

Greeley argues that this is a significant research problem for a number of cogent reasons: (1) although many institutions of higher education in the United States began with a re-

ligious affiliation, the Catholic colleges seem to have been more successful than most in maintaining the viability of religion and are, therefore, interesting in this respect; (2) the sheer magnitude of the Catholic effort makes it a significant factor in American higher education (there are over 300 Catholic institutions enrolling more than 400,000 college students); (3) American Catholics, hitherto essentially an immigrant group, seem now to be entering the last stages of the acculturation process, so that accompanying changes might be expected in their educational institutions, and, (5) under the impetus of the late Pope John and Vatican II, the American Catholic Church is undergoing fundamental restructuring that is bound to be reflected in its colleges.

The interview team for the study visited a national sample of 19 Catholic colleges and universities for which there already existed NORC data, collected unplanned interviews in eleven other Catholic schools which turned out to be convenient to those preselected for study, and contrasted their findings from the thirty institutions thus covered with NORC data from six non-Catholic schools. (None of the institutions surveyed are identified in the report.)

Of greatest interest to this reviewer were some aspects of the methodology used and the principal conclusion of the book. Greeley reports a methodological "gimmick" which seems to me to have exciting implications for the study of higher education: before the field research commenced, and without informing the interviewing team, NORC devised for each of the nineteen colleges an Index of Institutional Improvement (1956-1964), based on a regression analysis of academic quality as indicated by the proportion of graduates entering graduate school and as predicted by tuition costs, proportion of lay faculty, and per-student library holdings. At the end of the study, each of the three interviewers ranked the institutions in terms of overall quality, as evaluated during the campus visits. These impressionistic orderings were found to have rank order correlations of .79 to 1.00 with the computer-derived index. (Interestingly enough, those made by Miss Carroll, the student member of the team, were highest: .96 and 1.00.) This demonstration that the impressions and judgments of trained interviewers can be highly accurate about such "iffy" matters as institutional quality should hearten many students of the sociology of education.

The author's principal conclusion will likewise be surprising to some and controversial to many. Trichotomizing his sample of institutions into schools of little or no improvement, medium improvement, and rapid improvement, Greeley

finds that one variable overrides all others in explaining the differences among the schools: the President. "But whatever the explanation for the decision of the religious superiors to appoint a competent President and then to give him the power and independence he needs to launch the school in a program of academic improvement, such a decision is critical in determining whether a Catholic higher educational institution will improve dramatically, merely slide along, or stagnate" (p. 207). Such matters as financial support, geographic location, concentration of Catholic population, social class of students, and proportion of laity in key positions are not nearly so effective as predictors of improvement in academic quality, while academic freedom of the faculty, faculty participation in decision-making, and student freedom seem to be consequences of improvement rather than causes of it. It is a conclusion to be much pondered by all not only by Catholic educators and administrators.

The principal problems of Catholic colleges, as Greeley understands them, lie in their relations with the religious orders that support and direct them. Not all of these religious orders, nor all of the provincials within any single order, understand either (a) the meaning of higher education in the United States or (b) the requirements faced by educational institutions if they are to succeed by American standards. There appears to be no solution to this problem at the present time beyond the hortatory one.

*The Changing Catholic College* is a good book; it can be read with profit—and pleasure—by any sociologist of education whether or not he is interested in Roman Catholic education. As a sociological study, it has one major weakness, however; the only quantitative data it presents are the NORC figures concerned with the original establishment of the Index of Improvement; no quantitative analysis of interview material is offered—which should be fascinating. Hopefully Fr. Greeley will remedy this omission in future publications.

REECE MCGEE

*Purdue University*

*Migration of College and University Students in the United States*, by CHARLES S. GOSSMAN, CHARLES E. NOBBE, THERESA J. PATRICELLI, CALVIN SCHMID, and THOMAS E. STEAHR. Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 1968. 180 pp. \$8.50.

From 1938 to 1963, college student migration increased three-fold, but migrants remain about one-fifth of total enrollment. Most students migrate only short distances to college. The

chance that no migration will occur between two states increases with the distance between them.

The "gravity model" can estimate, with generally satisfactory precision, the number of student migrants from a state enrolling in public or private institutions as undergraduate or graduate students in other states. Dodd's Interaction Hypothesis is used to express the probability of migration between two states in terms of "push," "pull" and distance factors. "Push" and "pull" parameters are calculated by maximum likelihood estimation procedures. Then the parameters are correlated with possible predictors. For undergraduates in private institutions, the urban population is the best out-migration factor and the private institutional income from private gifts and grants is the best immigration factor. Other useful predictors are expenditures for instruction and departmental research, income from Federal sources, and number of faculty—with  $r$ 's ranging from .56 to .95. This method of finding correlates can be commended if the proper mathematical function can be assumed in the beginning. The gravity model contributes significantly to the study, both substantively and methodologically, and shows that student migration can be predicted with considerable sophistication.

The data were drawn from U. S. Office of Education surveys showing state-by-state interchange of students, which comprise one of the most complete files of migration data available for analysis. The 1963 survey is given the most extensive treatment, but the authors also trace trends with data from 1938, 1949 and 1958 surveys. No explanation is given of why data from 1887, 1896 and 1920, which were also available, were not used.

The 1963 analysis of migration by type of student and type of institution covers six chapters—one for each "type"—in a fairly standardized fashion: graphs present the volume and rate of "in" and "out" migration by state; net migration and migration streams between eight regions, also graphed, are discussed; finally, Shryock's migration efficiency ratios for each state are presented. This part of the study describes migration but does not try to "explain" it. Those interested in migration to or from a particular region—or state—will find these chapters of interest.

A factor analysis of eight migration rates, five state demographic measures, and twelve characteristics of public and private state institutions is set up, with migration as the *dependent* variable (p. 131). However, these *dependent* variables are allowed to help define the factors, which is hardly a defensible pro-

cedure. The migration rates should have been excluded from the factor analysis and, after the factors were defined, correlated with global factor measures. The authors do perform a step-wise regression analysis that produces some high multiple  $R$ 's, but they don't tell us which independent variables predict best!

The data are available by sex, but the authors disregarded this factor. For demographers—even for sociologists—to disregard sex is unpardonable.

In sum, this study of migration runs from purely descriptive to eloquently analytical writing. The study could have made use of the work of H. Theodore Groat, who first analyzed student migration data, applied Shryock's migration efficiency ratios, and investigated Stouffer's hypothesis of "intervening opportunities." The volume would also have benefited from a more integrative chapter, pointing to additional work needed. One that comes to mind, suggested by a 1941 study by John Q. Stewart, an astronomer, is an institution-by-institution study, incorporating such variables as student fees, institutional prestige, size, and other "pull" factors. Such institutional factors undoubtedly affect motivation to migrate, and these motivating sparks are what migration studies should look for.

ABBOTT L. FERRISS

*Russell Sage Foundation*

*Juvenile Gangs in Context: Theory, Research, and Action*, edited by MALCOLM W. KLEIN, in collaboration with BARBARA G. MYERHOFF. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967. 210 pp. Paperbound. \$3.50.

Although the fifteen essays comprising this book were originally prepared for the 1963 ASA meetings, they should still be of interest to students of juvenile gangs. These papers are typical of the rich and varied literature on gangs that has appeared during the last decade, and accurately reflect the state of this field at the present time. Klein realized that "each paper speaks to a different set of questions," but has skillfully organized them into four chapters, dealing with "patterns of gang behavior," "related patterns of perception and behavior," "some sociological contests," and "action programs."

Unfortunately, it is difficult to see what some of the essays are trying to accomplish, since they present no significant new material. For example, some of the conclusions of the "Mid-city" study—that juvenile theft is most common among older adolescent males of low socio-

economic status—are statistical facts which have been known for at least a century. Empirical relationships such as this tell us little about the dynamics of juvenile gangs. Furthermore, placing emphasis on the act itself, rather than on the individual's participation in it, as seen in Walter Miller's paper, seems to indicate a return to a sociological version of the now discredited "Tatstrafrecht" ideology. Sophisticated presentations of routine social-psychological techniques for studying collective and group behavior may provide interesting reading, but hardly offer new insights. And Hans Matlick and Nathan Caplan's use of spectacular terms for certain gang members ("stake animals") and for certain actions by street club workers ("loud speaking") may provide novelty, but are inappropriate ways of describing the social problems of lower-class youth.

The major concerns of these papers are with deviant behavior patterns as related to social opportunities, the role of family structure in delinquency, rationalizations of deviant responses, delinquency patterns in a small city, the significance of family integration for gang participation, police disposition of delinquency cases, and several actions programs. The actions of juvenile gang members are full of riddles which provide fascinating material for analysis and speculation, but although most of these essays analyze and speculate impressively they make no startling new assessments and spell out no novel ways of dealing with these problems.

There are three exceptions to this generalization, however. Ramon Rivera and James Short's analysis of the social origins and occupational goals of Negro and white adolescents combines theory, research, and practice in a manner that offers theoretically sound implications for action. Their contribution should be of much use to those who are ready to give up ornamental sophistication for a simple and critical understanding of the crucial etiological issues of delinquency. Gerald Robin's study of officially recorded delinquencies applies general ideas about group behavior to delinquent gangs, and develops several techniques for comparative measurement. Eugene Wenninger and John Clark discuss social control in theoretical terms, and then distinguish two roles of the police in this process: supporting basic values as a symbolic agent of control, and achieving community goals as an instrumental action agency.

Save for these exceptions, the book provides more evidence that gang studies have reached the point where they can no longer avoid facing two sets of questions. The first concerns the dynamics of crystallizing the total problem (rather than just describing and analyzing situations) and of searching for viable and usable

answers. The second and perhaps more important question centers on the definitions of "delinquency" and "gang," and on the relationships of these phenomena to the law. Reluctance to deal with these two questions could become a major impasse in studies of juvenile gangs.

Malcolm Klein cannot be blamed for the quality of the material that he and Barbara Myerhoff included in this book, however, since he had to work with the available literature. He edited the book with scholarly skill, and wrote a significant "Introduction" in which he indicates his own "biases" and gives a brief account of the present state of knowledge about juvenile gangs.

STEPHEN SCHAFER

*Northeastern University*

*Critical Issues in the Study of Crime: A Book of Readings*, edited by SIMON DINIITZ and WALTER C. RECKLESS. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Co., 1968. 291 pp. Paperbound. \$3.50.

The editors of this soft-cover reader are interested in presenting "critical, central, unresolved, and emerging issues" as perceived by professional persons having contact with the law, public administration, law enforcement, and corrections. The collection of nontechnical articles is directed at members of in-service training courses in law enforcement and correction, as well as students taking courses in criminology, penology, and correctional administration. The book does not claim to deal with theoretical and empirical issues of interest to sociologists—even though the editors have this professional identity. Instead, they claim that "this volume is unique in its focus on the criminal and legal processes and on critical and on controversial policy matter." While this claim is overstated regarding "processes," the selection of readings does have a sharper focus on policy issues than other readers in the field.

The book is organized around nine basic topics: (1) crime, delinquency, and social change; (2) the relation of crime and law; (3) the reporting of crime; (4) the range of criminal behavior; (5) involvement of juveniles in delinquency; (6) the major behavioral deviations related to crime; (7) the role of the victim; (8) problems in law enforcement; and (9) punishment and correctional substitutes. Each topic forms a chapter that includes an introduction that adequately summarizes the "processes" or "issues," as well as three to eight selections.

Some of the readings are virtual reprints of

journal articles, while others are excerpted from government reports, books, and articles. Readings that report empirical data do not include the original tables. More annoying is the absence of original footnotes and references in any of the articles. The reader is a self-contained document, since it cannot lead the interested student (or teacher) to other related references without making another trip to the library to find the original source. This absence of "hard data" and specific references can be infuriating to teachers who attempt to deal with evidence and competing interpretations of data in relation to social policy discussions. Perhaps teachers of in-service training courses would feel differently about using this kind of "watered-down" reader.

Substantively, the chapter with the fewest articles approaches the ideal underlying the book's emphasis on policy issues. The three articles on compensating victims of personal-injury crimes refer to an area that has been neglected—theoretically, socially, and legally—for many years. The editors argue that "if society can spend a considerable amount of its resources in apprehending, convicting and incapacitating perpetrators, why should it not also be responsible for the losses sustained by innocent victims." The recent experiences of California, New York, Great Britain, and New Zealand are analyzed in terms of the following kinds of issues: the types of acts that shall be eligible for compensation; the grounds on which a victim can make a legal claim; the categories of victims that are eligible for compensation; the assessment of the victim's responsibility for the offense; whether victims can be compensated without the suspect being caught, brought to trial, and found guilty; and how compensation judgments and services shall be administered. One article extends the discussion by arguing that payments in the form of restitution by the offender can contribute to correctional reformation, as well as victim compensation. The issue of whether offenders should pay their "debt to the victim" instead of a "debt to society" is a provocative one; it raises questions about the role of the state in criminal proceedings, social obligations of offenders, assumptions underlying correctional ideology, and the provision of justice.

In terms of focusing on critical issues, the least satisfying group of articles deals with delinquency. For example, current and past critics of the juvenile court, such as Lemert and Tappan, have argued that juvenile status offenses should be handled differently from offenses that are considered traditional crimes. They contend that the problems of growing up should not be legally defined as delinquency, nor should they even be permitted to constitute a cause for in-

voking the jurisdiction of a juvenile court. Since juvenile status offences comprise an important segment of the courts' business, the issue is a relevant one.

Another issue that is not addressed concerns the long-standing conflict between traditional standards of justice and the ideology of rehabilitation. For many years the juvenile court departed markedly from the traditional standards of due process (i.e., notice of charges, right to counsel, right to confront and cross-examine the complainant, protection against self incrimination, right to a transcript of the proceedings, and right to appellate review). While recent legislation in urban states and the Gault decision by the Supreme Court have addressed the procedural aspects of justice, it is apparent that substantive issues of excessive detention and lengthy institutionalization for misdemeanors are also important. The Juvenile Courts have departed from traditional standards of justice that take into account the matching of social harm and social penalty. This has occurred, in part, because juvenile courts have valued "child saving" over "justice." Since empirical studies have been unable to demonstrate that departures from justice—procedural or substantive—have been more beneficial to the children being saved, the issue is open to debate and discussion. Dunham wrote about it ten years ago; Cavan included his article in a reader published in 1964. Recently Matza suggested that delinquent youth also appraise the system with a "sense of injustice." But this book does not make reference to these authors, nor does it address the conflict of values in the juvenile court as an issue.

The idea of a reader devoted strictly to policy issues is a good one. Unfortunately, this first attempt falls short of consistently adhering to a focus that would set it apart from previously available books.

PAUL LERMAN

*Columbia University School of Social Work*

*The Gay World: Male Homosexuality and the Social Creation of Evil*, by MARTIN HOFFMAN.  
New York: Basic Books, 1968. 212 pp. \$5.95.

For anyone interested but not widely read in the subject of homosexuality this book should be informative. It is well-written, and its extended case histories help to make it enjoyable reading. Given the myopic vision of most psychiatrists in their exposure to and conceptualization of the homosexual experience, it is, moreover, heartening to read a book by a psychiatrist who went into the gay world to view the homosexual in quite a different context from that provided by his office. A sense of honesty per-

vades the book, and what it has to say is in need of dissemination.

At the same time, the book has little to offer the social scientist who is at all versed in this area; it covers a wide range of topics, but without great depth. Hardly anything new is presented, and the few novel ideas that are introduced are not sufficiently explored to satisfy the professional reader. The author describes the book as an ethnography of gay life, although its contents hardly justify that description.

The book includes a review of various theories of homosexuality and the important literature in this area, from which the author concludes that the heterogeneity existing among homosexuals makes it impossible to speak of an *etiology* of homosexuality. It provides a good description of certain basic facts of homosexual life, including such topics as (a) the public places of gay life (streets, parks, rest rooms, steam baths, and gay bars), their social characteristics, and the ways in which sex is negotiated and carried out by persons who meet in these places; (b) promiscuity and the problem of intimacy—how society generates the homosexual's promiscuity by creating anxieties that inhibit stable relationships; and (c) homosexuals and the law—the legal statutes, law enforcement practices, usual locations of arrest, court practices, registration of homosexuals, and law reform. The author also examines, in a digression, what is meant by the indictment that homosexuality is a "crime against nature." This interlude analyzes Aristotle's view that all men have certain inherent tendencies toward a mode of life that reflects and express nature's intentions for man, and argues that this view is based on philosophical presuppositions that are no longer widely accepted.

The book is partially intended as a polemic, with social criticism that parallels the work of such sociologists as Lemert, Becker, and Schur. For this reason the book may appeal to many sociologists, despite a few speculations apparently derived from psychoanalytic theory. The theme of this criticism is contained in the following excerpts:

The gay world, in many respects, is a bad scene, and it is so because of the way homosexuals and homosexuality are treated by the straight world. . . . the best solution to the problem of homosexuality is one which is modeled on the solution to the problem of religious difference, namely, a radical tolerance for homosexual object-choice, whether as a segment of an individual's sexual existence or as a full commitment to homosexuality as a way of life.

Instead of viewing this form of object-choice as an unspeakable horror, or even as a mental disease, the public should be encouraged to see it as it actually is, i.e., a variation in the sexual impulse, which is one of the possible outcomes

of human sexual development, and—most significantly—one which need not do harm to anyone. If the social attitude could move in this direction, we would see the causal connection between homosexuality and psychotherapy . . . begin to recede.

In sum, a psychiatrist speaks in this book with sensitivity, social conscience and concern. Moreover, he speaks from an acquaintance with the maelstrom of homosexual life that is uncommon among others in his field.

MARTIN S. WEINBERG

*Indiana University*

*Sexual Deviation in American Society*, by BERNARD J. OLIVER, JR. New Haven, Conn.: College and University Press, 1968. 256 pp. \$6.50.

Several years ago, when the literature on sexual deviance was meager, one might have welcomed a book such as this that brought together existing bits and pieces of information and added some new data. Today, however, there is no need for a book that (a) lacks a conceptual framework and theoretical basis on which the material can be focused, (b) is indiscriminate in its choice of material selected from other authors, (c) naively accepts incredible self-serving statements, and (d) is so poorly edited that the style ranges from dull to ungrammatical and from absurd to laughable.

The first and major flaw of this work is the author's inability to decide what constitutes sexual deviance. "Deviance" is used interchangeably with "nonconformity," and nonconformity becomes any sexual expression outside of marriage, or even extracoital activities within marriage.

To borrow a word from his own vocabulary, Oliver is promiscuous and indiscriminate in uncritically quoting or paraphrasing anyone who has ever written on the subject of sexual deviance, from Freud, Karpman, and Kinsey to Woodward, Morse, and Sprague. (The latter authors write for the general public and cannot be cited as sources of factual data or theoretical insight.) Although there are references to the work of Kirkendall, Reiss, Ehrmann, and Ford and Beach, one looks in vain for Kingsley Davis, Lemert, or any representatives of the labeling and interactionist schools that have recently challenged many established conceptions of sexual deviance.

As a result of this indiscriminate dipping into many diverse sources, the book contains many contradictions that Oliver makes no effort to reconcile. For instance, he states that, according to Henry, "all major cities have areas and places where men congregate for the purpose of selling

[sex] favors," and that in New York alone there are one hundred thousand such sex offenders (p. 134). But he later writes that: "Males are also sometimes prostitutes, but they are quite rare" (p. 147). In another passage, he shows a complete misunderstanding of Kinsey's view of the homosexual when he writes: "Kinsey estimates that those who have experienced some homosexuality comprise from 19 to 28 percent of the women in the United States, there being as many as sixteen million Lesbians." Two sentences later, Kinsey is quoted as feeling that "female homosexuals are about one-half or one-third the number of male homosexuals." Based on these two pieces of information, the number of male homosexuals in United States would total between 32 to 42 million out of a 1960 male population of 61 million of 14 years of age and older!

A major part of the book consists of data on 202 sex offenders, classified according to type of offense. Some interesting information is given in individual case histories that are punctuated with diagnostic descriptions of the offenders as paranoid, schizoid, psychoneurotic, and sociopathic personalities. Yet all of these men, though imprisoned and lacking psychiatric treatment, presumably achieved satisfactory adjustment after release. One wonders if the source of these data were not probation reports—which constitute excellent material for analysis if one wants to learn about probation officers and not about delinquents or criminals.

Although many of the more permissive thinkers on sexual mores are quoted, an undertone of moral indignation pervades this book: parents must not abdicate to teenage tyranny, three cheers for chastity, and let's wipe out the evils of sin. "There should be no field of law enforcement in which vigilance is more strict than in connection with prostitution," writes the author. As I read this sentence, I reflected on a land struggling with organized crime, assassination, violence, and intense racial victimization.

EDWARD SAGARIN

*City College of New York*

*Older Rural Americans: A Sociological Perspective*, edited by E. GRANT YOUMANS. Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1968. 321 pp. \$8.75.

In bringing together a series of papers on the aged in rural America, a population segment not previously described in one convenient source, Grant Youmans has produced a useful volume. He intends his book for social scientists, social gerontologists, and persons concerned with developing applied programs for rural populations

—with the risk that none of these categories of readers will find the work completely satisfactory.

The book has no goal beyond describing various facets of rural life. The underlying focus implicit in some of the papers is a comparison of rural populations with city dwellers, but no attempt is made to organize and integrate the materials presented. An introductory perspective by the late Arnold Rose is frankly a revision of two already-published papers. Rose suggests three factors for considering the rural aged: aging itself, rural life, and a historical comparison between an earlier generation and the present. He concludes his analysis with a viewpoint that he has pressed on other occasions—that older people are developing a sense of group identity which will make them aware of their potential power and thus enable them to press for solutions to their common problems. Rose offers little contemporary evidence for his position. Indeed, the materials presented by Walter C. McKain, Jr. in his chapter, "Community Roles and Activities of Older Rural Persons," suggest that older persons tend to withdraw from community and other activities, which contradicts Rose's expectation that they will become a cohesive pressure group.

The other chapters in the book discuss work roles, the family, population, economic status, health conditions, and housing. The editor's chapter on "disengagement theory" presents data gathered in Lexington, Ky., and a nearby rural county. Unfortunately, these materials stand by themselves as an independent research report and are not integrated with other studies of the rural aged presented either in this volume or elsewhere.

There are also three chapters dealing with special aged subcultures that have been generally overlooked in the social gerontological literature: "The Older American Indians" by Jerrold E. Levy, "The Older Rural Negro" by Stanley H. Smith, and "The Older Rural Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest" by Olen E. Leonard.

The book concludes with a chapter called "Programs for the Rural Elderly." As the authors point out, some of the most significant developments in this field have been attempts to coordinate services and programs at various governmental levels. One of the more interesting contributions of this chapter is a two-page chart showing the ways in which federal agencies serve older persons directly.

Some of the chapters contain thorough reviews and analyses of the literature, such as the McKain chapter mentioned above and the chapter on the family by Joseph H. Britton and Jean O. Britton. In other instances the information

available is limited or the authors have ignored literature relevant to their subject because it was not specifically written with gerontological problems in mind. This is true, for example, of the chapters on the Negro and the American Indian.

In summary, *Older Rural Americans: A Sociological Perspective* is a convenient introduction to a wide range of information about older rural residents. Both the specialist and the novice may find it useful as a contemporary summary of a wide body of knowledge. However, the chapters are uneven in their focus and stand as independent reviews of the literature or as separate research reports.

GORDON F. STREIB

Cornell University

*Latent Structure Analysis*, by PAUL F. LAZARSFELD and NEIL W. HENRY. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1968. 294 pp. \$9.50.

*Latent Structure Analysis* is both an impressive and a disappointing book. The ingenuity displayed in solving the mathematical problems posed by the latent structure concept is truly impressive. Unfortunately, the authors remain content with technical virtuosity. They do not seriously explore the relevance of latent structure techniques for constructing sociological theory, and their forays into data analysis are limited to frequently artificial examples illustrating the properties of particular latent structure models.

The latent structure concept was first described in the fourth volume of *The American Soldier* and has since been developed by an entire generation of Columbia methodologists under the aegis of Paul Lazarsfeld. The volume under review is in many ways the culmination of this collective effort.

The basic idea of latent structure analysis is most easily understood by considering responses to questionnaire items. This technique partitions persons answering the questionnaire into a number of hypothetical classes. Within a single latent class, responses to different items are assumed to be independent of one another. The authors call this the "principle of local independence" and make it the central premise of all latent structure analysis. Moreover, all persons in a single latent class have identical response probabilities on all questionnaire items.

The nature of the latent space (i.e., the set of latent classes) and the character of response alternatives on questionnaire items define specific latent structure models. Latent class models assume a finite number of latent classes and dichotomous questionnaire items. Latent distance models assume dichotomous items and a

finite ordered set of latent classes. Traceline models assume a continuous array of latent classes plus dichotomous questionnaire items. Latent profile models postulate a finite set of latent classes and continuous response alternatives. A Markov chain defined on a finite set of latent classes forms a latent Markov chain model.

Determining the distribution of persons among the various latent classes and establishing the response probabilities for each latent class constitute the principal technical problems of latent structure analysis. The main solution proposed by the authors (originally suggested by T. W. Anderson) involves manipulating data to obtain a matrix whose characteristic values and vectors can be identified as latent parameters. Standard methods are used to extract these quantities from the matrix, and they are in turn used to calculate the remaining latent parameters.

The overriding concern of Lazarsfeld and Henry seems to be solving technical problems. So great is their technical ardor that almost no mathematical detail escapes their attention, no matter how marginal its importance. Unfortunately, this compulsive thoroughness obscures the distinction between the more and the less significant aspects of latent structure analysis. And in view of this technical emphasis, the authors' omission of computer programs is particularly surprising. The absence of such programs will sharply curtail the use of latent structure analysis in actual research and will indirectly hamper its theoretical elaboration. Publication of the book should have been delayed until adequate computer programs were available.

An even more unfortunate omission is the failure to clarify the conceptual status of latent structure analysis. Nowhere in the book do the authors specify whether latent structure analysis is best regarded as a method of measurement, a procedure for detecting causal relationships, a strategy of theory construction, or something quite different from any of these. This ambiguity stems in part from the absence of an adequate discussion about underlying assumptions. Lazarsfeld and Henry essentially dodge the question of when and why the local independence axiom is justified. They offer neither criteria for deciding which latent structure model is best suited to a set of empirical data, nor indications of what a successful latent structure analysis reveals about causal relationships among variables. Consequently, a research worker interested in the latent structure technique remains in a quandary about what it can do, when it can be used, which variation is appropriate, and what the results mean.



As a strategy of theory construction, latent structure analysis has much in common with factor analysis, path analysis, and smallest space analysis. All these methods are based on a Baconian-type perspective that hopes to achieve complete objectivity by extracting theory directly from data. Though attractive in its determination to avoid arbitrary theoretical assumptions, the Baconian orientation vastly underrates the role of conjecture in scientific inference and often leads to stereotyped and uninformative theoretical schemes. No doubt latent structure analysis can offer valuable aid in the process of theory construction. To do so, however, it must operate in conjunction with, not as a mechanical substitute for, substantive theoretical analysis.

Neither the shortcomings nor the formidable notation of this volume should obscure the virtues of the latent structure technique which, if properly deployed, can lead to far more sophisticated interpretations of empirical findings. Numerous problems of latent structure analysis remain unsolved, however. Hopefully, methodologists at Columbia and elsewhere will continue the pioneering efforts of Lazarsfeld and Henry, thereby giving full scope to the potential of latent structure analysis which this work reveals.

THOMAS F. MAYER

*University of Michigan*

*Inferential Statistics in the Behavioral Sciences*, by SHELDON G. LEVY. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968. 267 pp. \$7.95.

Although there are some sections in this book that are clear, concise, and usable by the novice for collateral reading, it is not, in general, useful as a text for introductory social statistics. Some other text that contained more non-parametric and asymmetric (e.g. Somer's  $d_{rs}$ ) statistics as well as a more sophisticated treatment of regression and analysis of variance would better serve most students.

The best part of the book is its discussion of measures of association, in particular of phi and gamma. Attention is drawn to the effect of marginal distributions on phi, and a correction for ties is suggested for gamma. The discussion of the product-moment correlation is good because it is linked with regression and is clearly defined as an estimate of *linear* association. This discussion could be improved, though, by using raw scores instead of standard scores and expanding the attention given to regression.

Confidence intervals are discussed in relation to hypothesis testing, with a clear statement of the logic of one-tailed tests and an evaluation

of this procedure. Though the author gives a good resume of Type I and Type II errors, I would like to have seen more attention paid to Type II errors. If research is cumulative, it is ridiculous to continue to test the null hypothesis that the statistic is equal to zero without proposing the alternative that it is equal to a specific value known from prior research. The problem of setting critical regions for Type I and Type II errors when there are reasonable alternative hypotheses is not discussed.

Chi-square is defined as a probability measure for differences of distribution. This discussion is clear and easily understood, and is marred only by going on to develop chi-square as a measure of association. Modifications of chi-square (e.g., Cramers V) are not given.

Finally, a very useful research paradigm is developed that should help the student see the relationships between "reality," concept formation, and statistical manipulation.

Having sketched the credit side of the ledger, let us now turn to the debits. Some sections of the book are not well written. The author has chosen to write a "readable" text and has avoided, as much as possible, the use of mathematical equations. This puts a heavy burden on the instructor to provide derivations and transitions from definitional formulas to computing formulas. If students are to understand what they are doing, they need, and ought to get, more formal mathematics than are given in this book.

The book emphasizes experimental design, with the consequence that typical problems of most field research in sociology (e.g. unequal cell frequencies, the necessity of statistical rather than experimental control) are ignored. No groundwork is laid for causal inference in non-experimental design. The notions of partial or multiple association are not mentioned. Many simple asymmetric statistics (e.g., Goodman and Kruskal's Tau and Lambda, Somer's  $d_{rs}$ ) that would be of considerable help to students in typical sociological research are not included. Finally, the list of references is quite short. Detailed footnotes and bibliographic references are missing. A systematic introduction to the wider world of statistical literature is left to the instructor.

DONALD R. PLOCH

*Yale University*

*Vital Problems for American Society: Meanings and Means*, edited by J. ALAN WINTER, JEROME RABOW and MARK CHESLER. New York: Random House, 1968. 527 pp. \$7.95.

This book is in the mainstream of the current

debate about where America is going. Its unique feature, as a text on social problems, is its use of the Preamble of the Constitution of the United States. On the reasoning that the Preamble is a list of dominant American values and goals and that its language uses important common symbols, the editors contend that it provides a useful guide or framework for the study of social problems in America.

From this perspective, the book examines two kinds of problems: (1) those arising from *meanings*—"the problems of defining the key values and goals of American society;" and (2) those having to do with *means*—"the problems of implementing whatever definition is offered."

The editors argue that this approach is preferable to what they call the traditional approach, which stresses the discrepancy between social standards and actual conditions. The discrepancy perspective allegedly views social problems as those conditions that affect many people and that influential leaders and concerned persons think should be ameliorated. The works of Metton, Nisbet, Leslie, McDonah, and Simpson are given as examples of this approach.

In contrast, this book centers on common societal symbols, goals, and values, in the belief that they represent its most vital problems: those that "affect the viability of a society's preferred way of life." Special attention is paid to the processes necessary to keep the society's preferred way of life viable, whereas the discrepancy approach focuses on undesirable or abnormal situations without regard to the degree of threat they pose to a society.

Probably few sociologists would think that the two approaches differ as sharply as the editors maintain, for in actuality the problems defined by each orientation are closely related and perhaps differ only in emphasis. The device of using the Preamble as a frame of reference does shift the focus of attention to some problems not usually approached directly in other books on social problems, but even here it is probable that some treatment of them is implicit in the subjects discussed.

The reader is organized into eight sections, following the wording of the Preamble: (1) We the People of the United States; (2) To form a more perfect union; (3) To establish justice; (4) To insure domestic tranquility; (5) To provide for the common defense; (6) To promote the general welfare; (7) To secure the blessings of liberty; (8) To ourselves and our posterity.

The thirty-five selections that comprise the book consider such problems as: the population explosion, equality for the Negro, federal-state relationships, church-state relationships, civilian-military relationships, civil disobedience, the

draft, poverty, political extremism, the new youth culture, education, urban growth and planning. Many of the topics discussed in standard social problems text are entirely omitted.

In general, the editors do achieve their basic goal. Keeping within the framework of the Preamble, they do define the key values and goals of American society and the problems of implementing them. Sometimes, regrettably, complex issues are treated all too briefly in a single article. The format adopted also produces some overlap in several chapters. The selections are of uneven quality, and some are superficial. Despite these criticisms, instructors will find that important and complex social issues are raised in this book.

ROSE GIALLOMBARDO

*University of Chicago*

*Sociological Analysis: An Empirical Approach Through Replication*, by MURRAY A. STRAUS and JOEL I. NELSON. New York: Harper and Row, 1968. 355 pp. Paperbound. \$4.95.

This text consists of a set of research reports that are intended to be replicated by students with data derived from the class itself. Straus and Nelson believe that beginning sociology students need laboratory work comparable to that found in introductory courses in the biological and physical sciences if they are to appreciate the status of sociology as a science. However, I doubt that this book will provide the desired appreciation.

If one thinks of sociology as a science, then he must take replication seriously. Unfortunately, the authors do not; fully half their "replications" are actually new studies. For example, a study of the attitudes of both parents toward independence training becomes a study of students' perceptions of their mothers' attitudes toward this training; a "replication" of a study of organizational participation and alienation substitutes students' perceptions of their fathers' feelings and behavior for an original sample of adult males and employs new measures of alienation. A factor analysis of nineteen status indices is reduced to three simple cross-tabulations. If sociologists cannot recognize the meaning of their work and present their results in a better way than this, one cannot fault students for failing to appreciate the "science" of sociology.

In several instances, the research reports themselves are poorly chosen. A prime example is the Kahl and Davis factor analysis of socioeconomic indices, which concludes that there is a single SES factor—a conclusion that is dubious in terms of their own data and wrong in

the light of other and more recent research. Substantive issues aside, one wonders how Straus and Nelson can justify including a study involving factor and cluster analyses in an introductory text without a word of explanation about either technique or their relationship to the cross-tabulations substituted in the "replication." In a second example, one might seriously question whether Garfinkel's "Studies of the Routine Grounds of Everyday Activities," contains a scientific methodology to replicate. Straus and Nelson appear to recognize this, since they create an experiment to test one of Garfinkel's ideas, but this hardly speaks for the appropriateness of the original article.

Apart from the original studies, the replications are banal. The typical replication consists of a single cross-tabulation based on student self-reports compiled and presented by the instructor. Little attention is given to establishing an argument through a series of tables, and student participation is actually quite minimal.

Despite these criticisms, the basic idea of the text seems sound: introductory students can be given data with which to replicate or extend past research. The data could be generated from themselves or adapted from existing data sets and punched on Hollerith or key-sort cards. In conjunction with the required reading or special lists, students could be asked to generate problems, test them with their data, and write short papers reporting the results. They might begin with real replications and then move to increasingly complex extensions. I am impressed by the idea, if not by the book.

DAVID ELESCH

*University of Wisconsin*

*Human Fertility in Latin America: Sociological Perspectives*, by J. MAYONE STYCOS. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1968. 318 pp. \$11.00.

This collection of eighteen articles by Stycos includes three not previously published. Although most of the published articles have appeared within the last five years, they accurately represent his work over the past two decades on the topic of fertility in Latin America. As Stycos himself notes, his main concern throughout his professional career has been to gain a better understanding of the factors sustaining high fertility in Latin America. And he has never concealed his underlying motive to find ways of reducing the current high levels of fertility.

This book therefore provides an opportunity to review the nature and direction of Stycos'

research interests as they have developed over an extended period. It is evident that his primary interest has never been the measurement of fertility as such, and that his strong suit is not formal demography. These factors may have been responsible for his error in reporting Peruvian fertility. He drew on 1940 census data to show that, contrary to expectation, fertility was lower for the Indian highland population than for the mestizo lowland population. He then went on to provide a "cultural" explanation of this unexpected finding. Had he examined the data more carefully, however, he would have seen that the explanation was unnecessary, for, as Bradshaw and Whitehead have demonstrated, if highland fertility is adjusted for the understatement of births, the difference no longer exists.

The major contribution of this book is indicated by its subtitle: "sociological perspectives." Stycos has consistently tried to broaden and deepen the social context within which fertility behavior is studied. In this respect one cannot help being impressed by his restless and probing mind, which is always seeking new directions in which to extend this work.

His earliest field work, principally in Puerto Rico, was devoted to the development of the sample survey as an instrument for fertility studies. As one of the pioneers in this endeavor, he contributed greatly to our understanding of the familial and interpersonal context of reproductive behavior. He helped to overcome such long-time shibboleths as the unwillingness of Latin Americans to discuss sexual behavior, the strong direct influence of Church teachings on the reproductive behavior of the masses, and the belief that lower class women wanted as many children as they possibly could bear.

While Stycos has done much to develop the sample survey, he has never been blind to its limitations. One of the more provocative articles in this book deals with Haitian attitudes toward family size. Aware that in the usual survey method of determining ideal family size "the very raising of the question structures the response," he devised an indirect approach based on responses to a series of photographs of large and small families. His conclusion that "norms concerning the appropriate family size seem nonexistent and inappropriate for most subjects" pertains to a particularly backward and illiterate population, but it should be a caution to all who rely too heavily on formal survey responses.

The work of Stycos and others has made it increasingly clear that many people in Latin America do want to limit their family's size. This knowledge, together with the new contraceptive devices that were just then reaching the

market, plus the cautious willingness of Latin American governments to at least consider establishing large-scale programs of family control, led Stycos to turn his attention from the family context of fertility to what might be called "the political sociology of family planning." Many of these articles contain analyses of the ideology of intellectuals, the importance of nationalism, the political implications of actions of the Church and of U.S. agencies operating within Latin America, and the way in which the mass media form public opinion on fertility control. In all these investigations his concern has been to identify the barriers to the successful implementation of family planning programs. These excursions have taken him far afield from the usual demographic studies of fertility, but they are as deserving of attention as his earlier studies based on sample surveys.

Stycos is a relatively rare phenomenon in sociology in that he has concentrated nearly his entire professional career on just one subject. Although this is an extremely complex topic, it is nevertheless impressive that he continues to be so innovative in his research. I am looking forward to the new directions Stycos' work will take during the next twenty years. If most Latin American countries are completing their demographic transitions by that time, and if social research does influence public policy, then surely Stycos will have played an important role in promoting these changes.

To end on a churlish note, I fail to understand why a book of this length has to be priced at \$11.00. Nowadays we seem to be getting thin volumes with fat price tags. Ralph Nader, where are you?

HARLEY L. BROWNING

*University of Texas*

*Matrix Analysis of Interregional Population Growth and Distribution*, by ANDREI ROGERS. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1968. 119 pp. \$5.00.

The literature of mathematical demography has been concentrated on populations in single regions. In *Matrix Analysis of Interregional Population Growth and Distribution*, Andrei Rogers provides a framework for dealing with multiregional population growth, identifying separate age cohorts within each region. Essentially, he defines a population column vector whose cells cross-classify regional location by age. The time path of this population vector is then generated by a large transformation matrix which reflects age-specific birth, death, and migration (with identified point-to-point flows) rates for each region.

The basic idea in this formulation is the expression in matrix notation of an elaborate population projection scheme in which separate age cohorts and point-to-point age-specific migration flows are identified. This formulation is useful because it permits the application of matrix analysis techniques and theorems to discussions of demographic processes underlying the growth and the redistribution of population by region and by age *within* the different regions. Rogers discusses the use of a transformation matrix in making population projections for several regions simultaneously, including the problem of estimating parameters in the matrix, latent properties of the matrix, and schemes for deriving the kind of transformation matrix needed to produce a desired regional distribution of population. As Rogers suggests, his work would seem to be useful as collateral reading in courses on mathematical demography and as a reference for professionals who analyze population growth and age distributional changes in a set of interacting regions.

*Matrix Analysis of Interregional Population Growth and Distribution* is basically a collection and synthesis of several papers published in journals or presented at meetings by Andrei Rogers between 1966 and 1967. Following an introductory chapter, Rogers presents his basic model. Four chapters are then devoted, respectively, to forecasting, estimation, stability and intervention. In another chapter he presents the results of his empirical analysis of interregional migration flows using census data.

As the author himself notes, this book is not a comprehensive textbook on the mathematical demography of multiregional growth and age distributional change; rather it is a reporting of selected discussions related to this general topic.

There are particular points in the book at which a reviewer might differ with an assumption or viewpoint taken by an author. For example, in the definition of the parameters of the matrix operator, the births (between times  $t$  and  $t+1$ ) which are identified within a given region seem to be those that occur in the population of the region at time  $t$ , and no allowance seems to be made for births which occur to migrants. This allowance is necessary when one is dealing with a period (between  $t$  and  $t+1$ ) as long as five years, and it would significantly increase the difficulties of estimating the above-mentioned parameters from available population statistics. In regard to the difficulties of estimation, Rogers presents a useful review and an illustrative application of various techniques for estimating the matrix operator from a sequence of observations of the region-by-age population distribution. He notes that it might often be untenable to assume that the same sys-

tem of demographic parameters underlies the whole sequence of observed population distributions, and also mentions some difficulties associated with the specific techniques he reviews. Another objection is embodied in the view that, since different transformation matrices might produce an observed sequence of distributions, one may obtain very good fit to these distributions and still have a seriously erroneous reflection (in the estimated transformation matrix) of the processes which did in fact generate the observed distributions. Efforts should be made to test the estimated matrix operator with data that more directly reflect the values of the operator's parameters.

Rogers' chapters on forecasting and intervention are useful discussions for demographers who are doing work in support of social and economic planning bodies. In the forecasting application, the inter-regional migration probabilities are estimated (in a regression model) from variables reflecting economic conditions, labor force size, and distances among the regions in question. The discussion on intervention shows how the matrix operator may be modified to generate desired shifts in the regional distribution of population. In the latter discussion, Rogers seems to have rested the justification for his work too heavily on the latent properties of a specific observation of the matrix operator. He would no doubt agree that any observed matrix operator can be expected to change over time (perhaps even in the very short run), as a result of social and economic developments.

These minor negative comments are mentioned only in the interest of balanced criticism, and they are not intended to detract from the overall accomplishment of Rogers' work. The book contains 51 tables, an index, and liberal references to related literature.

LEROY O. STONE

*Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada*

*The Population of Tropical Africa*, edited by JOHN C. CALDWELL and CHUKUKA OKONJO. New York: Columbia University Press, 1968. 457 pp. \$10.00.

This work is a record of the First African Population Conference, held at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, in early 1966. It contains some 46 papers (a majority of them by non-African scholars), along with two lucid introductory chapters by Caldwell that summarize the themes discussed in the two main sections of the book. Throughout the volume a firm and well used editorial pencil is in evidence: even papers on the driest topics read unusually well,

and a certain uniformity of style and economy of presentation have been achieved. The volume is also complemented by an index that will facilitate its use as a reference work despite some inconsistencies in its coverage. The book is a thoroughly professional product of impressively high quality, much of which should be recommended reading for demographers with an interest in developing areas (not necessarily including Africa), and for all students of Tropical Africa, regardless of their interest in demography.

Readers in the latter category should be warned, however, that at least in its geographical scope the book offers something less than its title promises. The focus of the conference (as reflected by the list of more than one hundred participants) was squarely on Tropical Africa, excluding those countries where the dominant foreign language is French. The area covered nevertheless still represents nearly half of the total population of the African continent, and includes a large majority of those persons living south of the Sahara and north of the Tropic of Capricorn. For these populations, the volume brings together a wealth of material unequalled in the demographic literature, and constitutes a landmark in the development of African population studies (along with the more technical work *The Demography of Tropical Africa* by W. Brass, *et al.*). The Population Council, whose support appears to have made the publication (as well as the conference) possible, is to be congratulated for a most valuable contribution.

Considering the extensive (though still inadequate) resources that even the poorest countries must channel into the collection of population statistics today, mostly through censuses and surveys, one is bound to be struck by the gross imbalance between the great efforts involved in the mechanics of these operations, in contrast to the relative neglect of such "pure" and "applied" concerns as the methodology, planning and organization, or analysis and evaluation of population studies. This contrast is hardly limited to Africa, but it is vividly illustrated by the fact (stated on p. 432) that no university library in the area contains as many as half of the fifty publications on population produced by African scholars in recent years.

The foregoing remarks apply particularly to the papers contained in the first two-thirds of this volume, dealing with African censuses and vital statistics and with problems of estimating fertility, mortality, and population growth. Apart from a few papers that report on Tropical Africa as a whole—such as those by van de Walle, Coale and Som, and the methodological contributions of Brass—most studies in his section treat particular countries or sub-regions, and deal

with relatively narrow topics that would interest only a hardened specialist. However, an attentive reader will gain a cumulative experience from these papers that makes their perusal worthwhile.

The last third of the book, under the totally inappropriate title of "The Situation with Regard to Population Growth and Economic Development," presents a mixed bag of papers that survey governmental population policies, studies of African attitudes toward birth control, and problems of demographic research, training, and aid in Tropical Africa. Apart from a paper by van de Walle, little is said about the influence of demographic factors on economic development. The plausible proposition is asserted—but not demonstrated—that any possible advantage of large population size is more than counterbalanced by the economic disadvantages of rapid population growth and high dependency ratios that are inherent in uncontrolled fertility. Kirk and Nortman's world survey of governmental efforts to spread family planning devotes only ten lines to Subsaharan Africa, and their report is wholly negative. New developments have begun to occur in this field during the past two years, however. Indeed, rapid change is characteristic of most subjects examined in this volume. A second general review of the scene would seem to be necessary, at least as soon as the results of the 1970 censuses become available for analysis.

PAUL DEMENY

*University of Michigan*

*Post-War Immigrants in Canada*, by ANTHONY H. RICHMOND. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1967. 320 pp. \$7.50.

Although immigration has made a significant contribution to Canadian population growth over the last twenty years, published sociological research on immigrants and immigrant adjustment has been very slim. This book will therefore be welcomed as a record of the employment and occupational experiences of immigrants, the levels of income they achieved, their social experiences, and their assessment of life in Canada.

While Canadian immigration policy has favoured British immigrants over those from other countries, on the premise that cultural similarity facilitates assimilation and integration, Richmond shows that British immigrants neither assimilate nor integrate more successfully than non-British immigrants. Although British immigrants have some educational and occupational advantages over those from other countries, all tend to find employment in occupations consistent with their past employment experience.

All immigrants, British and non-British, improved their material standard of living; and while British immigrants were better off in absolute terms, non-British immigrants made greater relative gains. Most immigrants, British and non-British, expressed satisfaction with life in Canada. Canadian immigration policy also favoured Northwestern European immigrants over others, but Richmond does not indicate whether Northwestern European immigrants were more successfully assimilated or integrated than immigrants from other origins.

Although Canadian immigration policy may prescribe particularistic and ascriptive selective criteria, cultural tradition does not seem to exert a strong influence on the occupational distribution of immigrants when (a) they possess skills consistent with the demands of the occupational structure, and (b) the emphasis (characteristic of an industrial society) is on universalism and technical competence as allocative principles.

Although employment was eventually consistent with employment experiences in their native countries, British and non-British immigrants experienced *status dislocation*, usually in the form of an initial status loss followed by recovery, or sometimes improvement in status. When recovery or improvement occurred, status dislocation did not reduce satisfaction with life in Canada.

Satisfaction was primarily associated with the achievement of expectations of economic improvement, although non-British immigrants also expressed considerable satisfaction with the level of individual freedom in Canada.

Immigrants may, however, be satisfied with material gains without becoming culturally assimilated or socially integrated. In fact, although immigrants were generally satisfied with life in Canada, they still maintained cultural contacts by reading ethnic papers and magazines and belonging to ethnic associations. Nonetheless, the data indicate that there is frequent contact between immigrants and Canadians. Since cultural assimilation and social integration (measured by reading and social contacts, respectively) were positively related to level of education, it may be inferred that universalistic and achievement criteria tend to regulate social participation, assuming that the better educated immigrants and native Canadians associate in terms of occupational or other common interests. Ethnic enclaves and particularistically-based relationships tend to form only where occupational and educational levels are low.

Although Canadian citizenship confers some benefits (more for non-British than for British immigrants), a decision to become a Canadian is mainly a symbolic gesture of identification with the new country. While it might be expected

that a similarity between an immigrant's cultural traditions and dominant Canadian traditions would facilitate such a decision, Richmond shows that the greater the cultural *dissimilarity*, the more likely the decision to become a Canadian. While satisfaction is also correlated with the decision to become a citizen, the relation to cultural dissimilarity is stronger.

Although the author is fully aware of the limitations of a small sample ( $N=478$ ), and cannot be held responsible for the virtual impossibility of obtaining a large probability sample of immigrants in Canada, the analysis was necessarily limited to simple cross-tabulations, so that differences in distributions must be interpreted cautiously. It is also difficult, using survey research techniques, to obtain satisfactory information relating to acculturation and social integration. If acculturation means an acceptance of the values and associated symbols of a society, then information other than language fluency and reading habits is required, although such information may indicate a tendency toward acculturation. Similarly, if social integration means frequent interaction and strong affective ties with others, information about voluntary association affiliations and the nationality of an

immigrant's friends can serve only as crude indicators of a complex process. Although this work provides solid information about the occupational and economic experiences of immigrants, it makes only a limited contribution to knowledge about their social experiences.

Despite the provocative suggestion that "traditional sociological concepts, such as absorption, assimilation, and integration, may be anachronistic," Richmond fails to contribute to the theory of immigrant acculturation or integration. His hypotheses are on a low level of abstraction (e.g., "the greater the similarity between the immigrant's way of life in his new country and that in his former country, the less likely will he be to change his nationality") and are rarely supported by theoretical argument. Generally his practice is to state empirical generalizations and hypotheses with a minimum of explanation.

Despite these limitations, this research makes an important contribution to knowledge about immigrants to Canada and to the literature on immigrant adjustment generally.

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### ERRATA

(1) To Stephen Cole and Jonathan R. Cole's "Visibility and the structural bases of awareness of scientific research," (ASR, June, 1968), add this missing footnote: "Revision of a paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, August, 1967. This research was supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation (GS 960) to the program in the Sociology of Science, Columbia University, Robert K. Merton, director. We thank Robert K. Merton and Norman Storer for their helpful suggestions on an earlier draft of the paper. This may be identified as publication number A-487 of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University."

(2) In Kurt H. Wolff's contribution to the review symposium on the IEES, (ASR, October, 1968, p. 809b), substitute David Landau for Martin Landau as co-author of *Adolphe Quetelet*.

(3) In S. N. Eisenstadt's review of Maurice Zeitlin's *Revolutionary Politics and the Cuban Working Class* (ASR, October, 1968, pp. 814-815), a typographical error made a reviewer's criticism out of what was actually the author's self-doubt. Thus, the second paragraph in the first column on p. 815 should have been a continuation (without ellipsis) of the prior quotation that ends, "... eliminate their estrangement. . . ."

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# AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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## THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF LEGAL CONTACTS \*

LEON MAYHEW AND ALBERT J. REISS, JR.

*Center for Research on Social Organization, University of Michigan*

*This is a study of how both the organization of the legal system and of citizen affairs lead citizens to define affairs as legal matters and to seek advice from a lawyer. The data are from a sample survey of the problems and legal experiences of 780 residents of the Detroit Metropolitan Area, 604 white and 176 Negro. The findings show that income and location in the social structure affect citizen contacts with attorneys not only by providing relevant resources but by determining their types of problems. Each type of problem has its own pattern of requirements and constraints for the use of legal services. The type of problem, institutionalized definitions about it, available resources, and the social organization of problem solution engender contacts with the legal profession.*

EVERYONE from time to time defines his affairs as legal matters or experiences violations of his legal rights. Yet little is known of how citizen affairs come to the attention of attorneys or official legal agencies. Particularly lacking is an understanding of how both the organization of citizen affairs and of the legal system leads citizens to define affairs as legal matters and to seek advice from a lawyer. This paper presents some findings on problems citizens define as legal matters and their contact with attorneys.

To prevent confusion and to forestall inappropriate criticism, we should also stress what the study is not. It is not, as are a number of recent studies, an attempt to assess the "objective" legal requirements of a population from a value or organized system perspective. Nor is it an attempt to evaluate the quality of legal services. Rather it is based entirely on citizen reports of perceived problems and of their actual experience in problem solving, including contact with lawyers.

The findings result from 780 completed interviews from an original sample of 957 households in the Detroit SMSA, a completion rate of 82%. The refusal rate was 12%, with the remaining noncompletion rate of 6% assigned to failure to locate a respondent after at least three call backs.

The sampling design set the probability of selecting a Detroit City household at twice that (1:785) of a household outside the central city (1:1570) so as to insure inclusion of more Negro citizens in partial analyses. There are 173 Negro and 349 white interviews in the central city and three Negro and 255 white interviews outside the central city. All estimates of proportions are based on the weighted sample of 1,038 residents: 859 white and 179 Negro.

### THE PREVALENCE OF SEEKING LEGAL ADVICE OR HELP

Each resident was asked whether he had ever gone to a lawyer or talked with a lawyer in order to get help or advice on problems that can be legal matters. Approximately seven of every ten residents in the weighted sample reported seeing a lawyer at least once about a legal matter. One in four reported

\* Being a revised edition of a paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Sociological Association, Omaha, Nebraska, April 19, 1968.



TABLE 1. PERCENT OF ALL RESIDENTS WHO SOUGHT ADVICE FROM A LAWYER BY SOCIAL BACKGROUND  
FACTORS: WEIGHTED SAMPLE OF DETROIT SMSA, 1967

| Social Background Factors | Percent Seeking Advice from Lawyer | Social Background by Race and Sex | Percent Seeking Advice from Lawyer | Social Background by Race and Sex | Percent Seeking Advice from Lawyer |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Race                      |                                    | Race-Sex-Income                   |                                    | Race-Sex-Education                |                                    |
| White                     | 71                                 | White male                        |                                    | White male                        |                                    |
| Negro                     | 59                                 | \$6,999 or less                   | 59                                 | High school or less               | 71                                 |
|                           |                                    | \$7,000-\$14,999                  | 78                                 | Some college                      | 82                                 |
|                           |                                    | \$15,000 & over                   | 84                                 |                                   |                                    |
| Sex                       |                                    | White female                      |                                    | White female                      |                                    |
| Male                      | 73                                 | \$6,999 or less                   | 61                                 | High school or less               | 67                                 |
| Female                    | 66                                 | \$7,000-\$14,999                  | 71                                 | Some college                      | 75                                 |
|                           |                                    | \$15,000 & over                   | 83                                 |                                   |                                    |
| Race-Sex                  |                                    | Negro male                        |                                    | Negro male                        |                                    |
| White male                | 74                                 | \$6,999 or less                   | 58                                 | High school or less               | 69                                 |
| White female              | 69                                 | \$7,000-\$14,999                  | 72                                 | Some college                      | *                                  |
| Negro male                | 69                                 | \$15,000 & over                   | *                                  |                                   |                                    |
| Negro female              | 53                                 |                                   |                                    |                                   |                                    |
| Home Ownership            |                                    | Negro Female                      |                                    | Negro Female                      |                                    |
| Owner                     | 76                                 | \$6,999 or less                   | 40                                 | High school or less               | 52                                 |
| Renter                    | 52                                 | \$7,000-\$14,999                  | 82                                 | Some college                      | 60                                 |
|                           |                                    | \$15,000 & over                   | *                                  |                                   |                                    |
| Religion                  |                                    |                                   |                                    |                                   |                                    |
| Catholic                  | 68                                 |                                   |                                    |                                   |                                    |
| Protestant                | 70                                 |                                   |                                    |                                   |                                    |
| Jewish                    | 88                                 |                                   |                                    |                                   |                                    |
| Age                       |                                    | Race-Sex-Social Status            |                                    | Race-Sex-Home Ownership           |                                    |
| Under 35                  | 65                                 | White male                        |                                    | White male                        |                                    |
| 35-54                     | 73                                 | White collar                      | 79                                 | Owens                             | 77                                 |
| 55 and over               | 69                                 | Blue collar                       | 70                                 | Rents                             | 64                                 |
| Income                    |                                    | White female                      |                                    | White female                      |                                    |
| \$6,999 or less           | 56                                 | White collar                      | 72                                 | Owens                             | 76                                 |
| \$7,000-\$14,999          | 74                                 | Blue collar                       | 67                                 | Rents                             | 46                                 |
| \$15,000 & over           | 83                                 |                                   |                                    |                                   |                                    |
| Education                 |                                    | Negro male                        |                                    | Negro male                        |                                    |
| High school or less       | 67                                 | White collar                      | 77                                 | Owens                             | 72                                 |
| Some college              | 77                                 | Blue collar                       | 67                                 | Rents                             | 66                                 |
| Social Status             |                                    | Negro female                      |                                    | Negro female                      |                                    |
| White collar              | 75                                 | White collar                      | 57                                 | Owens                             | 71                                 |
| Blue collar               | 66                                 | Blue collar                       | 52                                 | Rents                             | 36                                 |
| All residents             | 69                                 |                                   |                                    |                                   |                                    |

\* =fewer than 15 sample cases.

seeing a lawyer in the last five years. The actual hiring of lawyers is overestimated somewhat by these proportions, since after seeing a lawyer some citizens decided they did not want or could not afford legal services.

Contact with lawyers is nevertheless a prevalent experience among Detroit area residents. Indeed, inspection of Table 1 shows that for all major race, sex, age, and socioeconomic status groups, contact with attorneys is higher than is commonly sup-

posed. In the socioeconomic status group with least contact with attorneys—Negro females with a family income of less than \$7,000 a year—40% reported seeing a lawyer about a legal problem.

Despite the high incidence of contact with lawyers for all structural status groups shown in Table 1, contact with a lawyer does vary with status. It might be objected that ever having seen a lawyer is a very weak index of legal contact since one visit to an attorney places a person among the "haves."

But, within our sample, stronger indicators of legal contact such as seeking a lawyer about three or more separate types of incidents do not increase the difference in the legal experience of socioeconomic status groups.

The best predictors of contact with attorneys are family income and property ownership as indicated by the consistent and substantial differences among classes of income and home ownership, even when race and sex are controlled. Among respondents with annual family income of over \$15,000, 83% reported seeing a lawyer, as compared to 56% among persons with an income of less than \$7,000. Education, occupational status, age, and sex have a moderate to strong effect but none is as discriminating as family income or home ownership.

It might be supposed that the full relation between income and legal contact is being suppressed by the fact that we are comparing lifetime legal experience to family income during the year immediately preceding the study. Many older respondents may have visited lawyers only in earlier years when they had more income. Though plausible, this objection is not well founded. Twenty-six percent of the 711 respondents who had ever visited a lawyer were in the lowest income group; 24% of the 263 who visited a lawyer within the previous year were in the same low income group.

On first glance race appears to have a substantial effect on seeking legal services. Fifty-nine percent of Negroes and 71% of whites said they saw a lawyer about a legal matter. Closer scrutiny indicates that this difference is largely accounted for by the asymmetric position of Negro females who saw lawyers less frequently than either Negro males or white females. Negro males, despite the facts of low income and education, report nearly as much contact with attorneys as their white counterparts. On the other hand, Negro males are also more likely to report that they have been "cooled out" during a visit to an attorney. Seventeen percent of Negro males said that they had been discouraged from taking legal action by an attorney. The comparable figure for white males is only 7%. These socioeconomic differences in the use of legal services are consistent with differences found in studies of

other cities (Carlin and Howard, 1965:382-383).<sup>1</sup>

#### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND CONTACT WITH ATTORNEYS

Previous studies of this type have regularly shown a strong relation between income and the use of professional legal services. Differences by income are then attributed to the fact that the poor cannot afford legal representation, that they are unaware of legal problems and services, and that they distrust attorneys (Carlin and Howard, 1965:381-382, 423-429). This view can be described as a "resources" theory of legal representation. Those who have resources such as income, and to a lesser extent other resources such as education, confidence, and social connections, are more likely to perceive the need for, afford, and gain access to legal services. Resources, therefore, account for the distribution of the use of lawyers in the population.

That resources make a difference is most clearly supported by the association between income and using attorneys within populations who have experienced a given legal problem. Conard et al. (1964:225-227), for example, report a positive association between income and legal representation among a sample of persons who have been injured in automobile accidents.

Nevertheless, the resources theory fails to account for the extent of use of legal services even among those with the least resources. More seriously, the resources theory fails to predict the differences in patterns of use of legal services across socioeconomic categories. Access to resources, though it may account for the *adequacy* of legal services, is not a sufficient explanation of the patterns of contact between attorneys and the public, for attorney-client relations occur in the context of a complicated network of social organization.

The resources theory appears to contemplate an approach to the use of legal machinery which echoes the doctrine of "eco-

<sup>1</sup> Carlin and Howard examined studies from California, Texas, Iowa, Missouri, and Ohio and concluded that roughly two-thirds of upper income groups and one-third of lower income groups had ever employed the services of a lawyer.

TABLE 2. PERCENT OF ALL RESIDENTS WHO SAW LAWYER ABOUT PROPERTY AND NON-PROPERTY MATTERS, LIFETIME AND LAST VISIT TO LAWYER BY FAMILY INCOME: WEIGHTED SAMPLE OF DETROIT SMSA, 1967

| Income             | Percent Who Saw Lawyer    |                           |       |                                      |                  |       |
|--------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|------------------|-------|
|                    | Lifetime                  |                           |       | Last Visit (Respondents with Visits) |                  |       |
|                    | About<br>Property<br>Only | About<br>Other<br>Matters | Total | Property                             | Non-<br>Property | Total |
| 0 to \$6,999       | 22                        | 34                        | 56    | 50                                   | 50               | 100   |
| \$7000 to \$14,999 | 32                        | 42                        | 74    | 61                                   | 39               | 100   |
| Over \$15,000      | 40                        | 43                        | 83    | 67                                   | 33               | 100   |
| All Respondents    | 30                        | 39                        | 69    | 59                                   | 41               | 100   |

monic man." There is a "litigious man" who weighs the costs of his problems against the costs of taking legal action and comes to a rational decision. In other contexts, this has been shown to be an inadequate basis for predictions about the use of legal agencies (Mayhew, 1968a:424-425). It is more important to know something about the character of routine, organized activity within the legal agency, the social organization of the institutional arena subject to legal regulation. Out of the social links between these spheres flows a routine pattern of contact between the legal agency and the public. (Mayhew, 1968b:152-198).

A parallel approach can be applied to the problem at hand. We know from a series of studies of the legal profession that legal practice is both specialized and stratified. The stratification of access to resources in the population parallels this differentiation and stratification of legal practice. The demand for legal services produces a response from competitive lawyers who move in to fill vacant niches so that distinctive patterns of practice emerge in various problem areas, e.g., estate, tax, criminal, and contract. (Carlin, 1962 and 1966).<sup>2</sup> Competition among lawyers likewise leads to legal services at fees adapted to the means of clients. These responses of lawyers may be inadequate from the point of view of public policy but they are nonetheless responses. Specialization and stratification of legal practice accordingly mitigate the relation between resources and access to attorneys. We also observe a set of

distinctive patterns of use of legal services which reflect variations in the patterns of problems experienced in various structural locations (such as by communities, or by race and ethnic groups), and corresponding differences in the social organization of legally relevant activity.

#### INCOME AND PROPERTY

One important weakness of the resources theory is its failure to distinguish between resources as facilities and resources as constraints. The usual interpretation placed on the association between income and the use of legal services is that income *enables* the citizen to make use of legal services. Might the influence be more indirect? Income brings one into participation in the institution of property, and property as an institution is socially organized so as to bring its participants into contact with attorneys. Anyone who has been caught up in the inescapable constraints of, say, a probate court is likely to agree. In other words, not only are resources essential to purchase legal services, but given the institution of property, the purchase of legal services often is necessary to acquire, maintain, and increase property.

Our data support the proposition that a substantial portion of the income differential in contact with attorneys is accounted for by the greater participation of high income persons in the institution of property. Table 2 indicates that income differences in legal contact are considerably reduced when contact about matters other than property is considered alone. Although 69% of our sample had sought advice from attorneys, only 39% had ever sought advice on matters other than property. The remaining 30%

<sup>2</sup> Of course, one may not assume that the quality of representation is equal for all who use legal services. Indeed, the fact of stratification in the legal profession suggests the opposite.

had seen an attorney only about wills, estates, transactions in real estate, advice about entrepreneurial activity or business and property taxes and assessments. For nonproperty matters, that is domestic problems, neighborhood problems, automobile accidents, personal injuries, problems with public authority, and disputes about purchases and repairs of automobiles and other expensive consumer goods, we find that persons with family incomes under \$7,000 still have the least contact with attorneys. Thirty-four percent of this low income group sought professional advice, as compared with 42% of the group with family incomes over \$7,000 but under \$15,000. However, this difference is considerably smaller than the difference between these groups in total contact with attorneys. Further, beyond \$7,000, family income has no effect on contact with attorneys about nonproperty matters. Those with incomes over \$15,000 are more likely to seek legal help but *only on matters relating to property*.

In sum, the association between income and legal contacts is in part an organizational effect. The legal profession is organized to service business and property interests. The social organization of business and property is highly legalized. Out of this convergence emerges a pattern of citizen contact with attorneys that is heavily oriented to property.

The dominance of property in the pattern of contact is evident in the fact that of our respondents' most recent consultation with attorneys, three-fifths concerned property. Even for the lowest income group, those with family incomes under \$7,000, one half had seen a lawyer most recently about a property matter.

#### OTHER BACKGROUND VARIABLES

More refined analyses of the various types of legal contact by social background variables show other examples of organizational effects on the pattern of legal contacts. These effects are shown in Tables 3 and 4. Although there is a rough similarity in the distribution of legal problems across all socioeconomic categories, a number of remarkable differences are also apparent.

One of the most striking differences is the racial variation in seeing lawyers about property matters, a fact reflecting the prevalence of home ownership in the Detroit area. Seventy-seven percent of white respondents and 51% of Negro respondents are home owners. Home ownership clearly has brought Negroes into contact with the legal profession; 36% of Negroes have seen a lawyer about buying a home, a figure virtually identical to the 37% of whites who have seen a lawyer for this purpose. But the in-

TABLE 3. PERCENT OF ALL RESIDENTS WHO SAW LAWYER BY FOURTEEN TYPES OF LEGAL PROBLEMS AND RANK ORDER OF THESE PERCENTS, BY RACE AND SEX OF RESPONDENT: WEIGHTED SAMPLE OF DETROIT SMSA, 1967

| R Saw a Lawyer About                 | Percent of All R's |    |       |    | Rank Order of %'s |     |       |     | Total    |            |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------|----|-------|----|-------------------|-----|-------|-----|----------|------------|
|                                      | White              |    | Negro |    | White             |     | Negro |     | Per-cent | Rank Order |
|                                      | M                  | F  | M     | F  | M                 | F   | M     | F   |          |            |
| Buying/selling/building a house      | 45                 | 31 | 47    | 30 | 1                 | 1   | 1     | 1   | 37       | 1          |
| Making a will                        | 25                 | 23 | 7     | .. | 2                 | 2   | 6.5   | 13  | 20       | 2          |
| Settling an estate                   | 17                 | 22 | 4     | 6  | 5                 | 3   | 8     | 6   | 17       | 3.5        |
| Advice on business matters           | 19                 | 16 | 21    | 11 | 3                 | 4.5 | 3     | 3   | 17       | 3.5        |
| Insurance claims                     | 18                 | 16 | 11    | 8  | 4                 | 4.5 | 4     | 4   | 16       | 5          |
| Divorce/alimony/child support        | 8                  | 12 | 22    | 16 | 8                 | 6   | 2     | 2   | 12       | 6          |
| Contract disagreements               | 12                 | 10 | 7     | 7  | 6                 | 7   | 6.5   | 5   | 10       | 7          |
| Tax problems/disputes with officials | 11                 | 7  | 3     | 4  | 7                 | 8   | 10    | 7.5 | 8        | 8          |
| Traffic tickets                      | 7                  | 3  | 8     | 4  | 9                 | 11  | 5     | 7.5 | 5        | 9          |
| Neighborhood                         | 4                  | 4  | 1     | 2  | 10.5              | 9   | 12    | 9.5 | 3        | 10.5       |
| Accused of crime/disturbance         | 4                  | 3  | 3     | 1  | 10.5              | 11  | 10    | 11  | 3        | 10.5       |
| Domestic-family                      | 2                  | 3  | ..    | .. | 12.5              | 11  | 13.5  | 13  | 2        | 12         |
| Employer/employee disputes           | *                  | 1  | 3     | 2  | 14                | 14  | 10    | 9.5 | 1        | 13.5       |
| Landlord-tenant                      | 2                  | 2  | ..    | .. | 12.5              | 13  | 13.5  | 13  | 1        | 13.5       |

. no frequency.

\*0.5%, or less.

TABLE 4. PERCENT OF ALL RESIDENTS WHO SAW LAWYIR ABOUT FOURTEEN TYPES OF LEGAL PROBLEMS BY SOCIAL BACKGROUND VARIABLES: WEIGHTED SAMPLE OF DETROIT SMSA, 1967

| R Saw a Lawyer About                 | Social Background Variables |                 |                     |                  |               |               |                     |                |       |      |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------|----------------|-------|------|
|                                      | All Residents               | Family Income   |                     |                  | Social Status |               | Education           | Home Ownership |       |      |
|                                      |                             | \$6,999 or Less | \$7,000 to \$14,999 | \$15,000 or More | Blue Collars  | White Collars | High School or Less | Some College   | Rents | Owns |
|                                      |                             |                 |                     |                  |               |               |                     |                |       |      |
| Buying/selling/building a house      | 37                          | 21              | 47                  | 46               | 35            | 40            | 35                  | 43             | 15    | 45   |
| Making a will                        | 20                          | 19              | 17                  | 42               | 15            | 28            | 16                  | 33             | 10    | 24   |
| Settling an estate                   | 18                          | 14              | 17                  | 29               | 12            | 26            | 14                  | 30             | 11    | 20   |
| Advice on business matters           | 17                          | 11              | 16                  | 31               | 11            | 26            | 15                  | 24             | 13    | 18   |
| Insurance claims                     | 16                          | 8               | 19                  | 18               | 13            | 20            | 14                  | 23             | 13    | 17   |
| Divorce/alimony/child support        | 12                          | 11              | 13                  | 12               | 12            | 11            | 12                  | 11             | 15    | 11   |
| Contract disagreements               | 10                          | 7               | 13                  | 11               | 9             | 12            | 10                  | 12             | 8     | 11   |
| Tax problems/disputes with officials | 7                           | 6               | 6                   | 15               | 7             | 9             | 7                   | 11             | 7     | 8    |
| Traffic tickets                      | 5                           | 4               | 5                   | 8                | 4             | 6             | 4                   | 6              | 5     | 5    |
| Neighborhood                         | 4                           | 2               | 5                   | 6                | 2             | 5             | 3                   | 5              | 3     | 4    |
| Accused of crime/disturbance         | 3                           | 2               | 4                   | 2                | 3             | 3             | 3                   | 3              | 5     | 2    |
| Domestic-family                      | 2                           | 1               | 2                   | 4                | 1             | 3             | 2                   | 2              | 2     | 2    |
| Employer/employee disputes           | 1                           | ..              | 2                   | ..               | 2             | *             | 1                   | 2              | 1     | 1    |
| Landlord-tenant                      | 1                           | 1               | 2                   | ..               | 1             | 2             | 1                   | 2              | 1     | 1    |

| R Saw a Lawyer About                 | Social Background Variables |             |                    |            |          |        |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|--------------------|------------|----------|--------|
|                                      | Age                         |             |                    | Religion   |          |        |
|                                      | Less than 35 Years          | 35-54 Years | 55 Years and Older | Protestant | Catholic | Jewish |
|                                      |                             |             |                    |            |          |        |
| Buying/selling/building a house      | 30                          | 43          | 36                 | 36         | 39       | 56     |
| Making a will                        | 9                           | 16          | 35                 | 19         | 22       | 32     |
| Settling an estate                   | 7                           | 18          | 25                 | 15         | 22       | 24     |
| Advice on business matters           | 15                          | 19          | 17                 | 18         | 15       | 12     |
| Insurance claims                     | 15                          | 18          | 10                 | 13         | 19       | 32     |
| Divorce/alimony/child support        | 17                          | 13          | 9                  | 14         | 8        | 20     |
| Contract disagreements               | 17                          | 11          | 7                  | 11         | 10       | 8      |
| Tax problems/disputes with officials | 7                           | 9           | 8                  | 9          | 6        | 8      |
| Traffic tickets                      | 7                           | 6           | 4                  | 4          | 7        | ..     |
| Neighborhood                         | 5                           | 3           | 3                  | 3          | 3        | ..     |
| Accused of crime/disturbance         | 5                           | 3           | 1                  | 4          | 2        | ..     |
| Domestic-family                      | 4                           | 2           | *                  | 2          | 3        | ..     |
| Employer/employee disputes           | 3                           | 1           | ..                 | 1          | 2        | ..     |
| Landlord-tenant                      | 2                           | 1           | 2                  | 1          | 1        | 4      |

.. no frequency.

\*0.5%, or less.

introduction of Negroes to the property complex through home ownership has not yet become sufficiently institutionalized to incorporate Negroes fully into the organized system for the transmission of property. Only 3% of Negroes had seen a lawyer about making a will; among whites, making a will is the second most common occasion (23%) for visiting a lawyer.

Seeing a lawyer about a will is not viewed

as a pressing legal problem among Negroes. In response to the query "Have you ever wanted to go to a lawyer but didn't for some reason?" Negroes and whites answered "Yes" in approximately equal proportions, 19% among whites and 17% among Negroes. Yet only one Negro informant mentioned a will in this regard. In contrast, 35% of the problems of whites who wanted to talk to a lawyer, but did not, involved wills. That the

passing on of property is less embedded in a legal context among Negroes is also indicated from the fact that 20% of whites and only 5% of Negroes had seen a lawyer about settling an estate.

These differences by race status in the use of legal advice to handle personal property parallel rather closely the Negro's integration into American Society. Consider an institutionalized cycle of personal property where legal advice pertains first to its acquisition, then to its sale, transformation or taxation, then to advice on disposition in the event of the death of its owner, and finally to the settling of an estate. It seems clear that the Negro in major metropolitan areas, such as Detroit, is institutionally integrated in seeking legal advice for the acquisition of personal property and has organized access to legal resources for that end. Given the recency of the acquisition, there is less integration with respect to other phases of the personal property cycle.

Nonetheless, given the high rate of acquisition of personal property among Negroes, particularly in the form of housing, one would forecast that Negroes will increasingly seek legal advice for other property matters as well, although perhaps at a lesser rate. Some indication of this can be gained from the fact that the only Negroes in the sample to have seen a lawyer about making a will were males aged 55 and older. Twenty-six percent of these Negro males had seen a lawyer about making a will, as compared with 35% of white females and 41% of white males of this age group.

The incomplete involvement of Negroes in the property complex may also be related to the much noted fluidity of Negro family structure. This is suggested not only by the fact just cited—that only older Negro males make wills—but by the prevalence among Negroes of seeing lawyers about divorces, alimony, and child support. Among Negroes this type of problem is the second most common occasion for seeing a lawyer, with 18% seeking the service of a lawyer in this connection. Among whites the problem ranks only seventh at 10%.

It is worth noting in passing that this problem area of divorce, alimony, and child support is the only major area where the incidence of seeing a lawyer shows no relation

to income, occupational status, or education.

For all major categories of legal problems other than divorce and related matters, Negroes have had somewhat less contact with attorneys than whites. However, as mentioned before, Negro females account for much of the race difference. Comparing only Negro males to white males, we find that Negro males are *more* likely to have seen a lawyer about buying, selling, or building a house, about advice in business matters, about traffic tickets, about disputes with employers and about divorce, alimony and child support. Except in the case of divorce, however, the differences are quite small. In view of the fact that our Negro males have much less income on the average than the white males, we can conclude that the Negro male participates in a number of organized systems that bring him into contact with lawyers more than might be expected on the basis of income. Looking at middle income (\$7,000 to \$14,999) males, for example, we find that 23% of Negroes and only 8% of whites have seen a lawyer about a divorce or a related matter. On the other hand, even when income is introduced as a control, the greater proportion of whites who have seen a lawyer about making a will or settling an estate remains unchanged. Looking only at low income males (\$6,999 and less), we find that 27% of whites and 8% of Negroes had seen a lawyer about a will, and 10% of whites and 8% of Negroes had seen a lawyer about settling an estate. Among middle income males (\$7,000 to \$14,999), the corresponding figures are 19% of whites and 5% of Negroes in regard to a will, and 17% of whites and 2% of Negroes in regard to settling an estate. In short, income differences play a part in determining access to attorneys, but differences in patterns of participation in social organization, particularly the social organization of property and familial relations, also affect the patterns of contact between citizens and attorneys.

#### SEEING A LAWYER: RATES AND INCIDENCE

The preceding data refer primarily to the incidence of seeing lawyers about various types of legal problems. To compute a rate, we would need to know what proportion of

the sample had experienced a given type of legal problem and then what proportion of that group had seen a lawyer about it. In some contexts this is a less serious problem than in others. Thus, in a sense, everyone has a problem in connection with making a will since, though some estates are small, everyone owns something and, though some are young, everyone will ultimately die. Further, in some cases, we have rough denominators for rates. Because we know who are now home owners, we are led to believe that the rate of consulting attorneys is higher for Negroes than whites. Holding sex and income constant, Negroes are as likely to have seen a lawyer about buying a home even though fewer Negroes are home owners. Other matters, such as accidents, can be assumed to be relatively evenly distributed across socioeconomic categories. Nevertheless, in some categories, e.g., disputes with government agencies and tax problems, it is more difficult to estimate an appropriate denominator for computing a rate. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that the more one strives for compatibility of problems through applying restrictive definitions to various types of problems, the smaller becomes the number of persons who have had that particular type of problem, and, in some cases, the number who have seen a lawyer about that precise problem becomes too small to study.

At one point in our interview we attempted to generate case histories about the respondents' most serious problems. First we took an inventory of the informants' problems in five areas: relations in the neighborhood; landlord-tenant relations; relations with the sellers of expensive objects; relations with public organizations; and discrimination because of race, sex, age, religion, nationality, or beliefs. Then we asked for detailed histories of the two problems which were considered by the respondent to have been the most serious or to have caused the most problems. For both most serious and second most serious problems considered separately, about 9% reported seeing a lawyer about the problem. Table 5 combines the most serious and second most serious problems and examines them by respondent's race and sex, and by type of problem, indicating the percent who saw a lawyer.

TABLE 5. NUMBER OF CITIZENS REPORTING LEGAL PROBLEMS AS SERIOUS AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF CITIZENS CONSIDERING LEGAL PROBLEM AS SERIOUS, PERCENT OF PROBLEMS FOR WHICH LEGAL ADVICE WAS SOUGHT, FOR RACE-SEX GROUPS: WEIGHTED SAMPLE OF DETROIT SMSA, 1967

| Type of Legal Problem        | Number of Citizens with Serious Legal Problems |        |       |        | Percent of Citizens Reporting Problem as Serious |        |       |        | Percent of Serious Problems Where Legal Advice Was Sought |        |       |        |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------|--------------------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------|
|                              | White                                          |        | Negro |        | White                                            |        | Negro |        | White                                                     |        | Negro |        |
|                              | Male                                           | Female | Male  | Female | Male                                             | Female | Male  | Female | Male                                                      | Female | Male  | Female |
|                              | Total                                          | Total  | Total | Total  | Total                                            | Total  | Total | Total  | Total                                                     | Total  | Total | Total  |
| Neighborhood                 | 169                                            | 195    | 364   | 18     | 40                                               | 58     | 53    | 55     | 54                                                        | 35     | 50    | 44     |
| Landlord-tenant              | 19                                             | 43     | 62    | 9      | 19                                               | 28     | 6     | 12     | 9                                                         | 18     | 24    | 21     |
| Purchase of expensive object | 172                                            | 178    | 350   | 22     | 26                                               | 48     | 54    | 50     | 52                                                        | 43     | 32    | 37     |
| Public organization          | 112                                            | 98     | 210   | 12     | 19                                               | 31     | 35    | 28     | 31                                                        | 24     | 24    | 24     |
| Discrimination               | 29                                             | 39     | 68    | 23     | 19                                               | 42     | 9     | 11     | 10                                                        | 45     | 24    | 32     |
| Total Number                 | 501                                            | 553    | 1054  | 84     | 123                                              | 207    | ..    | ..     | ..                                                        | ..     | ..    | ..     |
| Total Percent                | ...                                            | ...    | ...   | ..     | ..                                               | ..     | 82    | 76     | 79                                                        | 72     | 74    | 73     |
|                              |                                                |        |       |        |                                                  |        | 12    | 7      | 9                                                         | 12     | 7     | 9      |

. no frequency.

Few gross differences by race status are apparent in Table 5. One difference merits brief attention since it illustrates differences that may emerge when rates rather than incidence is made the focus of study. Negroes are apparently more likely to visit lawyers when they face serious trouble with public organizations. The percentage who saw a lawyer among those who chose problems with public organizations as one of their two most serious problems is 19% for Negroes and 10% for whites. Yet the corresponding incidence figures for seeing a lawyer about a problem with public organizations (including police) appear to be higher for whites than for Negroes. In other words, whites are more likely to see lawyers about problems in relation to government, but Negroes appear to be more likely to see lawyers about their most serious problems with government authority. Beyond merely illustrating differences that emerge from variable ways of expressing degrees of contact with the legal profession, this difference reinforces an organizational interpretation of patterns of contact.

Mere differences in access to resources cannot account for patterns of access to attorneys in regard to problems of public authority. Not only does the *possession* of resources create demand for certain kinds of legal services, but their *lack* also creates demands for certain kinds of services. Citizens at different income levels in different structural locations experience different types of problems and are connected to government in different ways. Accordingly they have different probabilities of becoming involved with attorneys in relation to government authority. Thus, Negro citizens report fewer difficult problems in relation to government, but their serious problems with government are more likely to be with police and with welfare agencies and to require legal aid. White citizens report more problems with public organizations and more contact with attorneys about public organizations, but their worst problems concern taxes and government services rather than police and welfare agencies. Their most serious problems with public authority do not seem to have the same capacity to draw them into contact with attorneys.

In sum, income and location in the social

structure may affect contact with attorneys not only through providing relevant resources but by determining what types of problems people have. Each problem has its own patterns of constraints and requirements for the use of legal services. Citizens are not brought into contact with the legal profession merely by their resources but by their problems, institutionalized definitions, and the social organization of problem solution.

#### CONCLUSION

The emphasis on the social organization of legal institutions as the source of patterns of contact between citizens and attorneys must be seen as a corrective to the common view that income in the form of funds to pay for legal representation is the crucial determinant of use of legal services. At the same time this argument must not be misconstrued as a reaffirmation of the view that the poor have no legal problems. This allegation is occasionally heard within the legal profession, but the claim can hardly stand against the extensive documentation of the actual and potential legal problems of the poor. The poor have fewer legal problems only in the narrow sense that they have fewer problems that the legal profession habitually serves.

The implication of our findings is that untreated problems exist for all segments of the community. Organized to serve property and a few other problems, notably divorces and accidents, the legal profession provides relatively little professional representation and advice in relation to a broad panoply of problems surrounding such daily matters as the citizens' relation to merchants or public authority. It cannot be said that such problems do not exist; our survey of citizen problems shows otherwise. But the institution of legal advocacy is not organized to handle these problems on a routine basis. It is an interesting commentary on the legal frame of reference to note that one legal scholar has argued that such interests as rights to welfare benefits, job and retirement rights, and civil rights will only be adequately protected when lawyers come to see them as property rights. (Reich, 1963).

One of our interviews provides a particularly telling example of the reach of the



problem across social strata. One informant, himself a successful attorney, was rather contemptuous of the survey. He could not believe that our standardized questions could apply to him since he had such ready access to legal services. Yet, in another section of the interview, this informant said that he had been cheated by a "gypsy" roofing contractor and that he had neither initiated legal action on the matter nor consulted anyone about such a possibility. This respondent was able to combine a comfortable sense of legal efficacy and a rather restricted concept of the limits of legal action.

Our findings suggest that those who advocate the extension of legal services through such devices as the neighborhood law office, group legal service, lay advocacy, and the ombudsman could well found their claim on

failures beyond the denial of legal services to the poor.

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## PHYSICIANS AND MEDICARE: A BEFORE-AFTER STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF LEGISLATION ON ATTITUDES \*

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*Medicare was bitterly opposed by the medical profession before it became law in 1965. This paper examines how individual physicians reacted in their behavior and in their thinking, to Medicare after it became law. The more general issue is the role of law as an instrument of social change. Interviews with a sample of New York State physicians before the law was passed and reinterviews at two points in time after the law was passed—once before the program went into effect and again about six months after it had gone into effect—make it possible to separate the direct effects of the law itself on attitudes from the effects of short-term experience with the program. There has been no evidence of a physicians' boycott of Medicare. With respect to their attitudes, the proportion of physicians in favor of the main part of Medicare, the hospitalization program for the elderly (Title 18, Part A), jumped from 38% before the law was passed to 70% ten months after it was passed, even before it was implemented, and again to 81% six months after it was implemented. Some laws, according to these results, may influence attitudes without first changing behavior.*

**S**ELDOM has a law been more bitterly opposed by any group than was Medicare by the medical profession (see Harris, 1966; Feingold, 1966; Rose, 1967:400-455). Just before Medicare was passed by Congress

in 1965, there was even talk about a "boycott" of the program by physicians. This paper examines how individual physicians reacted, in their behavior and in their thinking, to Medicare after it became law.<sup>1</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> It is of course necessary to distinguish between the attitudes of individual physicians toward Medicare and official AMA policy. The AMA leadership is commonly regarded as more conservative than the rank-and-file; however, the opposition of the AMA to Medicare before its passage apparently was supported by the majority of its membership. In a national poll of private practitioners in 1961,

more general issue raised by this question is the role of law as an instrument of social change, an old sociological problem.

*Law As An Instrument of Social Change.* One view, attributed to early sociologists such as Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner, is that law can never move ahead of the customs or mores of the people, that legislation which is not rooted in the folkways is doomed to failure. Social change must be slow, and change in public opinion must precede legislative action. In brief, "stateways cannot change folkways." This view was expressed by Senator Barry Goldwater in the 1964 Presidential campaign (*The New York Times*, Nov. 1, 1964:1): "I am unalterably opposed to . . . discrimination, but I also know that government can provide no lasting solution. . . . The ultimate solution lies in the hearts of men."

Others see law as a positive force in initiating social change (Allport, 1954:471): "It is a well known psychological fact that most people accept the results of an election or legislation gladly enough after the furor has subsided. . . . They allow themselves to be re-educated by the new norm that prevails."<sup>2</sup>

These are oversimplified statements of the role of law as an instrument of social change and miss the complexity of the problem. The question must be specified: under what conditions do laws have what effects?

*Effects: Behavior vs. Attitudes.* Sumner's negative position on law as an instrument of social change has been distorted, according to one reappraisal of his writings (Ball et al., 1962:532-540). Sumner (1906:68), in distinguishing between the effects of law on behavior and on attitudes, did not reject the power of law to influence men's behavior: "Men can always perform the prescribed act, although they cannot always think or feel prescribed thoughts or emotions."

This is in agreement with the views of the majority of contemporary politically liberal social scientists, who see law primarily as a way of changing behavior, not attitudes. For

example: "[Legal action] cannot coerce thoughts or instill subjective tolerance. . . . Law is intended only to control the outward expression of intolerance" (Allport, 1954:477). And according to MacIver (1954:viii), "No law should require men to change their attitudes. . . . In a democracy we do not punish a man because he is opposed to income taxes, or to free school education, or to vaccination, or to minimum wages, but the laws of a democracy insist that he obey the laws that make provisions for these things. . . ."

The distinction between the effects of law on attitudes and on behavior is supported by empirical studies showing a discrepancy between the two (see Deutscher, 1966:235-254). In race relations, for example, study after study has shown that in concrete situations—in hotel accommodations (LaPiere, 1934:230-237), restaurant service (Kutner et al., 1952:649-652), department store shopping (Saenger and Gilbert, 1950:57-76), hospital accommodations, and school desegregation (Clark, 1953:47-50)—expressions of prejudice are not necessarily accompanied by discriminatory behavior. There are undoubtedly instances of the opposite, that is, verbal expressions of tolerance accompanied by discriminatory behavior, but they are not as well documented. The flight of white, liberal, middle-class families from the cities to the suburbs may be such an instance (Scott and Scott, 1968:46 ff.).

But to say that attitudes and behavior are not perfectly correlated is not to say they are unrelated, and there is evidence that change in behavior leads to change in attitudes. Studies of integrated army units, housing projects, and children's camps show that white people in these situations develop more favorable attitudes toward Negroes (Swanson et al., 1952:502; Deutsch and Collins, 1951; Yarrow, 1958). In an analysis of school desegregation, Hyman and Sheatsley (1964:6) describe the process thus: "There is obviously some parallel between public opinion and official action. . . . Close analysis of the current findings . . . leads us to the conclusion that in those parts of the South where some measure of school integration has taken place official action has preceded public sentiment, and *public sentiment*

less than 20% were in favor of the program "to provide hospital and nursing home care for the aged through the Social Security System" (*Medical Tribune*, May 15, 1961).

<sup>2</sup> Allport qualifies this remark elsewhere in his book. It is quoted here to state the issue in its sharpest form.

*has then attempted to accommodate itself to the new situation* [emphasis added]."

Other studies (Mussen, 1950:423-441; Campbell, 1958:335-340), however, have found that social contact has little effect in reducing prejudice.<sup>3</sup>

If indeed behavioral change does lead to attitudinal change, then law, by first changing behavior, may ultimately lead to changes in attitudes. As Allport says: "Outward action, psychology knows, has an eventual effect upon inner habits of thought and feeling. And for this reason we list legislative action as one of the major methods of reducing, not only public discrimination [behavior], but private prejudice [attitudes] as well" (1954:477). Berger, too, writes: "Law does not change attitudes directly, but by altering the situations in which attitudes and opinions are formed, law can indirectly reach the more private areas of life it cannot touch directly in a democratic society" (Berger, 1954:187). Clark (1953:72), among others, states the issue in more problematic terms: "Situationally determined changes in behavior [as in response to a law] *may or may not* be accompanied by compatible changes in attitudes or motivation of the individuals involved [emphasis added]."

Others, however, see law exerting a *direct* influence on attitudes, without necessarily changing behavior first. Law is conceived as a legitimizing and educational force, supporting one value or set of values against another. For example, according to Dicey (1914:465): "No facts play a more important part in the creation of opinion than laws themselves." And according to Benfield (1965:111): "Past the change in attitude which may be caused by legally mandated and enforced nondiscriminatory conduct, *the mere existence of the law itself affects prejudice* [emphasis added]. People usually agree with the law and internalize its values. This

is because considerable moral and symbolic weight is added to a principle when it is embedded in legislation."

The results of the few studies done on the effects of law on behavior and attitudes are mixed. Cantril (1947:228) notes: "When an opinion is held by a slight majority or when opinion is not solidly structured, an accomplished fact tends to shift opinion in the direction of acceptance. Poll figures show that immediately after the repeal of the arms embargo, immediately after the passage of the conscription laws, and immediately after favorable Congressional action on lend-lease and on the repeal of the neutrality laws [just before the United States' entry into World War II] there was invariably a rise of around ten per cent in the number of people favorable to these actions." And Muir (1967) found that the Supreme Court decision banning religious exercises in the nation's schools had an over-all positive effect on the attitudes and behavior of 28 officials in one public school system, though there was some evidence of a backlash.

Other studies, however, show that laws and court decisions have negligible effects on relevant attitudes. Hyman and Sheatsley (1964:3) and Schwartz (1967:11-12, 28-41) interpret the increasing acceptance of integration between 1942 and 1964 as a complex of long-term trends that are not easily modified by specific, even highly dramatic events, such as the Supreme Court decision of 1954. The physicians' strike against the province's medical care plan in Saskatchewan, Canada, in 1962 (Badgely and Wolfe, 1967) is an extreme case of noncompliance with a program implemented by a law.<sup>4</sup>

*Conditions for Effectiveness of Law.* Three commonly cited factors determining the effectiveness of law are: (1) the degree of compatibility of the law with existing values, (2) the enforceability of the law, (3) the

<sup>3</sup> In Campbell's study of a desegregating school system, the results were mixed. White students who claimed Negroes as personal friends were more likely to show a reduction of prejudice than those without Negro friends, but the time order of these factors is ambiguous: those who became less prejudiced may then have chosen Negro friends. Also, those who had many classes with Negroes were no more likely to become less prejudiced than those with few classes with Negroes.

<sup>4</sup> In an experimental study, information that a behavior was illegal did not change the subjects' attitudes toward that behavior (Walker and Argyle, 1964:570-581). In a follow-up experiment, however it was found that knowledge of the law and knowledge of peer consensus did change attitudes, and, furthermore, these effects depended on the authoritarianism of the subjects (Berkowitz and Walker, 1967:410-422).

clarity of public policy and the diligence of enforcement.<sup>5</sup>

1. To say that a law must be compatible with some major existing values is not to say that it must be compatible with all values. In any society, especially in modern, industrial society, values themselves "are full of inconsistencies and strains, unliberated tendencies in many directions, responsive adjustments to new situations well conceived or ill conceived" (MacIver, 1948:279). A law, then, "maintains one set of values against another" (Pound, 1944:25). Thus desegregation and civil rights laws find support in the democratic creed and due process; Medicare finds support in the principle that adequate medical care is a right, rather than a privilege. This position appears to be in agreement with Sumner's principle of a "strain toward consistency." There is an important difference, however. Whereas Sumner posed the question of compatibility between a new law and existing mores as one of all or nothing, the current view emphasizes conflicts and strains among a system of mores and poses the question of compatibility as a matter of degree (Myrdal, 1944:1045-1057).

2. In order for a law to be enforceable, the behavior to be changed must be observable. It is more difficult to enforce a law against homosexual behavior, for example, than a law against racial discrimination in public transportation.

<sup>5</sup> These conditions are discussed in the following: Berger, 1954:173-177; Clark, 1953:53-59; Allport, 1954:469-473; Roche and Gordon, 1955:10, 42, 44, 49; Rose, 1959:470-481; Evan, 1965:285-293; Bonfield, 1965:107-122; Mayhew, 1968:258-284. Problems of implementation, specifically, the work and effects of antidiscrimination enforcement agencies, are analyzed by Berger (1954) and Mayhew (1968).

Less commonly cited factors determining the effectiveness of law are: (1) The amount of opposition to the law and the distribution of this opposition. The stronger and the more concentrated the opposition in politically relevant units, along geographical or occupational lines, for example, the more effectively it can oppose the law (Roche and Gordon, 1955:341). (2) The quality of support. A law is more likely to be effective if supported than if it is opposed by community leaders (see Killian, 1958:65-70). (3) The tempo of change. It is argued that the less the transition time, the easier the adaptation to the change enacted by the law (see Clark, 1953:43-47; Evan, 1965:290; Badgley and Wolfe, 1967:45).

3. The authorities responsible must be fully committed to enforcing the new law. One reason for the failure of Prohibition was the failure, or disinclination, of law enforcement agents to implement the law. Civil rights legislation runs into the same problem where local authorities, especially in the deep South, look the other way.

*The Medicare Law.* Medicare, signed into law in July, 1965, is a major piece of social legislation. It is often compared in importance with the original Social Security Act of 1935.

Medicare, Title 18 of the Social Security Amendments Act of 1965 (Public Law 89-97), established a new program of health insurance for people 65 years old or over. It has two parts: hospital insurance (Part A), applying automatically to almost all people 65 or over, which covers inpatient hospital services, outpatient hospital diagnostic services, and posthospital care in the patient's home or in an extended care facility (such as a nursing home); and medical insurance (Part B), a voluntary plan elected by over 90% of those eligible for Part A, which covers physicians' services wherever they are furnished, home health services, and a number of other medical services. Part A is financed by the same method that finances retirement, disability, and death benefits under Social Security, i.e., special Social Security contributions by employees and their employers. Part B is financed by a monthly premium of \$3.00, from each participant who elects to pay, matched by \$3.00 from the general revenues of the Federal Government.<sup>6</sup>

For twenty years the American Medical Association fought bitterly and effectively against such a Federal program of health insurance under Social Security. Now, however, that the program has become law, the question is: How have individual physicians reacted, in their behavior and in their attitudes, to Medicare?

#### RESEARCH DESIGN

Our data come from standardized interviews in 1964 and early 1965, before Medi-

<sup>6</sup> Amendments to the Social Security Act in 1967 made some minor changes in the Medicare program and included an increase in the monthly premium.

care was passed, with 1,205 physicians in private practice in New York State (about 80% of a probability sample), and from reinterviews with subsamples of these physicians at two different points in time after Medicare was passed. The interviews were conducted mainly by telephone. An experimental comparison of telephone and personal interviews with small, random subsamples of physicians showed that the responses obtained by the two methods were essentially similar.<sup>7</sup>

The purpose of the first wave of interviews was to study physicians' political attitudes, their attitudes toward issues in the organization of medical practice, and their career values, and to examine the relationship between background characteristics, such as their social origins and specialties, and their attitudes.<sup>8</sup> Among the questions in the first wave of interviews was: "What is your opinion about the bill that would provide for compulsory health insurance through Social Security to cover hospital costs for those over 65—Are you personally in favor of such a plan, or are you opposed to it?"

The bill referred to was passed, as noted above, in July, 1965, as Part A of Title 18. Part B of Title 18, the voluntary insurance plan that pays for physicians' bills and other services, and Title 19, which provides for Federal matching funds to states for medical care for the "medically indigent," were not covered in the first wave of interviews because they were not introduced in the bill until the spring of 1965. Title 19, as a matter of fact, received little publicity until after the bill was passed. Title 19 is commonly called *Medicaid*; Title 18, parts A and B, *Medicare*.

Thus, before the law was passed, measures were available of physicians' attitudes toward what was generally considered the major feature of the bill, hospital insurance for the elderly, and many related issues, providing a

unique opportunity for a natural experiment of the effects of legislation on attitudes.

The 1,205 physicians were stratified on their initial attitude toward Title 18A (i.e., before it was passed) and on geographic area, religious background, and political ideology, all of which were highly correlated with their initial attitude toward Title 18A,<sup>9</sup> and randomly divided into two subsamples, one with 804 and the other with 401 physicians.

The first subsample of 804 physicians was contacted between the middle of May, 1966, and the end of June, 1966, nearly one year after Medicare was passed and just before it was to go into effect. The second subsample of 401 doctors was contacted between the end of January and April, 1967, a little over six months after the main provisions of the Medicare program had gone into effect. More than 80% of each of these subsamples—676 and 331, respectively—were successfully reinterviewed.

To summarize, 1,205 doctors were interviewed before Medicare was passed (call this Time 1). Of these, 676 were reinterviewed about ten months after the law was passed and just before its implementation (call this Time 2),<sup>10</sup> and another 331 were reinterviewed a little over six months after its implementation (call this Time 3).<sup>11</sup> Thus,

<sup>9</sup> Physicians in New York City were more pro-Medicare than physicians in upstate New York; Jewish physicians were more pro-Medicare than Protestant physicians, with Catholics in between; and those who were Democrats and took a liberal position on economic-welfare issues were more pro-Medicare than those who were Republicans and took a conservative position (see Colombotos, 1968:320-331).

<sup>10</sup> Actually, the 676 physicians interviewed at Time 2 include 100 who could not be reached by June 30 and were interviewed between July and October, after Medicare went into effect. Those interviewed after June 30 were a little better informed than those interviewed before June 30 about the services covered by the Medicare program, which is not surprising, but the patterns of change in the attitude toward Title 18A of the two groups were practically the same. The specific month within the Time 2 or Time 3 periods when respondents were interviewed also made no difference in the pattern of change in their attitude toward Title 18A.

<sup>11</sup> The original plan of this phase of the study was to reinterview all 1,205 physicians just before Medicare went into effect and again three to four years after it had been in effect. It was decided, however, to set aside a third of this sample (401)

<sup>7</sup> Reported in "The Effects of Personal vs. Telephone Interviews on Socially Acceptable Responses," presented by the author at the annual meeting of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, Groton, Connecticut, May 14, 1965.

<sup>8</sup> Some of these data are reported in the following papers: Colombotos, 1968; Colombotos, 1969a; Colombotos, 1969b.

Medicare Becomes Law  
(July 30, 1965)Medicare Program is Implemented  
(July 1, 1966)

| Time 1                                                 | Time 2                                                                                                                                    | Time 3                                                                                          |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| January to April, 1964; November, 1964, to March, 1965 | May to June, 1966                                                                                                                         | January to April, 1967                                                                          |
| Interviews with 1,205 physicians in private practice   | Reinterviews with 676 of a stratified subsample of 804 from 1,205 interviewed at Time 1 [330 of a control sample of 472 also interviewed] | Reinterviews with 331 of remaining stratified subsample of 401 from 1,205 interviewed at Time 1 |

FIGURE 1. RESEARCH DESIGN

differences in attitudes between Time 1 and Time 2 would reflect the effects of the Medicare law before actual experience with it; differences between Time 1 and Time 3 would reflect the combined effects of the Medicare law and short-term experience with the program. This design makes it possible to separate the effects on attitudes of the law itself from the effects of its implementation, that is, short-term experience with the program. The design is represented in Figure 1.

## THE FINDINGS

*Physicians' Behavior.* As the Medicare bill was going through its final stages in Congress in June, 1965, resolutions were introduced at the semiannual meeting of the AMA's House of Delegates calling for a "boycott," or "nonparticipation," when it was passed (The New York Times, June 22, 1965:1). Immediately after the law was passed, the president of the AMA predicted that "quite a few" physicians throughout the country would refuse to participate in the program (The New York Times, August 18, 1965:55). By the following March, however, it was reported that "threats of a boycott, if not dead, are at least moot" (The New York Times, March 28, 1966:1). When the AMA House of Delegates met in June,

1966, a month before Medicare was to go into effect, there was little, if any, talk of a boycott.

There has been no boycott, that is, no concerted noncooperation on a large scale, to date.

Responses from the New York State private practitioners interviewed in this study are consistent with the evidence of nationwide compliance by physicians. In the fall of 1965, just a few months after the law was passed, the New York State Medical Society issued a statement that "now that 'Medicare' is an accomplished fact, [the Society] will cooperate in every way possible with the government. . . . As citizens and as physicians, the members of the State Society will obey, and assist in the implementation of the law of the land . . ." (New York State Journal of Medicine, 1965:2779).

The physicians interviewed were asked if they agreed or disagreed with their Society's policy of cooperation. (Note that the answers to this question indicate physicians' *attitudes* toward cooperation with Medicare. They are not reports of actual cooperation.) Ninety percent agreed at Time 2; 91% agreed at Time 3 (see Table 1).

At Time 2, 87% of those who had been asked to serve on a hospital utilization review committee for Medicare patients had agreed to serve; and of those not asked, 66% said they would serve if asked. Slightly higher proportions indicated willingness to serve at Time 3. Furthermore, a physician's refusal to serve on such a committee does not necessarily indicate protest against Medicare. He may refuse for other reasons (see Footnote 12, below).

At Time 2, less than 5% said they would not accept patients who get benefits under

to be reinterviewed six months after the law was implemented in order to test the *short-run* effects of implementation. The original sample of 1,205 was not reinterviewed both before and immediately after Medicare's implementation because of the financial cost and because, with the two interviews coming so close together, of a concern about a high refusal rate in the third interview. Reinterviews with all 1,007 (676 plus 331) physicians, interviewed both before and after Medicare, are planned for 1970.

TABLE 1. RESPONSES OF PHYSICIANS INDICATING COMPLIANCE WITH MEDICARE AT TIME 2 AND TIME 3<sup>a</sup>

|                                                                                                                                                                         | Time 2   | Time 3  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|---------|
| Last fall the New York State Medical Society said it would co-operate with the government on Medicare—do you agree or disagree with this policy? <sup>b</sup>           |          |         |
| Agree                                                                                                                                                                   | 90%      | 91%     |
| Disagree                                                                                                                                                                | 8        | 8       |
| Don't know, no answer                                                                                                                                                   | 2        | 1       |
|                                                                                                                                                                         | 100%     | 100%    |
| Weighted totals                                                                                                                                                         | (10,214) | (4,954) |
| Unweighted totals                                                                                                                                                       | (676)    | (331)   |
| (If the physician had been asked to served on a utilization review committee under Title 18): Have you agreed to serve?                                                 |          |         |
| Yes                                                                                                                                                                     | 87%      | 94%     |
| No                                                                                                                                                                      | 10       | 6       |
| Not decided                                                                                                                                                             | 4        | 0       |
|                                                                                                                                                                         | 101%     | 100%    |
| Weighted totals                                                                                                                                                         | (1,810)  | (1,441) |
| Unweighted totals                                                                                                                                                       | (156)    | (123)   |
| (If the physician had not been asked to serve on a utilization review committee under Title 18): If you were asked, would you agree to be a member of such a committee? |          |         |
| Yes                                                                                                                                                                     | 66%      | 71%     |
| No                                                                                                                                                                      | 27       | 26      |
| Don't know                                                                                                                                                              | 7        | 3       |
|                                                                                                                                                                         | 100%     | 100%    |
| Weighted total                                                                                                                                                          | (8,323)  | (3,513) |
| Unweighted totals                                                                                                                                                       | (516)    | (208)   |
| According to your present thinking, do you plan to accept patients who get benefits under Medicare, or not? <sup>c</sup>                                                |          |         |
| Accept (have treated)                                                                                                                                                   | 93%      | 93%     |
| Will not accept (have not treated)                                                                                                                                      | 4        | 6       |
| Don't know, no answer                                                                                                                                                   | 4        | 1       |
|                                                                                                                                                                         | 101%     | 100%    |
| Weighted totals                                                                                                                                                         | (8,941)  | (4,345) |
| Unweighted totals                                                                                                                                                       | (609)    | (299)   |

<sup>a</sup> "Time 1" in these tables refers to interviews conducted before the passage of Medicare, from January to April, 1964, and from November, 1964, to March, 1965; "Time 2," to interviews done after the passage of Medicare but before its implementation, from May to June, 1966; "Time 3," to interviews done after the implementation of Medicare, from January to April, 1967.

All percentages in these tables are based on the weighted figures, which estimate the total number of private practitioners in New York State. The weighted figures do not add up to the actual number of private practitioners in the State because of noninterviews. The sampling design was stratified on geographic area, size of city, and part-time participation in a health department. The unweighted totals represent the number of physicians in a given category actually interviewed.

<sup>b</sup> This is the Time 2 question. The Time 3 question was: "The New York State Medical Society has said it would cooperate with the government on both Titles 18 and 19. Regarding Title 18, do you agree or disagree with this policy?"

<sup>c</sup> This is the Time 2 question. The Time 3 question was: "Have you treated any patients who get benefits under Part B of Title 18, or not?" The figures for both questions exclude those physicians who indicated in a previous question that they had no patients 65 years of age or over.

Of the 18 physicians with patients 65 or over who had not treated any of these patients under Title 18B at Time 3, only one had actually refused. The others reported that no elderly patients had come to them for treatment since Medicare.

Medicare. At Time 3; 6% of those who had any patients 65 or over had not treated any patients under Title 18B, but only one of the 331 physicians interviewed at that time had actually *refused* to treat any patients under Title 18B. That doctor explained he was in "semi-retirement" (he was 73 years old), and he wasn't "going to bother with this." The remainder of the 6% indicated that none of their elderly patients had come to them for treatment yet.

To sum up, despite what appeared to be threats of a boycott before Medicare was passed, practically all physicians complied after it became "the law of the land."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Our measures of compliance, apart from being reports of own behavior rather than observations of actual behavior, are admittedly simple measures of a complex variable. Consider the following: (1) A physician may provide some services under Medicare, but refuse to provide other services; (2) He may provide services to some patients, but refuse to provide them to other patients; (3) He may cooperate at one point in time after the program goes into effect, and not cooperate at another; (4) He may sabotage the program by "over-complying," that is, by providing more services than are medically indicated. Also, the question of compliance is irrelevant for physicians without patients 65 or over, such as pediatricians.

As a matter of fact, when the specific behaviors required of physicians under Medicare are examined, it is difficult to conceive what form a physicians' boycott of Medicare could have taken. What is a physician asked to do under Medicare?

(1) He must certify that the diagnostic or therapeutic services for which payment is claimed are "medically necessary." Such certification can be entered on a form or order or prescription the physician ordinarily signs.

(2) Under Title 18, Part B, the physician can choose between two methods of payment for his services: he can accept an assignment and bill a designated carrier (such as Blue Shield, or another private insurance company, depending on the geographic area), or he can bill the patient directly. If he takes an assignment, he agrees that the "reasonable charge" determined by the carrier will be his full charge and that his charge to the patient will be no more than 20% of that reasonable charge. If the physician refuses to take an assignment and bills the patient directly, the patient pays the physician, and then applies to the carrier for payment. Under this method, a physician is not restricted by the "reasonable charge" for a given service. The patient, however, will be reimbursed only 80% of the reasonable charge by the carrier. Although the Social Security Administration had hoped for wide use of the assignment method, the AMA's House of Delegates adopted a resolution at its 1966 meeting recommending the use of the

*Physicians' Attitudes.* It is possible, of course, for physicians to comply with Medicare without changing their minds about it. What effects has Medicare had on physicians' attitudes toward the program? In 1964 and early 1965, before Medicare was passed (Time 1), 38% of the private practitioners in New York State were "in favor" of "the bill that would provide for compulsory health insurance through Social Security to cover hospital costs for those over 65," the bill that became Title 18A. This is a sizeable number, but nevertheless, a minority.

At Time 2, ten months after the law was passed, even before it went into effect, the proportion "in favor" jumped to 70%. At Time 3, a little over six months after the program went into effect, the proportion "in favor" again jumped, to 81%. At both Time 2 and Time 3, more than half of those in favor felt "strongly," rather than only "somewhat" in favor (see Table 2).

Table 3 shows that of those opposed to Title 18A at Time 1, more than half (59%) had switched by Time 2; 70% had switched

direct billing method (The New York Times, June 30, 1966:1). Use of the direct billing method cannot be called "noncooperation," however, since the law provides for either method.

(3) In order to promote the most efficient use of facilities, each participating hospital and extended care facility is required to have a utilization review plan. A committee set up for such a purpose must include at least two physicians. Many hospitals already had such review procedures before Medicare went into effect. One way in which a physician can protest against Medicare is to refuse to serve on such a committee if asked. But refusal to serve does not necessarily mean a protest against Medicare, anymore than unwillingness to run for a local Board of Education is an indication of protest against the public school system.

To sum up, the direct and immediate effects of Medicare on a physician's day-to-day practice are minimal. For the vast majority of services under Medicare, the physician is not required to do anything more or differently in treating patients than he did before Medicare was passed. One form a boycott of Medicare could have taken would be for physicians to have refused to treat patients 65 or over, most of whom are eligible for benefits under both Part A and Part B of Medicare. This, apparently, few physicians chose to do. Furthermore, it would be difficult to interpret such acts as "non-cooperation," unless the physician himself said so. A physician's refusal to admit an elderly patient to the hospital, for example, could mean that, in his medical judgment, hospitalization was not necessary.



TABLE 2. ATTITUDES OF PHYSICIANS TOWARD MEDICARE (TITLE 18A)  
AT TIME 1, TIME 2, AND TIME 3<sup>a</sup>

|                       | Time 1   | Time 2   | Time 3  |
|-----------------------|----------|----------|---------|
| Favor                 | 38%      | 70%      | 81%     |
| Strongly              |          | 38       | 45      |
| Somewhat              |          | 31       | 33      |
| Don't know, no answer |          | 1        | 3       |
| Oppose                | 34       | 26       | 19      |
| Strongly              |          | 14       | 10      |
| Somewhat              |          | 11       | 9       |
| Don't know, no answer |          | 1        | *       |
| Don't know, no answer | 8        | 5        | *       |
|                       | 100%     | 101%     | 100%    |
| Weighted totals       | (18,044) | (10,214) | (4,954) |
| Unweighted totals     | (1,255)  | (676)    | (331)   |

<sup>a</sup> At Time 1, the question was: "What is your opinion about the bill that would provide for compulsory health insurance through Social Security to cover hospital costs for those over 65—are you personally in favor of such a plan, or are you opposed to it?" Respondents were not asked whether they were "strongly" or "somewhat" in favor or opposed at Time 1.

At Time 2, the questions were: "What is your opinion of Part A of Medicare—the part that provides for compulsory health insurance through Social Security to cover hospital costs for those over 65—are you personally in favor of this plan, or opposed to it?" "Would you say strongly (in favor) (opposed) or somewhat (in favor) (opposed)?" At Time 3 the words "Part A of Title 18" were substituted for the words "Part A of Medicare."

\* Less than 0.5 percent.

by Time 3.<sup>13</sup> Very few switched from favoring it to opposing it.

Although the absolute percentage increase favoring Title 18A of Medicare is greater between Time 1 and Time 2 (from 38 to 70%), than between Time 2 and Time 3 (from 70 to 81%), it might be misleading, because of the operation of a "ceiling effect," to argue that the Medicare law itself had a stronger impact than experience of the physicians with the program implemented by the law.<sup>14</sup> What can be asserted, however, is

<sup>13</sup> Physicians' attitudes toward Title 18B, highly correlated with their attitudes toward Title 18A, were also very favorable. Seventy-eight percent were "in favor" at Time 2 and 83% at Time 3.

<sup>14</sup> The effect of an experimental variable on a group is limited by the initial frequency giving a certain response before exposure to that variable. Since the percentage in favor of Medicare is higher at Time 2 than at Time 1, there is "less room" for an increase in the percentage in favor between Time 2 and Time 3 than between Time 1 and Time 2. The statistical effect of this "ceiling" may be "corrected" by dividing the actual percentage difference by the maximum possible increase. Hovland et al. (1949:285-289) call such a measure the "effectiveness index." Such an index for the Time 1-Time 2 change is .52[(70-38)/(100-38)=.52]. For the Time 2-Time 3 change it is .37[(81-70)/(100-70)=.37]. The fact that the

that the law itself had a large effect on physicians' attitudes toward Medicare even before it was implemented.

*The Effects of Implementation on Attitudes.* Consistent with the increase in the level of physicians' support for Medicare between Time 2 and Time 3 is the fact that

Time 1-Time 2 index is larger than the Time 2-Time 3 measure indicates that the larger increase in the percentage of those in favor of Medicare between Time 1 and Time 2 than between Time 2 and Time 3 cannot be explained away as being entirely due to a statistical ceiling effect.

There is another type of ceiling effect, this one due to *selection*. Those still opposed to Medicare at Time 2 are likely to include a higher proportion of "hard-core" opponents of Medicare than those opposed at Time 1. We found, however, that the Time 2 opponents of Medicare were no more conservative on other measures of political ideology at Time 1 than the Time 1 opponents.

The study design has a limitation, too. Since it provides for only one measure of the physicians' attitudes after the law was passed and before its implementation, it is not possible to assess the effect of time alone. It is possible that the change in attitude toward Medicare between Time 2 and Time 3 is a function of time alone and has nothing to do with the implementation of the program. As a matter of fact, the "transition probabilities" between Time 2 and Time 3 are the same as those between Time 1 and Time 2.

they were less worried about the consequences of Medicare at Time 3 than at Time 2. Their earlier fears simply did not materialize.<sup>15</sup>

For example, the proportion who thought that the quality of care physicians give their elderly patients would be "not as good" under Medicare dropped from 28% at time 2 to 8% at Time 3 (see Table 4). The proportion who thought there would be "a great deal" or "a fair amount" of unnecessary hospitalization under Medicare dropped from 69% at Time 2 to 38% at Time 3 (27% thought there had actually been "a great deal" or "a fair amount" of unnecessary hospitalization up to Time 3). The proportion who thought there would be "a great deal" or "a fair amount" of unnecessary

utilization of physicians' services under Medicare also dropped from 77% to 36% (25% thought there had actually been "a great deal" or "a fair amount" up to Time 3). It is only in the questions about government interference under Medicare and its effects on physicians' income that there were not significant changes, but only 12% at Time 2 and 11% at Time 3 thought that they would earn less money under Medicare than before, compared with more than a third who thought they would earn more money.<sup>16</sup>

#### ALTERNATIVE INTERPRETATIONS

Let us consider some alternative explanations of the large shifts in attitude toward Title 18A:

1. It could be argued that the changes described above could have taken place without the Medicare law and its implementation; that the shift in physicians' attitudes toward Medicare is part of a general, long-term liberal trend in their thinking. Obviously, there is not available a control group of physicians from whom the facts of the passage of the Medicare law and its implementation could be withheld. The argument that the changes in attitude toward Medicare are due to the law, however, is supported by the following observations:

a. The change in attitude toward Title 18A is a large change—from 38% in favor to 70 to 81% in a period of no longer than three years. It is not plausible to argue that this is due to a general ideological trend unrelated to the passage and implementation of Medicare.

b. The attitudes that do change are highly specific to Medicare. Physicians' responses to questions indicating their position on economic-welfare issues, political party preference, group practice, and colleague controls, all of which strongly related to their attitudes toward Title 18A at Time 1 (Colombotos, 1968), are relatively stable at Time 1, Time 2, and Time 3 compared with their responses

<sup>16</sup> There is no increase in the level of physicians' knowledge about the details of Medicare between Time 2 and 3—they are poorly informed at both times—and there is no association between their level of knowledge and the amount of experience with Medicare, on the one hand, and change in their attitude toward Medicare, on the other.

<sup>15</sup> Clark (1953:47-50) reports a similar pattern in cases of desegregation.

TABLE 3. ATTITUDES OF PHYSICIANS TOWARD MEDICARE (TITLE 18A) AT TIME 2 AND TIME 3 BY THEIR ATTITUDES AT TIME 1

|                                        | Time 1 attitude toward Medicare |              |
|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|
|                                        | Favor                           | Oppose       |
| <i>Time 2 attitude toward Medicare</i> |                                 |              |
| Favor                                  | 90%                             | 59%          |
| Strongly                               | 59                              | 25           |
| Somewhat                               | 30                              | 33           |
| Don't know, no answer                  | 1                               | 1            |
| Oppose                                 | 11                              | 40           |
| Strongly                               | 5                               | 22           |
| Somewhat                               | 6                               | 16           |
| Don't know, no answer                  | 0                               | 2            |
| Weighted totals                        | 101% (3,757)                    | 99% (5,098)  |
| Unweighted totals                      | (193)                           | (411)        |
| <i>Time 3 attitude toward Medicare</i> |                                 |              |
| Favor                                  | 98%                             | 70%          |
| Strongly                               | 84                              | 19           |
| Somewhat                               | 10                              | 48           |
| Don't know, no answer                  | 4                               | 3            |
| Oppose                                 | 2                               | 30           |
| Strongly                               | *                               | 17           |
| Somewhat                               | 2                               | 13           |
| Don't know, no answer                  | 0                               | *            |
| Weighted totals                        | 100% (1,877)                    | 100% (2,787) |
| Unweighted totals                      | (95)                            | (213)        |

\* Less than 0.5 percent.

TABLE 4. PERCEIVED EFFECTS OF MEDICARE (TITLE 18A) AT TIME 2 AND AT TIME 3

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Time 2   | Time 3  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|---------|
| Weighted totals                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | (10,214) | (4,954) |
| Unweighted totals                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | (676)    | (331)   |
| In your opinion, how will Medicare (Title 18) affect the <i>quality</i> of care doctors give their elderly patients—in general, will doctors give <i>better</i> medical care, or <i>not as good</i> care, or won't Medicare (Title 18) make any difference? |          |         |
| Better                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 14       | 30      |
| Not as good                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 28       | 8       |
| No difference                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 54       | 60      |
| Don't know                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 5        | 2       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 100%     | 100%    |
| In your opinion, will there be a great deal of <i>unnecessary hospitalization</i> under Medicare (Title 18), or a fair amount, or very little, or none at all?                                                                                              |          |         |
| Great deal                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 32       | 12      |
| Fair amount                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 37       | 26      |
| Very little                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 18       | 38      |
| None at all                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 9        | 20      |
| Don't know                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 4        | 4       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 100%     | 100%    |
| Will there be a great deal of <i>unnecessary</i> utilization of <i>doctors' services</i> under Medicare (Title 18), or a fair amount, or very little, or none at all?                                                                                       |          |         |
| Great deal                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 39       | 8       |
| Fair amount                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 38       | 28      |
| Very little                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 15       | 39      |
| None at all                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 4        | 20      |
| Don't know                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 4        | 5       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 100%     | 100%    |
| In your opinion, will doctors <i>earn more</i> money under Medicare (Title 18) than before, or less money, or won't Medicare (Title 18) make any difference?                                                                                                |          |         |
| More                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 35       | 42      |
| Less                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 12       | 11      |
| No difference                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 41       | 38      |
| Don't know                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 12       | 9       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 100%     | 100%    |
| In your opinion, will the Federal government, under Medicare (Title 18), interfere with the individual doctor's professional freedom—Would you say a great deal, or a fair amount, or very little, or not at all?                                           |          |         |
| Great deal                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 17       | 21      |
| Fair amount                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 37       | 26      |
| Very little                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 25       | 31      |
| Not at all                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 15       | 16      |
| Don't know                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 6        | 6       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 100%     | 100%    |

to the question on Medicare. If the change in attitudes toward Medicare was part of a more general trend in physicians' thinking and unrelated to the passage of Medicare,

then one would expect changes in attitudes toward these other issues as well.

2. It could be argued that the increasingly favorable medical opinion about Medicare

and the passage of the Medicare law were both the result or part of a third factor occurring immediately before Medicare was passed. Strong public support for Medicare, for example, could have influenced both medical and legislative opinion. Data in the present study from two independent samples of Manhattan doctors who were interviewed at two different times before Medicare was passed are inconsistent with such an argument. The first sample of 70 physicians was interviewed from January to April in 1964, about 18 months before Medicare was passed. The second sample of 61 physicians was interviewed from November, 1964, to March, 1965, scarcely six months before the law was passed. There was essentially no difference in the proportion in favor of Title 18A in the two samples—53% in the first sample, 57% in the second.

3. It is possible that New York State physicians' acceptance of Medicare after the enactment of the law was influenced by their opposition to the State's Medicaid program. The New York State implementation of Medicaid was one of the most liberal in the country. The first version of the New York State program was signed into law on April 30, 1966. The program was amended and curtailed two months later after strong opposition in upstate New York and threatened boycotts by county medical societies.

At Time 2, just after the first version of Medicaid was passed by the state legislature, 42% of the doctors interviewed said they were in favor of the law. At Time 3, despite, or perhaps because of, the fact the program had been curtailed six months earlier, it was still only 42%.

On all other questions about Medicaid asked at Time 3, it was less well received than Medicare:

- a. Forty-six percent thought that the government would interfere "a great deal" with the individual physicians' professional freedom under Medicaid, compared with 21% for Medicare.
- b. Fifty-nine percent thought that the State Medical Society should cooperate with the Government on Medicaid, compared with 91% on Medicare.
- c. Fifty-five percent said they planned to accept (or had already accepted) pa-

tients under Title 19, compared with all but one physician under Title 18B.

It could be argued that the opposition to Medicaid in New York State had a "contrast" effect on physicians' responses to Medicare; that Medicare looked better to physicians than it would have looked had Medicaid not been passed, and that this "contrast" inflated the size of the oppose-favor switchers on Medicare. For example, at the height of the furor over Medicaid in the state, one county medical society in an advertisement in *The New York Times* agreed to "cooperate" with the "Federal Medicare Law, which provides a sensible and reasonable plan of medical care for all people over 65 . . .," but found it "impossible to cooperate with the implementation of this State law [Medicaid] . . . as it is presently proposed. . . ." (June 10, 1966:36). It called Medicaid "socialized medicine."

There is no evidence of such a contrast effect in our data. Rather, among those physicians who opposed Title 18A at Time 1, those who were in favor of Medicaid at Time 2 and Time 3 were much more likely to switch and favor Title 18A than those who opposed Medicaid.<sup>17</sup>

4. It could be argued that the physicians' attitudes toward Medicare expressed at Time 1, before its passage, were superficial and equivocal, and merely reflected official AMA policy, and that once the program became law, physicians felt freer to express their "real" attitudes toward Medicare. But this argument misses the point that law may "legitimate" opinion. The fact that the Medicare program was not law is as significant a part of the social situation at Time 1 as the fact that it had become law at Time 2 and Time 3. One could just as plausibly argue for the superficiality of attitudes expressed after the law, because of a "bandwagon effect," as for the superficiality of attitudes expressed before the law.

As a matter of fact, neither the attitudes

<sup>17</sup> Another test of the effects of Medicaid on attitude change toward Title 18A would be to examine the problem in a state where physicians' attitudes toward Title 18A were similar to those in New York State, but where the Medicaid program did not arouse as much opposition as the one in New York State. Unfortunately, such data are not available.

toward Medicare at Time 1 nor at Time 2 and Time 3 appear superficial. The sub-question on intensity of feeling was not asked at Time 1. In the Time 1 measure, however, less than 8% were "don't knows." Also, attitude toward Medicare at Time 1 was strongly related to other political questions and issues in the organization of medical practice, as noted above (Colombotos, 1968), which argues against its being superficial. In the Time 2 and 3 measures, the number of "don't knows" was even smaller than at Time 1: at Time 2, it was 5%, and at Time 3, it was less than 0.5%. Also, of those in favor, more than half responded they felt "strongly" in favor, rather than only "somewhat" in favor.

5. Finally, a number of methodological problems in panel surveys may be involved:

a. *Reinterview Effect*. It could be argued that the Time 1 interview generated an interest in Medicare, thus influencing physicians' responses in the Time 2 interview. We found no difference between the responses to selected questions, including the one on Medicare, obtained from the reinterviewed sample at Time 2 and from a control sample of 330 physicians not interviewed before.

b. *Change in the Interview Instrument*, specifically in the sequence of the questions. The items preceding the question on Medicare in the Time 2 interview were different from those in the Time 1 interview. We found no difference between the responses obtained in two different versions of the interview at Time 2: one in which the repeat (retest) questions were mixed with new questions and one in which the repeat (retest) questions were asked first, followed by the new questions.

c. *Mortality Effect*. It could be argued that physicians in the panel not interviewed at Time 2 and Time 3 were less likely to be pro-Medicare than those who were interviewed. We found that physicians who could not be reinterviewed at Time 2 and Time 3 did not differ from those who were reinterviewed in either background characteristics or attitudes, including their attitude toward Medicare, expressed at Time 1.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Despite their opposition to Medicare before the law was passed in 1965, physicians

are complying with the program. There may be individual instances of noncooperation, but they are rare, at least in New York State, and there has been no boycott in the sense of concerted noncompliance.

Consistent with their compliance with Medicare, a large number of physicians who were opposed to Medicare before it became law switched and accepted it after it became law. In New York State, the proportion in favor rose from 38% before the law was passed to 70% less than a year after it was passed, even before it was implemented, and once again to 81% six months after the program went into effect.<sup>18</sup> The first increase, from 38 to 70%, argues that for law to influence attitudes it does not necessarily have to change relevant behavior first. We have in physicians' response to Medicare a case in which attitudes adapted to the law even before it went into effect.

The ready accommodation, both in deed and in mind, of these physicians to Medicare contrasts sharply with their continuing opposition to Medicaid and, to take a more extreme example, with physician strikes, such as the one in Saskatchewan, Canada, in 1962, against the province's medical care program.

What accounts for such differences in response to a law? The following differences between Medicare and the New York State Medicaid law illustrate some of the conditions listed above and suggest others that promote the effectiveness of a law:

1. *The Content of the Program*. The direct impact on physicians' practice of Medicaid in New York State is much greater than that of Medicare.

2. The number of people covered under Medicare in the state (those 65 or over) is less than two million. Estimates in May, 1966, of the number eligible under Medicaid ranged from 3.5 to 7 million. Furthermore,

<sup>18</sup> The proportion of private practitioners in favor of Medicare was higher in New York State than in the country as a whole before Medicare was passed (see Footnote 1). No post-Medicare data from a national sample of physicians are available, however. Note also that our New York State study sample excludes physicians on full-time salary, who are more likely to be politically liberal and in favor of Medicare than private practitioners. (For data supporting the latter point, see Lipset and Schwartz, 1966:304).

the number covered by Medicaid could be increased by liberalizing the definition of eligibility.

b. The clients of Medicare are the aged and the program is based on the insurance principle. The clients of Medicaid are the "medically indigent" and the program is based on the welfare principle. Physicians may be more sympathetic to a program serving the medical needs of the aged through insurance than to a program serving the "(medically) indigent," classified with "welfare cases."

c. Medicaid provides more services than Medicare, including drugs, dental bills, and other services not covered by Medicare.

d. New York State's Medicaid affects the physicians' practice more directly than Medicare. Medicaid attempts to control the quality and cost of medical care: the quality, by establishing criteria for determining who can render care, thus limiting the free choice of physicians; and the cost, by paying physicians fixed fees rather than "usual and customary" charges. Medicare has attempted neither. The direct effects of Medicare on physicians' practice, as a matter of fact, are minimal. Somers and Somers (1967:1) put it this way:

The 1965 enactment of Medicare was heralded as "revolutionary." But, in fact, it was neither a sudden nor radical departure from the march of events in the organization and financing of medical care and government's growing participation. No existing institutions were overturned or seriously threatened by the new legislation. On the contrary, Medicare responded to the needs of the providers of care as well as those of the consumers. It was primarily a financial underpinning of the existing health care industry—with all that implies in terms of strengths and weaknesses.

As a matter of fact, Medicare supports the stability of physicians' income under Title 18B, without controlling their fees. As noted above, more than a third of New York State physicians interviewed thought that under Medicare physicians would earn more money than before, and only about 10% thought they would earn less; the remainder thought it would not make any difference.

Both in terms of consistency with their ideology and in terms of their self-interest, then, Medicare is more acceptable to New York State physicians than Medicaid.

2. *Degree of Popular Support.* Medicare was passed with overwhelming popular support. Two-thirds of the public were in favor of Medicare, according to a nationwide Gallup poll in January, 1965, six months before it was passed. The percentage was probably higher in New York State. In contrast, there was little awareness about Medicaid before it was passed, and there was strong opposition, particularly in upstate New York, from industry, farm organizations, and in the press, after the first version of the New York Medicaid law was passed in April, 1966.

3. *Medicare is the Same Throughout the Country, Whereas Medicaid Varies Greatly from State to State.* It is possible that the opposition of New York physicians to their state's Medicaid program, the most liberal in the country, is reinforced by their feeling "worse off" than their colleagues in other states where the Medicaid programs are not as ambitious. A plausible hypothesis, setting aside regional and local differences in values that may or may not be congruent with a given law, is that a national law is more "legitimate" and more likely to be effectively complied with than a state or local law.<sup>10</sup>

Outside the area of medical care, public response in many parts of the country to statutes and judicial decisions requiring the desegregation of schools and other institutions contrasts sharply with physicians' response to Medicare. The issues of desegregation and civil rights will not be taken up here in any detail, but some obvious differences between them and Medicare come to mind:

1. Despite the "American creed" and trends showing a reduction of prejudice and discrimination, at least up to 1964, "white racism" may be more firmly entrenched among large segments of the American public than the fear of government participation in health care among physicians.

<sup>10</sup> In terms of these conditions, the prospects of the plan that physicians struck against in Saskatchewan in 1962 were, in retrospect, not good: (1) the plan's impact on physicians' practice was much greater than Medicare's, providing for universal coverage for all residents in the province and a comprehensive range of services; (2) public opposition to the plan appeared to be stronger and better organized than the opposition to Medicare; and (3) it was a provincial, not a national plan.

2. The distributions of opposition to desegregation and to Medicare are different. Social supports to segregationists are more widely available than social supports to physicians opposed to Medicare. The general public strongly supported Medicare, and it was the medical profession that was out of step.

3. Desegregation, like Medicaid, runs into a hodgepodge of inconsistent and contradictory local, state, and Federal laws concerning different facilities and institutions—schools, transportation, recreation, housing, employment, marriage. Some of these laws actually *prescribe* segregation. Consider a hypothetical situation in which some states had laws that made it illegal to provide hospitalization and medical care under the terms ultimately provided by the Federal Medicare law!<sup>20</sup>

Having established in this paper the fact that the passage and implementation of Medicare had a sharp effect in changing the attitudes of physicians toward the program, the next steps will be (1) to examine the *conditions* under which physicians make both short-term and long-term changes in their attitudes toward Medicare, (2) to examine the long-term effects of Medicare on physicians' attitudes toward the program and toward other related political and health care issues, and (3) to compare the long-term and short-term responses of physicians to Medicare and Medicaid. A fourth wave of inter-

views with our physician panel is being planned in 1970—five years after the passage of Medicare—to answer these questions.

1. The two major sets of conditions of individual change in attitudes toward Medicare we shall examine are attitude-structural and social-structural variables. The general assumption is that there is pressure toward both intrapersonal and interpersonal consistency. For example, among those opposed to Medicare before the law was passed, it is predicted that Democrats are more likely to change their attitudes toward Medicare than Republicans; that physicians in areas where support for Medicare was initially strong are more likely to change than those in areas where support was weak; and that physicians who perceive themselves as having different opinions from their colleagues are more likely to change than those who see themselves as being in agreement. Other variables such as physicians' knowledge about Medicare, their experience with it, and their perceptions of its effects on their practice will also be studied as conditions of change in their attitudes toward Medicare.

2. a. The short-term effects of the Medicare law and program on physicians' attitudes toward it were indeed dramatic. What will be the long-term effects—five years later? Will opposition to Medicare continue to wither away, or will it stiffen?

b. We have found that the Medicare law had little short-term effect on physicians' attitudes toward other related political and health care issues. The stability of these attitudes, as a matter of fact, was offered to support the argument that the change in attitude toward Medicare was indeed an effect of the Medicare law and program rather than a part of a more general liberal trend in physicians' thinking. Katz observes that "it is puzzling that attitude change seems to have slight generalization effects, when the evidence indicates considerable generalization in the organization of a person's beliefs and values" (Katz, 1960:199). But our results, and Katz' observation, refer to the short-run. It is plausible to expect that a change in one part of an attitude structure will produce changes in other parts of the structure, but the generalization of change *may not take place immediately*. It may take some time for the structure to become reintegrated. Will

<sup>20</sup> The effects of law on behavior and attitudes are interpretable in terms of cognitive dissonance theory. According to this theory, the greater the dissonance between an individual's continued opposition to a program, behaviorally and attitudinally, and other elements in his cognitive structure, the greater is the probability of his complying and accepting the program. If we conceive as elements in an individual's cognitive structures the passage of a law and the specific conditions for its effectiveness, then it follows that the more of these conditions that apply, the greater the dissonance and the greater the probability of compliance and attitudinal acceptance.

That part of the theory that focuses on the effects of compliance on attitude change and the conditions under which dissonance between these two elements is aroused, however, is not particularly relevant to our case, since we found a large shift in attitudes toward Medicare even before physicians had an opportunity to comply (unless planning to comply is seen as equivalent to complying). The effects of compliance on attitude change in terms of dissonance theory is explicitly applied to desegregation in Brehm and Cohen (1962:269-285).

physicians' acceptance of Medicare make them more liberal in the longer run in their thinking about political issues and about changes in the organization of medical practice, or will it make them more conservative and resistant to such changes, or will it simply have no effects? <sup>21</sup>

3. In contrast to the ready acceptance of Medicare, physicians continued to oppose Medicaid in New York State nearly a year after it was implemented. How will they feel four years later? What will be the conditions under which physicians make long-term changes in their attitudes toward Medicaid, and how will these conditions differ from those that distinguish changers and non-changers on Medicare? A comparison of the dynamics of the short-term and long-term responses of physicians to Medicare and Medicaid represents a modest test of the conditions under which laws influence behavior and attitudes.

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<sup>21</sup> Note that "short-term" and "long-term" in attitude change research mean quite different things depending on the perspective of the investigator and the design used. In experimental studies, "short-term" effects are measured within minutes, hours, or at most, a few days after the introduction of the experimental variable; "long-term" effects usually mean no more than a few weeks later. In panel surveys, the time intervals are longer.



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# SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN A GROUP OF SCIENTISTS: A TEST OF THE "INVISIBLE COLLEGE" HYPOTHESIS \*

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*The existence of social organization within a research area may be inferred (a) if scientists who have published in the area have more social ties with one another than with scientists who have not published, and (b) if scientists who have published in the area can be differentiated by degree of social participation within the area. Using a mail questionnaire, sociometric data on different types of scientific relationships were obtained from scientists, all of whom had published in a particular problem area. Respondents chose scientists who had not published in the area as often as they chose scientists within the area. Analysis of direct and indirect ties, using Coleman's method for analysis of sociometric connectedness, revealed that a tie with one or more of the highly productive scientists brought other scientists of less productivity into a large network of influence and communication. Similarities between this type of social organization and that of the "social circle" are discussed.*

ONE type of social group which has received relatively little attention from sociologists is the group comprised of scientists who work on similar research problems. This neglect is probably due to the amorphous character of this type of group. Its members are highly individualistic and widely separated geographically. Participation is voluntary. Turnover is very high; the majority of scientists have only one or two publications in any research area (Price, 1963). Even the boundaries of research areas are difficult to define since most scientific work can be classified in numerous ways, and, often, agreement among scientists regarding the categorization of certain work is far from unanimous. It can thus justifiably be asked whether anything resembling social organization exists in a research area.

Studies of informal communication among scientists indicate that scientists working on similar problems are usually aware of each other and in some cases attempt to systematize their contacts by exchanging reprints with one another (Libbey and Zaltman, 1967; Menzel, 1960; Paisley, 1965). Price has stated that some but not all scientists in a particular research area maintain a high level of informal communication and that

information received in this manner is essential for the conduct of effective research (Price, 1963). The amount of material published in some fields is so large that it cannot be monitored effectively by any other means. Kuhn (1962) has argued that groups of scientists develop shared definitions of their work, paradigms which interpret findings and guide new research. In other words, scientists adjust to the problems of dealing with knowledge in their fields by forming social organizations of various kinds, based upon shared communication and shared interpretations of the situation.

However, the existence of "invisible colleges" has been difficult to prove. Scientists have many contacts with other scientists in their own research areas and in other fields, some fleeting, some lasting. If social organization exists in a research area, it is of a highly elusive and relatively unstructured variety. The present research was designed to discover if anything resembling social organization could be observed in a research area. For this purpose, a sociometric analysis of a group of scientists with common research interests was required.<sup>1</sup> The existence of so-

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<sup>1</sup> Although there have been a number of studies of informal communication among scientists, a sociometric study of communication patterns among scientists who are doing research in the same area had not been attempted before. Nicholas Mullins (1966) did a sociometric analysis of informal communication but did not focus upon a particular field. Several sociometric studies are currently in

cial organization could be inferred (a) if scientists who had published in a particular research area had more social ties with one another than with scientists who had not published in the area, and (b) if scientists who had published in the area could be differentiated in terms of degrees of social participation within the area, suggesting the existence of leadership in the field.

#### THE MEASUREMENT OF SOCIAL TIES

If social organization exists in a research area, it is likely to be based on a number of different types of social ties. Informal communication regarding research findings, research-in-progress, and research techniques represents one way in which members of a problem area can be linked to one another. In the present study, information about informal communication was obtained only from those currently engaged in research in the field, a subsample of 52 members from a total of 147 respondents.

In addition to informal communication, several other types of ties between scientists exist. Collaboration occurs in several ways. In the case of formal collaboration (as indicated by bylines on research publications), communication between two or more scientists about their research was so important that it received formal recognition in the publication itself. However, collaboration among scientists may occur before research reaches the stage of formal publication. Another form of collaboration takes place when a student writes a thesis under the direction of one or more teachers; other teachers not formally directing the thesis may play a role in the development of the thesis, and this relationship also represents a kind of collaboration.

progress, for example, Lingwood (1968), APA Project on Scientific Information Exchange in Psychology (1968), and a dissertation by David Vachon (1969), who was the first to use the Coleman Sociometric Connectedness Program with this type of data. For analysis of problem areas using different techniques, see Fisher, 1956 and 1967, Mullins, 1968 and Russett, 1969. For analyses of scientific literature which relate to this problem, see Cole (1962 and 1963), Kessler (1965), Kessler and Heart (1962), McGrath and Altman (1966), Meadows (1967), Parker et al. (1967), Price and Beaver (1966), Stevens (1953), Stoddart (1967) and Weinstein (undated).

Finally, there are intellectual linkages represented by the influence of one scientist's work upon that of another. Citation references in journal articles are direct indications of such influences, and studies of citations have been made (Garfield, 1964; Kessler, 1965; Weinstein, undated). This type of relationship can also be measured by asking scientists to name others who have influenced them in their selection of problems and techniques. Questions of this sort do not elicit data identical to that obtained using linkages among citations. The latter method is more precise and provides more complete information. In addition, the question used in the present study deliberately restricted the scope of the information requested in order to simplify the task of the respondent. Respondents were asked about influences on the selection of problems and techniques but not about influences upon the course of the research. However, many articles include numerous citations, but the relative importance of each citation may vary considerably from a reference to a scientist whose work has had a very strong influence on the author to a scientist whose work is relevant only in connection with a minor point. The use of a questionnaire to elicit some of this information probably has the advantage of obtaining the most important influences, rather than a complete list of major and minor influences.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> A copy of the questionnaire which was used to elicit information concerning social ties in the area will be sent upon request. The question requesting names of scientists who had influenced the respondents' selection of research problems was not answered by 41% of the group. A similar question requesting names of scientists who had influenced their selections of research techniques was not answered by 59%. This was partly because these questions were not asked of respondents who had written a thesis in the area and nothing more (31 or 23% of the sample), although six of these respondents answered these questions anyway. Failure to respond to these questions was related to low productivity and lack of commitment to the area. A few scientists indicated that the research topic had been assigned to them. Other respondents claimed that these questions were difficult. The degree of perceived difficulty seemed to depend on whether the respondent thought that he was being asked to list every possible influence or only those which had been especially important (the latter was what was requested). In the lengthy career of a scientist influences on the development of re-

Each of these several different types of ties among scientists produces a somewhat different picture of the relationships within the problem area and between members of the area and outsiders. But the juxtaposition of these various indicators of linkage may provide an approximate picture of the degree of the relationship of each with every other. Combining several indicators into a composite index supplies further information about the group. Some members may be related to other members through influences on the selection of problems or techniques, others through some type of collaboration or through informal communication, but, if social organization does exist in a research area, most members should be related to others in at least one of these ways.<sup>3</sup>

As has been indicated previously, these measures are essentially sociometric, involving ties between one scientist and another. Some can be meaningfully looked at in terms of the degree of reciprocity involved; others cannot. Analysis of this type of data, especially for large groups, has always been somewhat problematical for sociologists. For the purpose of this study, it seemed preferable to rely on three methods. The first was simply an overall quantitative statement of the number of choices of various kinds directed both within and without the problem area.

The second was a method of assessing the extent of direct and indirect<sup>4</sup> relationships

search can be numerous, but it is quite possible that only a relatively small number of names are very significant in any particular problem area. Some respondents seemed to have difficulty or were unwilling to make the effort to distinguish such influences.

<sup>3</sup> A more difficult problem is that of evaluating the degree of cohesion which occurs. One solution is to define cohesion by means of probability considerations. The probability of each possible structure occurring by chance could be used in assessing the actual outcome, but such probabilities are difficult to construct when the number of choices permitted to each individual is unlimited. An alternative approach is to compare many groups of the same type. If data were available for scientists in many problem areas, one would then be able to evaluate a particular set of data according to such standards. However, in this study, data are presented in which choices within and without the group are compared, and choices by members of different subgroups are also compared.

<sup>4</sup> An indirect relationship is one in which A is linked to C because both are in communication with B.

between members of the problem area. For example, a scientist who communicates with another scientist may obtain indirectly information which was transmitted to the second scientist by a third. A scientist (A) collaborating with another (B), who has in turn collaborated with others (C and D), may benefit indirectly from the work of C and D. Similarly, students, through the mediating efforts of their thesis director, may be in contact with one another even if they are in different settings.

When scientists in an area are linked by ties based on influences regarding the selection of research problems and techniques, their publications in the field build upon ideas expressed in previous works and are closely related. Price (1965) has argued that this is the case in fields where new knowledge is developing rapidly.

All techniques for assessing indirect relationships in groups other than analysis by manual procedures, which are impractical with large groups, are approximate (Coleman, 1964:447). The technique which was used here was a modification of one which was devised by James Coleman (1964:444-455).<sup>5</sup> The choices of members of a group are arranged in matrix form where one axis represents choices made by a member of the group; the other axis, choices received by a member. Continuous multiplication of the matrix by itself provides a means of locating the indirect relationships between the individuals represented in the matrix.<sup>6</sup> This analysis provides figures indicating the total number of persons to whom a particular scientist's choices directly or indirectly lead and the total number of persons choosing him directly or indirectly. In addition, it is possible to construct a measure of connectivity for a group as a whole. This is done by dividing the number of connections which occur (either from or toward individuals) by the total number of connections which could possibly occur.

<sup>5</sup> The program which was used here is a substantial revision and correction of the program which Coleman outlines in his book (Coleman, 1964:466-468).

<sup>6</sup> It is theoretically possible to find all the indirect ties. The algorithm used to solve the problem is not complete. However, it does obtain the vast majority of all the different connections among individuals.

Finally, direct and indirect relationships among members of different subgroups within the problem area were analyzed. For this purpose, members of the problem area were divided into five groups on the basis of productivity in and commitment to the area. The latter was measured in terms of continuity of interest in the area. Using three levels of productivity and two of continuity, it was possible to form six groups, of which five actually occurred in this problem area. Members of three subgroups indicated in response to an item on the questionnaire that they had continued to do research in the area: (1) eight High Producers, each of whom had published more than ten papers in the area; (2) eleven Moderate Producers, who had published four to ten papers in the area; (3) 33 Aspirants, who had published fewer than four papers in the area. Members of two subgroups indicated that they had not continued to do research in the area: (1) nine Defectors, each of whom had published four to ten papers in the area; (2) 86 Transients, each of whom had published fewer than four papers in the area. Every one with more than ten papers continued with his research in the area.

#### DESIGN OF STUDY

The selection of a suitable group of scientists was complicated by the fact that scientific fields can be defined as broadly as a discipline or as narrowly as a problem area (a cluster of closely related problems); and by the fact that the precise boundaries of research areas are usually difficult to define.

Among the different types of groups to which scientists belong, the problem area appeared to be the most suitable for an exploratory study, both because it is likely to be fairly small and because the bases for the relationships between members of the group (the scientists' immediate research interests) are fairly specific. An intensive case study of a particular problem area was used to develop techniques and hypotheses which could later be applied to a larger sample of problem areas.

Since scientists frequently work in more than one problem area at a time and often shift areas of interest and, in addition, tend to define the relevance of their work in

different ways, it is difficult to locate all the scientists who have worked in a particular problem area. At least four methods of locating members of a problem area are possible: the use of bibliographies, abstracting services, citation networks and sociometric data. Each of these methods has limitations in terms of locating a complete list of members. Lists of abstracts and bibliographies reflect the evaluations of relevance made by the compilers; citations reflect the evaluations of relevance of authors as do sociometric questions. In each case, some references or some names are likely to be omitted.

Although these problems cannot be solved completely, the availability of a bibliography, designed especially for maximum completeness and compiled by a highly productive member of a problem area, provided one means of dealing with the problem outlined above. Use of such a list made it likely that a very high proportion of members of the relevant group would be located.<sup>7</sup>

The problem area selected for this study, the diffusion of agricultural innovations,<sup>8</sup> was part of the research specialty—rural sociology. Since the "invisible college" hypothesis was developed from observations of the be-

<sup>7</sup>Use of such a bibliography entailed accepting the judgment of its compiler regarding the scope of the field and relevant publications. (It is recognized that other authors would supply equally acceptable but somewhat different bibliographies.) The validity of his judgment was borne out by the finding that two-thirds of the respondents placed their publications (on the list) within the area of "diffusion of agricultural innovations" or some variation of this label. Over four-fifths of the more productive members defined the field in this way. The author of the bibliography has stated that "In our continued searchings we now find very few studies that are over one year old. Our confidence is further bolstered when we receive few additional publications or suggestions for inclusion from the leading researchers to whom we send copies of an annual bibliography on diffusion (Rogers and Bettinghaus, 1966)."

<sup>8</sup>The diffusion of innovations has been studied in several academic disciplines (anthropology, economics, geography, psychology), in another research specialty within sociology (medical sociology), and in several applied fields (journalism, communication, consumer behavior, and industrial engineering) (Rogers, 1962; Rogers and Stanfield, 1966). The existence of research on a similar topic in a variety of disciplines is not uncommon. For example, the study of science as an institution and the study of formal organizations exhibit similar patterns.

havior of scientists in fast-moving specialties within physics, the selection of a research area in the social sciences might seem inappropriate. However, an analysis of the 403 papers published in the area between 1941 and mid-1966 revealed that it possessed several of the characteristics which have been found in the literature in the natural sciences (Price, 1961): (1) Growth of the field (number of papers published per year) had progressed through the first three of the four stages which Price has described as being characteristic of scientific literature, (2) the number of new authors entering the field per year showed the same series of stages of growth, (3) A few authors in the area had been highly productive and a majority had produced one or two papers. Although the field contained a larger proportion of single author publications (61%) than would be expected for a research area in the natural sciences, so many factors are believed to influence the amount of collaboration in a research area, and these factors are so imperfectly understood that this characteristic did not seem important enough to disqualify the area for a study of this type.

A second aspect of this problem area which might be considered to limit its usefulness for a case study of this sort is the type of situation in which research in this field has been conducted. For reasons related to the history of rural sociology, research in the diffusion problem area has often been financed and conducted in agricultural experiment stations (Kaufman, 1956). As a result, much of the research has had an applied character. However, this research is not carried out under the conditions of restricted communication which usually characterize applied research in industry. Rural sociologists studying diffusion have been in excellent communication with one another.<sup>9</sup> Thus, the applied character of some of the research does not appear to have inhibited the devel-

opment of informal social organization in the field.

Using the most recent bibliography compiled for the area (Rogers, 1966), questionnaires were sent to 172 of the 221 scientists listed,<sup>10</sup> both junior and senior authors; 147 replies were received. Each respondent was sent a letter which included references to his publications as listed in the bibliography and was requested to respond to the questionnaire with respect to those publications only (rather than with respect to any other publications he might have produced).<sup>11</sup>

The aim of the study was to obtain some information regarding the circumstances surrounding publication in the area from every scientist who had ever published in it. Since publications in the area began to appear in 1941, some respondents were describing events which had taken place many years ago. The majority of the publications in the area have appeared in the last ten years. An alternative plan would have been to focus upon only those scientists who had published within the last five years. This would, however, have reduced the size of an already small sample. In addition, it would not have

<sup>10</sup> Due to an oversight, questionnaires were not sent to 15 junior authors, each of whom had one collaborative publication. The considerable period of time which had elapsed since some of the publications had appeared made it difficult to locate a number of members of the group. Addresses were traced by writing to university alumni offices and by searching relevant biographical directories but were unavailable for 34 members of the group; 79% of the remaining members of the group responded. The overall response rate was 67%. Telephone interviews were conducted with 17 members who did not return the questionnaire. Obtaining responses was complicated by the fact that about a quarter of the sample was residing abroad. Since the investigation was viewed as a case study for developing techniques for studying problems of this kind, the questionnaire was not extensively pretested but was tested principally in interviews with colleagues. In addition, ten pretest versions were sent to members of the problem area of which four were returned.

<sup>11</sup> Publications included theses, papers presented at professional meetings, and agricultural experiment station bulletins and reports, as well as journal articles and two books. Data regarding scientific communication should specify precisely which particular research by each scientist should be the referent for his response. Since scientists are often involved in research in more than one area, failure to specify precisely the relevant research can lead to the collection of many irrelevant names.

<sup>9</sup> Rogers describes these activities as follows: "The Rural Sociological Society annually devotes several sessions of papers to diffusion, and many studies are published in the Society's journal, *Rural Sociology*. Semiannual meetings of Midwestern rural sociologists studying diffusion are sponsored by the Farm Foundation, and out of these conferences have grown several summary publications and bibliographies." (Rogers, 1962:38)

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF CHOICES RECEIVED BY MEMBERS OF PROBLEM AREA AND OUTSIDERS<sup>a</sup>

| Number of Choices Received | Affiliation of Scientist Chosen: |           |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------|
|                            | Problem Area                     | Outsiders |
| 0                          | 46                               | ....      |
| 1                          | 23                               | 63.7      |
| 2                          | 9                                | 20.5      |
| 3-5                        | 10                               | 12.5      |
| 6-10                       | 5                                | 3.0       |
| 11-20                      | 4                                | 0.3       |
| 21-50                      | 2                                | 0         |
| Over 50                    | 1                                | 0         |
| Total                      | 100                              | 100       |
| N                          | (221)                            | (389)     |

<sup>a</sup> Choices were made by members of the problem area with respect to informal communication, current collaboration, theses directors, thesis influence and influences on the selection of problems and techniques. A scientist could be chosen more than once by the same respondent with respect of different categories as listed above.

provided an overall picture of the development of the problem area. Even though information about publications written many years ago may not be as precise as information about recent publications, it seemed preferable to have information about both types of publications in order to understand the social organization of the area.

#### CHOICES WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE AREA: THE GROUP AND OUTSIDERS

On every measure examined, respondents were about as likely to choose a scientist who had not published in the area as they

were to choose one who had. Out of a total 1351 choices made by all respondents on all the different types of ties, outsiders were named 684 times (51%) and problem area members 667 times (49%). Does this suggest that a social group within the area did not exist? There are three reasons for arguing that these figures do not imply the absence of social organization within the problem area.

First, the majority of "outsiders" were selected only once; 84% were chosen no more than twice; twelve, or 3%, were named more than five times. Within the problem area, about half the members were never named;<sup>12</sup> 78% were chosen twice or less. Most of these scientists had been relatively unproductive; many had only a brief contact with the problem area. On the other hand, 25, or 12%, were named more than five times. Fifteen, or 7%, were named more than ten times. Thus, the social organization of the problem area appeared to be centered around a small and relatively productive proportion of the total membership.

Since only one outsider was named more than ten times, there did not appear to be a group of outsiders whose influence had similar weight. The twelve outsiders who received

<sup>12</sup> In a sample of high energy physicists who were asked to name the two persons with whom they most frequently exchanged information, the proportion of physicists not named was slightly more than a third (Libbey and Zaltman, 1967:31-32).

TABLE 2. NUMBERS OF CHOICES RECEIVED BY SUBGROUPS OF THE DIFFUSION PROBLEM AREA

| Number of Choices Received | Subgroup Affiliation of Scientist Chosen |                    |           |           |            | Total Group |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-------------|
|                            | High Producers                           | Moderate Producers | Defectors | Aspirants | Transients |             |
| 0                          | 0                                        | 0                  | 0         | 24        | 43         | 31          |
| 1                          | 0                                        | 0                  | 11        | 39        | 34         | 29          |
| 2-5                        | 0                                        | 73                 | 33        | 27        | 16         | 23          |
| 6-10                       | 0                                        | 27                 | 22        | 9         | 5          | 8           |
| 11-20                      | 38                                       | 0                  | 22        | 0         | 2          | 5           |
| 21-50                      | 38                                       | 0                  | 11        | 0         | 0          | 3           |
| Over 50                    | 25                                       | 0                  | 0         | 0         | 0          | 1           |
| Total <sup>a</sup>         | 101                                      | 100                | 99        | 99        | 100        | 100         |
| N                          | (8)                                      | (11)               | (9)       | (33)      | (86)       | (147)       |

$\tau_{xy} = .39$  (See Footnote b)

<sup>a</sup> Percentages in this and subsequent tables do not always total 100 due to rounding error.

<sup>b</sup> For computation of tau, the categories of the dependent variable were combined as follows: 0-10, over 10. Goodman and Kruskal's tau indicates the proportion of errors saved in predicting the dependent variable if the independent variable is known (Blalock, 1960:232-234).

more than 5 choices could be characterized in three ways. One was a scientist working in the problem area who had not yet published at the time the questionnaires were mailed but who published during the following year. Two others had published numerous articles in an adjacent problem area, the study of the diffusion of medical innovations. Most of the remaining frequently-chosen outsiders had achieved a high degree of eminence. Seven out of nine had been president of the American Sociological Association or the Rural Sociological Society. Thus these scientists were well known in the discipline as a whole.

There was some indication that the relationships between respondents and members of the problem area were different from their relationships with scientists who had not published in the area. Respondents were asked to indicate if they had any personal acquaintance with the scientists whom they mentioned as having influenced their selection of problems in the area. Of 246 choices of problem area members, 76% were designated as personal acquaintances; of 256 choices of outsiders, 57% were indicated to be personal acquaintances. This outcome suggests that to some extent the influence of outsiders was exerted through publications, while that of insiders was exerted through personal contact.

The problem area which included 221 scientists was able to compete with respect to choices with members of a very much larger population, the former receiving 49% of the total 1351 choices. The outsiders were drawn from several disciplines (unfortunately, this information was not available for many of the outsiders) which altogether include more than twenty thousand scientists.<sup>13</sup> Similar distributions of choices have been found in the analysis of citation refer-

ences (Swanson, 1966). About half the articles on a particular subject tend to be concentrated in a dozen or so journals; the remainder are widely scattered. Something analogous to the phenomenon of "reference scattering" seems to occur in relation to these measures of scientific relationships.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF MEMBERS OF SUBGROUPS IN THE DIFFUSION PROBLEM AREA

*Selection of Group Members versus Outsiders.*—The five subgroups differentiated on the basis of productivity and commitment to the area were expected to exhibit varying degrees of linkage both with the members of the group and with those who had not published in the area. When all types of ties were considered together, one subgroup of highly productive members appeared to be equally strongly linked to the area and to outsiders.<sup>14</sup> Another subgroup (one which was relatively unproductive) appeared to have a relatively peripheral relationship to the area as well as to outsiders. The other three subgroups ranged between these two in degree of linkage to the area and to outsiders. This suggests that both types of ties are characteristic of productive scientists in a research area.

*Direct and Indirect Ties by Subgroups.*—When direct and indirect choices of the members of the various subgroups were measured using the Sociometric Connectedness Program, the differences between the subgroups emerged more definitively. Among the subgroups currently doing research in the area, informal communication choices by the High and Moderate Producers linked them to more members of the group than did the choices of the Aspirants. In addition, a high proportion of choices by others led to the High Producers, placing them in the center of a fairly sizeable communication network. (Table 4 shows how frequently a scientist is

cultural economics, economics, agricultural extension, or psychology; 7% were in several other fields. No information was available for 32% of the outsiders.

<sup>14</sup> In this table, and the tables which follow, percentages are frequently based on very small figures. However, the percentage differences between High Producers and the other subgroups are in most cases large and are so consistently in the same direction that the data, when considered as a whole, provides substantial evidence for the hypothesis being examined here.

<sup>13</sup> Eighty-one percent of the members of the problem area who returned the questionnaire (147 scientists) were sociologists (defined as having received a doctorate in the area or, in the absence of a doctorate, a master's degree). A few of these individuals were also identified with other disciplines as well (i.e. had received degrees in joint programs). Thirteen percent were in anthropology, agricultural economics, economics, agricultural extension, or psychology; 5% were in a number of other fields. Thirty-eight percent of the outsiders were sociologists; 22% were in anthropology, agri-



TABLE 3. PERCENTAGES OF SUBGROUPS IN THE PROBLEM AREA HAVING AT LEAST ONE TIE<sup>a</sup> WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE AREA AND WITH OUTSIDERS

| Percentages of Subgroup Having                | Subgroup       |                    |           |           |            | Total Group |
|-----------------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-------------|
|                                               | High Producers | Moderate Producers | Defectors | Aspirants | Transients |             |
| One or more ties with members of problem area | 100            | 91                 | 89        | 88        | 66         | 76          |
| One or more ties with outsiders               | 100            | 91                 | 78        | 94        | 58         | 72          |
| No ties                                       | 0              | 0                  | 0         | 6         | 22         | 14          |
| N                                             | (8)            | (11)               | (9)       | (33)      | (86)       | (147)       |

<sup>a</sup> The following types of ties were included: informal communication, current collaboration, thesis directors, thesis influence, and influences on the selection of problems and techniques. Reciprocal communication and published collaboration were excluded since choices of outsiders were not relevant to those categories.

TABLE 4. DIRECT AND INDIRECT CHOICES OF MEMBERS OF SUBGROUPS BY MEMBERS OF SUBGROUPS IN THE DIFFUSION PROBLEM AREA AS MEASURED BY THE COLEMAN SOCIOMETRIC CONNECTEDNESS PROGRAM

| 1. Type of Choice: Informal Communication <sup>a</sup>                 |                      |                    |           |           |            |                 |             |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------------|-------------|
| Number of Times Members of Subgroups Are Chosen Directly or Indirectly | Subgroup Affiliation |                    |           |           |            |                 | Total Group |
|                                                                        | High Producers       | Moderate Producers | Defectors | Aspirants | Transients | Non-respondents |             |
| 0*                                                                     | 0                    | 27                 | ..        | 58        | ..         | ..              | 50          |
| 1-10*                                                                  | 0                    | 27                 | ..        | 23        | ..         | ..              | 21          |
| 11-20                                                                  | 0                    | 0                  | ..        | 0         | ..         | ..              | 0           |
| Over 20                                                                | 100                  | 46                 | ..        | 9         | ..         | ..              | 29          |
| Total                                                                  | 100                  | 100                | ..        | 100       | ..         | ..              | 100         |
| N                                                                      | (8)                  | (11)               | ..        | (33)      | ..         | ..              | (52)        |

 $\tau_{yx} = .57$ 

| 2. Type of Choice: Most Important Communication <sup>a, b</sup>        |                      |                    |           |           |            |                 |             |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------------|-------------|
| Number of Times Members of Subgroups Are Chosen Directly or Indirectly | Subgroup Affiliation |                    |           |           |            |                 | Total Group |
|                                                                        | High Producers       | Moderate Producers | Defectors | Aspirants | Transients | Non-respondents |             |
| 0                                                                      | 0                    | 46                 | ..        | 75        | ..         | ..              | 62          |
| 1-10*                                                                  | 86                   | 45                 | ..        | 18        | ..         | ..              | 32          |
| Over 10*                                                               | 14                   | 9                  | ..        | 3         | ..         | ..              | 6           |
| Total                                                                  | 100                  | 100                | ..        | 100       | ..         | ..              | 100         |
| N                                                                      | (8)                  | (11)               | ..        | (33)      | ..         | ..              | (52)        |

 $\tau_{yx} = .38$ 

| 3. Type of Choice: Reciprocal Communication <sup>a</sup>               |                      |                    |           |           |            |                 |             |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------------|-------------|
| Number of Times Members of Subgroups Are Chosen Directly or Indirectly | Subgroup Affiliation |                    |           |           |            |                 | Total Group |
|                                                                        | High Producers       | Moderate Producers | Defectors | Aspirants | Transients | Non-respondents |             |
| 0                                                                      | 25                   | 64                 | ..        | 85        | ..         | ..              | 71          |
| 1-5*                                                                   | 12                   | 18                 | ..        | 9         | ..         | ..              | 12          |
| Over 5*                                                                | 63                   | 18                 | ..        | 6         | ..         | ..              | 17          |
| Total                                                                  | 100                  | 100                | ..        | 100       | ..         | ..              | 100         |
| N                                                                      | (8)                  | (11)               | ..        | (33)      | ..         | ..              | (52)        |

 $\tau_{yx} = .22$

| Number<br>of Times<br>Members of<br>Subgroups Are<br>Chosen Directly<br>or Indirectly | 4. Type of Choice: Published Collaboration |                       |           |           |            |                     |                |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|---------------------|----------------|
|                                                                                       | Subgroup Affiliation                       |                       |           |           |            |                     | Total<br>Group |
|                                                                                       | High<br>Producers                          | Moderate<br>Producers | Defectors | Aspirants | Transients | Non-<br>respondents |                |
| 0*                                                                                    | 0                                          | 18                    | 0         | 43        | 45         | 27                  | 34             |
| 1-10*                                                                                 | 12                                         | 55                    | 78        | 45        | 40         | 62                  | 50             |
| 11-20                                                                                 | 25                                         | 0                     | 11        | 3         | 5          | 5                   | 5              |
| Over 20                                                                               | 63                                         | 27                    | 11        | 9         | 10         | 5                   | 11             |
| Total                                                                                 | 100                                        | 100                   | 100       | 100       | 100        | 99                  | 100            |
| N                                                                                     | (8)                                        | (11)                  | (9)       | (33)      | (86)       | (74)                | (221)          |

 $\tau_{yx}=.15$ 

| Number<br>of Times<br>Members of<br>Subgroups Are<br>Chosen Directly<br>or Indirectly | 5. Type of Choice: Influences on Problem Selection <sup>a</sup> |                       |           |           |            |                     |                |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|---------------------|----------------|
|                                                                                       | Subgroup Affiliation                                            |                       |           |           |            |                     | Total<br>Group |
|                                                                                       | High<br>Producers                                               | Moderate<br>Producers | Defectors | Aspirants | Transients | Non-<br>respondents |                |
| 0*                                                                                    | 0                                                               | 9                     | 11        | 73        | 78         | ..                  | 63             |
| 1-10*                                                                                 | 12                                                              | 82                    | 44        | 24        | 19         | ..                  | 26             |
| 11-20                                                                                 | 0                                                               | 0                     | 0         | 0         | 0          | ..                  | 0              |
| Over 20                                                                               | 88                                                              | 9                     | 44        | 3         | 3          | ..                  | 11             |
| Total                                                                                 | 100                                                             | 100                   | 99        | 100       | 100        | ..                  | 100            |
| N                                                                                     | (8)                                                             | (11)                  | (9)       | (33)      | (86)       | ..                  | (147)          |

 $\tau_{yx}=.45$ 

| Number<br>of Times<br>Members of<br>Subgroups Are<br>Chosen Directly<br>or Indirectly | 6. Type of Choice: Thesis Directors <sup>a</sup> |                       |           |           |            |                     |                |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|---------------------|----------------|
|                                                                                       | Subgroup Affiliation                             |                       |           |           |            |                     | Total<br>Group |
|                                                                                       | High<br>Producers                                | Moderate<br>Producers | Defectors | Aspirants | Transients | Non-<br>respondents |                |
| 0                                                                                     | 12                                               | 46                    | 45        | 52        | 60         | ..                  | 54             |
| 1-10*                                                                                 | 38                                               | 18                    | 55        | 39        | 26         | ..                  | 31             |
| 11-20*                                                                                | 0                                                | 0                     | 0         | 0         | 0          | ..                  | 0              |
| Over 20*                                                                              | 50                                               | 36                    | 0         | 9         | 14         | ..                  | 16             |
| Total                                                                                 | 100                                              | 100                   | 100       | 100       | 100        | ..                  | 101            |
| N                                                                                     | (8)                                              | (11)                  | (9)       | (33)      | (86)       | ..                  | (147)          |

 $\tau_{yx}=.05$ 

| Number<br>of Times<br>Members of<br>Subgroups Are<br>Chosen Directly<br>or Indirectly | 7. Type of Choice: Total Ties <sup>a*</sup> |                       |           |           |            |                     |                |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|---------------------|----------------|
|                                                                                       | Subgroup Affiliation                        |                       |           |           |            |                     | Total<br>Group |
|                                                                                       | High<br>Producers                           | Moderate<br>Producers | Defectors | Aspirants | Transients | Non-<br>respondents |                |
| 0*                                                                                    | 0                                           | 0                     | 0         | 21        | 24         | ..                  | 19             |
| 1-100 <sup>b*</sup>                                                                   | 0                                           | 36                    | 0         | 30        | 8          | ..                  | 14             |
| Over 100                                                                              | 100                                         | 64                    | 100       | 49        | 68         | ..                  | 67             |
| Total                                                                                 | 100                                         | 100                   | 100       | 100       | 100        | ..                  | 100            |
| N                                                                                     | (8)                                         | (11)                  | (9)       | (33)      | (86)       | ..                  | (147)          |

 $\tau_{yx}=.14$ 

<sup>a</sup> Only choices of those members of the problem area currently engaged in research in the field are included in these computations.

<sup>b</sup> Asterisks indicate that categories were combined for computation of tau.

<sup>c</sup> Respondents were asked to rate from 1 to 5 the importance of each communication tie for their research. Those ties which were rated 4 or 5 were considered as the most important ties.

<sup>d</sup> Only choice of respondents (not non-respondents) were included in these computations.

<sup>e</sup> Total ties included informal communication, current collaboration, published collaboration, thesis directors, thesis influence, influence on the selection of problems and influence on the selection of techniques.

<sup>f</sup> All these scores were between 1 and 5.

linked to others by their choices of him; it does not show his choices of others.)

High Producers were more likely to be linked to others through communication ties which they considered to be very important for their research; moreover, a high proportion of choices of this type by others also led to them. The communication choices of the High Producers were more frequently reciprocated than were those of the other groups, again suggesting their central position in the group.

The High Producers were also linked through published collaboration to a large number of other members of the area, suggesting that much of the collaboration in the area had been conducted in association with High Producers. In addition, the High Producers had played an important role in the area as thesis directors.<sup>15</sup>

The High Producers were not predominantly linked to others in the area through their own choices of influences on the selection of problems; however, they did receive a much higher number of direct and indirect choices with respect to this type of influence. They had apparently played an important role for many members of the area in the selection of research problems. The Defectors were the only other group that had played a significant role in this respect. However, comparisons of direct and indirect choices suggested that their role had been largely indirect. They had influenced the High Producers, who, in turn, had influenced many of the other members of the group. The role of the High Producers as influences on the selection of research techniques was less pronounced, although choices of members of the area were also more likely to lead to them than to members of other subgroups.

When all types of links were examined together, the High Producers, the Moderate Producers and the Defectors were linked to many members of the area through their own choices. The Aspirants were linked to fewer members and the Transients to even fewer. The High Producers and the Defectors also dominated on the receipt of choices. One hundred percent of the High Producers and

of the Defectors had very high scores, much higher than any of the remaining groups. Thus, the High Producers, sometimes in company with the Moderate Producers, sometimes along with the Defectors, provided orientation for the other members of the area.

The group connectivity scores show the extent to which members of each subgroup had activated their potential relationships with each other and with members of other subgroups. This measure can be computed in two ways: (a) the number of choices of members of the entire group made by a subgroup in relation to the total number of possible choices and (b) the number of choices of a particular subgroup made by its members and members of other subgroups in relation to the total number of possible choices. The first measures how often members of a subgroup choose other members; the second measures how often members of a subgroup are chosen by members of the entire group. The High Producers' choices tended to relate them to more members of the area than did the choices of other subgroups. However, with respect to certain ties, they were chosen by members of other subgroups more frequently than they chose members of these subgroups. For example, 21% of the possible links between High Producers and other members of the area currently active in research were realized on the basis of the High Producers' own choices with respect to informal communication. Through the choices of others, 47% of the potential ties with members of the area were realized. With respect to influences on the selection of problems, only 4% of their potential links with other members of the area were filled as a result of their choices. On the basis of the choices by others in the area, 21% of these relationships were filled. A similar type of difference appears when all types of ties were considered simultaneously.

This set of tables suggests that differences between the subgroups within the problem area existed. One subgroup, the most productive one, appeared to have more ties with the entire group than the other subgroups, although on certain measures the Moderate Producers and the Defectors exhibited a similar degree of linkage. Since the High Producers were more frequently linked to the

<sup>15</sup> The High Producers also were more likely to be chosen with respect to the influence of teachers (other than thesis directors) upon the thesis.

TABLE 5. PROPORTION OF POSSIBLE TIES ACTIVATED AMONG SUBGROUPS OF THE DIFFUSION PROBLEM AREA AS MEASURED BY COLEMAN'S GROUP CONNECTIVITY SCORES<sup>a</sup>

| Proportion of<br>Possible Ties<br>Activated re | Subgroup Affiliation |                       |           |           |            | Total<br>Group <sup>b</sup> |
|------------------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------------------------|
|                                                | High<br>Producers    | Moderate<br>Producers | Aspirants | Defectors | Transients |                             |
| Informal<br>communication                      |                      |                       |           |           |            |                             |
| Choosing <sup>c</sup>                          | .205                 | .237                  | .124      | ....      | ....       | .161                        |
| Chosen                                         | .468                 | .283                  | .039      | ....      | ....       | .161                        |
| Most important<br>communication                |                      |                       |           |           |            |                             |
| Choosing                                       | .154                 | .089                  | .025      | ....      | ....       | .049                        |
| Chosen                                         | .122                 | .069                  | .011      | ....      | ....       | .049                        |
| Reciprocal<br>communication                    |                      |                       |           |           |            |                             |
| Choosing <sup>b</sup>                          | .115                 | .021                  | .010      | ....      | ....       | .029                        |
| Current<br>collaboration                       |                      |                       |           |           |            |                             |
| Choosing                                       | .032                 | .014                  | .004      | ....      | ....       | .010                        |
| Chosen                                         | .026                 | .014                  | .005      | ....      | ....       | .010                        |
| Published<br>collaboration                     |                      |                       |           |           |            |                             |
| Choosing <sup>b</sup>                          | .093                 | .038                  | .017      | .033      | .019       | .022                        |
| Thesis directors                               |                      |                       |           |           |            |                             |
| Choosing <sup>d</sup>                          | .079                 | .056                  | .017      | .012      | .026       | .028                        |
| Influences on<br>problem<br>selection          |                      |                       |           |           |            |                             |
| Choosing                                       | .039                 | .080                  | .041      | .039      | .021       | .032                        |
| Chosen                                         | .214                 | .023                  | .007      | .127      | .015       | .032                        |
| Influences on<br>technique<br>selection        |                      |                       |           |           |            |                             |
| Choosing                                       | .018                 | .030                  | .013      | .001      | .005       | .009                        |
| Chosen                                         | .059                 | .008                  | .005      | .027      | .004       | .009                        |
| Thesis influence                               |                      |                       |           |           |            |                             |
| Choosing                                       | .005                 | .010                  | .005      | .001      | .003       | .004                        |
| Chosen                                         | .031                 | .003                  | .001      | .016      | .001       | .004                        |
| Total ties <sup>e</sup>                        |                      |                       |           |           |            |                             |
| Choosing                                       | .664                 | .673                  | .590      | .664      | .474       | .536                        |
| Chosen                                         | .801                 | .518                  | .392      | .802      | .542       | .536                        |

<sup>a</sup> The number of possible ties is obtained by multiplying the number of cases in the group by the number of cases minus one (to eliminate self-choices). The sum of all the individual scores representing the number of direct and indirect relationships with other members gives the number of relationships which actually occur. The group connectivity score represents the proportion of possible ties which actually occur. The number of possible ties for a subgroup is obtained by multiplying the number of cases in the subgroup by the number of cases in the total group minus one. Only respondents currently engaged in research in the area are included in the first four measures. The remaining measures include all respondents ( $N=147$ ). Published collaboration also includes non-respondents ( $N=221$ ); the non-respondents' score was .015.

<sup>b</sup> These scores are the same for "Choosing" and "Chosen."

<sup>c</sup> "Choosing" represents a score based on respondents' own choices; "Chosen" represents a score based on choices by others of the respondents.

<sup>d</sup> These scores are the same for "Choosing" and "Chosen" since the relationship between thesis director and student was assumed to be a reciprocal one.

<sup>e</sup> Total ties included informal communication, current collaboration, published collaboration, thesis directors, thesis influence, influence on the selection of problems and influence on the selection of techniques.

group as a whole by the choices of others than by their own choices, it would seem that they had a high degree of visibility in

the problem area. Many others looked to them for orientation. Thus the connectivity which developed in this area appeared to be

at least partially the result of a large number of choices directed toward a few members. Anyone choosing even one of these individuals was brought into contact with a large network of individuals. This is a reasonable outcome in science where students or collaborators of very productive scientists are brought into contact, directly or indirectly, with many other scientists in the field. However, for some members, this contact had been very brief. Many of the Transients appeared to have had only peripheral contact with the area. In some cases, they seemed to have been drawn almost involuntarily into the activities of the area and to have detached themselves as quickly as possible. Comments on the questionnaires implied that some members of this group were unaware of any "tradition" of research in the area.

#### CHANGES IN THE NETWORK OF SOCIAL TIES OVER TIME

So far, the group has been described without reference to the fact that members belonged to the group at different times and for different lengths of time. This approach is justified by the fact that, in a research area, scientists who are no longer working in a field continue in a sense to be the colleagues of those who are presently working in the field since their publications provide the basis for future research. However, as was described earlier, the amount of activity in the area steadily increased during the 25-year period examined. During the first ten years of activity in the area, only 5% of the members were active. Between 1948 and 1958, the number of authors entering the area doubled every three years. After 1958, the number of authors entering the field doubled every five years; the increase per year stabilized at approximately 17 authors per year. The trend for the number of publications was similar. Between 1951 and 1960, 49% of the authors entered the field, most of this increase occurring during the latter part of the decade. Another 46% entered between 1961 and 1966.

Since, as we have seen, the High Producers were very influential in the area, tracing the development of their interest in the field would help to explain the growth of the area.

Two High Producers entered the field in the first decade, apparently influenced by the publications of a Defector and a Transient who had been active during that period. In the middle of the second decade, each of these High Producers had a student who also became a High Producer. Another thesis director and his student, both High Producers, entered the field at the same time along with a collaborator who also became a High Producer. By 1957, all of the High Producers had entered the field. Although almost two-thirds of the Aspirants and more than one-third of the Transients entered after 1960, only 11% of the more productive scientists (those with more than three publications in the area) entered the field in that period. Since at that time interest in the field was beginning to diminish relative to its earlier rate of exponential growth, this suggests that productive scientists may be especially sensitive to the potentialities for growth in a field in making their selection of research problems.

The influence of members who had published in the area steadily increased relative to those who had not published. Before 1956, about 25% of the theses written in the field were directed by members of the area. From 1956 to 1966, close to two-thirds of the theses in the area were directed by members of the area. The number of scientists mentioning only outsiders as influences on their selection of research problems in the area decreased from 38% among scientists entering the field before 1951 to 9% among scientists entering after 1956.<sup>16</sup> Examination of the total number of choices by members of the group with respect to influences on the selection of problems in various periods revealed that among scientists entering the area prior to 1951, 42% of the choices were for members. Between 1951 and 1955, the figure was 38%. Among scientists entering between 1956 and 1960, 57% of the choices were for members. Among scientists entering after 1960 the comparable figure was 48%. The proportion of collaborative publications also increased from 22% before 1951 to 30% in 1951 to 1955, 41% in 1956 to 1960, and

<sup>16</sup> The date of a scientist's first publication in the field was used as the date of his entry into the field.

37% after 1960. These last two distributions suggest that the field was somewhat more integrated from 1956 to 1960 (the second half decade of rapid exponential growth) than at other periods. A slight decline in integration parallels the shift from exponential to linear growth.

The influence of the High Producers also increased over time. None of the theses written in the area by scientists entering the field before 1956 were directed by High Producers. After 1956, 38% of the theses in the area were directed by High Producers, a subgroup representing 8 individuals. Twenty-seven percent of the theses were directed by members of the four remaining subgroups representing 139 respondents. Similarly, the proportion of scientists in the group mentioning High Producers as having influenced their selection of research problems increased from 25% among scientists entering prior to 1951 to 39% among scientists entering after that date, more than twice as high as the proportion naming any of the other subgroups. More than 50% of the total number of choices of this type by scientists entering the field after 1950 were for High Producers.

Another development reveals the changes which were taking place in the field. On the basis of collaboration and student-thesis director relationships, members of the area were assigned to distinct subgroups of varying sizes (see Crane, 1968a; Price and

Beaver, 1966). A scientist was assigned to a particular group of collaborators if he had a published collaboration with at least one of its members or had been the student or thesis director of at least one of its members. Before 1956, the group consisted of small groups of collaborators and student-teacher pairs and a number of isolates. After 1956, when the group as a whole increased in size, some of these small groups expanded. Two large groups emerged, with 27 and 32 members respectively, as well as several medium-size groups with five to 13 members.<sup>17</sup> A number of new small groups with 2 to 4 members and numerous isolates appeared. Few of the small groups lasted more than a couple of years.<sup>18</sup> Turnover among the isolates was also high. Medium-size groups, especially the relatively larger ones, were more durable. Four had lasted more than ten years. One of the two large groups had lasted more than ten years; the other had lasted eight years.

Six of the eight High Producers were members of the two large groups. The remaining two belonged to the largest of the medium-

<sup>17</sup> These sizes represent the number of members each collaboration group had during the entire period, 1941 to mid-1966.

<sup>18</sup> The duration of a collaboration group was measured inclusively by finding the number of years from the date of the earliest publication by one of its members to the date of the most recent publication by a member.

TABLE 6. FREQUENCY TOTAL AND AVERAGE DURATION FOR GROUPS BY SIZE\*

| Number of Authors in Group | Frequency | Total Number of Authors in Group | Average Duration of Group (in Years) <sup>b</sup> |
|----------------------------|-----------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1                          | 47        | 47                               | 1.3                                               |
| 2                          | 9         | 18                               | 1.1                                               |
| 3                          | 5         | 15                               | 1.6                                               |
| 4                          | 3         | 12                               | 5.0                                               |
| 5                          | 1         | 5                                | 1.0                                               |
| 6                          | 4         | 24                               | 9.0                                               |
| 7                          | 1         | 7                                | 7.0                                               |
| 9                          | 1         | 9                                | 22.0                                              |
| 12                         | 1         | 12                               | 11.0                                              |
| 13                         | 1         | 13                               | 12.0                                              |
| 27                         | 1         | 27                               | 8.0                                               |
| 32                         | 1         | 32                               | 14.0                                              |
| Total                      | 75        | 221                              | Mean 2.9                                          |

\* Includes non-respondents although student-teacher relationships were unknown for them.

<sup>b</sup> Duration of a collaboration group was measured inclusively by finding the number of years from the date of the earliest publication by one of its members to the date of the most recent publication by a member.

sized groups. The large groups of collaborators appeared to reflect the way in which the High Producers exerted their influence upon the field, i.e., by surrounding themselves with students and collaborators among whom turnover was frequently high. Thus, these large groups of collaborators, under the direction of High Producers, provided continuity and structure in a situation which would otherwise have been amorphous due to the continual arrivals and departures of less committed scientists.

It seems plausible that these large groups could have exercised control over the direction of research in the area. Since their approach to the field was so visible due to the large number of publications produced by these groups, scientists outside these groups who had other types of approaches might have found it difficult to exert a comparable influence. A content analysis of publications in the area by the compiler of the bibliography which lists them (Rogers, 1966) made it possible to determine (a) the collaboration group affiliation of the first users of all dependent and independent variables appearing in empirical studies in the area, and (b) the number of times each variable was used. Variables appearing for the first time in publications by scientists who were not members of the large groups were not less frequently used than variables appearing for the first time in publications by members of large groups. On the other hand, more than half the variables ever used first appeared in publications by members of large groups and by members of two of the medium-sized groups (Crane, 1968b).

#### CONCLUSION

As predicted, the social group which was described here was not one which was tightly knit or closed to external influences. "Outsiders" played an important role in influencing the activities of members of the group. That a social group within the problem area existed was principally apparent from the number of choices received by a relatively small number of members of the group. It appeared that members of the area were not so much linked to one another directly but were linked to each other indirectly through these highly influential members. The im-

portance of these scientists was not obvious, except in terms of productivity, unless one examined their many and varied influences on the remaining members of their field, each of whom might be affected in only one or two ways and for short periods of time.

A question which remains to be discussed is how a group of this kind can best be conceptualized theoretically. Price has popularized the term "invisible college" which refers to an elite of mutually interacting and productive scientists within a research area. However, this conceptualization does not comprehend two aspects of the social organization of research areas which have emerged from the analysis presented here: (a) the interaction between the most active and influential members of the area and the "rank and file" and (b) the role of "outsiders" in the organization of the area.

Of the various types of social organization which have been identified by sociologists, the social circle would appear to be the one which best describes the social organization of a research area (Kadushin, 1966). The social circle is not well instituted, compared to the bureaucracy or even to less formalized entities such as the tribe or the family. Members come together on the basis of their interests rather than propinquity or ascribed statuses. Indirect interaction, interaction mediated through intervening parties, is an important aspect of the social circle. It is not necessary to know a particular member of a social circle in order to be influenced by him. Certain characteristics are more common to members of a particular social circle than to non-members, but members do not necessarily share all or even most of these defining characteristics. Each member is usually aware of some but not all other members. The exact boundaries of the social circle are difficult to locate.

While something comparable to a social circle may at times develop in a research area, it seems unlikely that it would exist at all times in all research areas. In some areas, nothing of the sort may develop. In areas in which social circles do develop, their size and importance to their members are likely to change from one period to another. There is some indication that absence of continuity of personnel in a research area is associated with lack of productivity in the area and the

failure of knowledge to disseminate and to cumulate (Fisher, 1966, 1967). In some cases the same research problems tend to be treated again and again (Barton and Wilder, 1964). This suggests that the presence of scientists whose productivity is sufficient to make them visible to most of those who enter the field, even briefly, produces a social circle which in turn plays an important role in the normal growth of the research area.

The diffusion problem area studied here is the only problem area devoted to the study of diffusion in which a sizeable number of papers have been published. Each of the other areas has remained quite small (Rogers and Stanfield, 1966:5). It can be argued that an important factor in the growth of this area was that a few individuals developed a high degree of commitment to it and as a result were able both to direct the activities of others in the field and to make it visible as a research area. Since all research areas in a research specialty (and to a lesser extent in science as a whole) are potentially related to one another, one group becomes separated from others only when certain scientists develop a strong interest in the field and assert its independence, even temporarily, from its context.

On the other hand, since ties between members of the area and "outsiders" were numerous, it can also be asked whether it is meaningful to speak of specialties or problem areas at all. Mullins (1966) has argued that it is not. It was suggested above that choices of "outsiders" were analogous to the phenomenon of "reference scattering"; about half the articles on a subject tend to appear in a few "core" journals, the rest being widely scattered. Perhaps the importance of both "core" and "scatter" can best be understood by assuming that each was the exclusive mode of organization of scientific activity. For example, if there was no "scatter," scientists would be divided into small groups, sharing the same interests, speaking only to each other, and reading and citing only each other's work. If this were the case, problem areas would have the characteristics of what sociologists in other contexts refer to as "sects." Religious sects break away from the church and build separate organizations, emphasizing aspects of doctrine or policy which they believe have

been ignored or misinterpreted by the church. The religious sect is a relatively closed system, resisting external influences rather than attempting to adapt to them. Members who deviate from orthodox views on any issue are quickly expelled (see, for example, Coser, 1954; Johnson, 1963; Yinger, 1957:144-155). If scientific problem areas had these characteristics, science would consist of hundreds of disparate groups, none of which would have any communication with or relevance for each other.

Science is actually organized in exactly the opposite fashion. Emotional neutrality is one of the norms of science (Barber, 1962:125-127); psychological overinvestment in one's scientific ideas is frowned upon. Groups which attempt to advocate particular points of view to the exclusion of others without adequate empirical substantiation are often referred to as "schools" of thought and are considered unscientific. Most problem areas are open to influences from other fields. The desire for originality motivates scientists to maintain contacts with scientists and scientific work in areas different from their own in order to enhance their ability to develop new ideas in their own areas. Scientists in problem areas are usually committed more to the solution of the problem than to the group itself. The problem area can best be understood as a temporary unit which deals with special problems and then dissolves after one or several decades when the problems have either been solved or been determined to be unsolvable.<sup>19</sup>

On the other hand, if there was only "scatter" in science and no "core," scientific knowledge would not cumulate. A high proportion of ideas would be lost. Swanson (1966) claims that an important proportion of the scientific literature is so scattered as to defy the efforts of any individual to bring all of it together. If all the literature on a particular subject was so scattered, it would be impossible for scientists to build on each other's work. Each scientist would be working by himself and with perhaps a few other scientists whom he accidentally discovered. The existence of a "core" of journals in the literature, and of scientists in the problem

<sup>19</sup> Bennis (1966) has argued that this type of organization is the prototype of an organization designed to produce innovation.



area, provides a kind of repetitiveness in scientific communication, insuring that certain ideas will be repeated sufficiently so that the relevant scientists may be assured of receiving at least some of the currently important findings. There are integrating factors in science as well as disintegrating factors.<sup>20</sup> Both are necessary, the former to permit scientific knowledge to cumulate and grow, the latter to prevent it from becoming a completely subjective, sect-like phenomenon.

Future studies will be needed to perfect the methods for studying groups of this kind.<sup>21</sup> For example, it would be useful to compare the results of different techniques for locating groups of scientists, such as the use of comprehensive bibliographies, abstracting services, citations, and sociometric data with "snowball" samples (Goodman, 1961; Mullins, 1966). In order to obtain a complete picture of activities in a problem area, information regarding scientists who have made very many or very few contributions is needed. While comprehensive bibliographies cannot be expected to be 100% complete, they are likely to provide a high proportion of both types of participants. If an adequate list of authors can be compiled from the scientific literature or other sources, the use of sociometric data obtained from "snowball" samples is probably less appropriate for locating members of a particular area since a high proportion of members in other areas tend to be mentioned. Kessler (1965) has shown that scientific publications form groups on the basis of common citation references but no attempt has yet been made to explore the social ties among authors drawn together in this fashion. Cluster analysis (Bailey, 1969) is being used

to locate groups of scientists with similar interests on the basis of thematic similarities in the contents of research grant applications. This technique which could also be used to analyze the contents of abstracting services will be combined with analysis of social relationships among members of such groups.

Evaluation of different methods for analyzing this type of data is needed. The present study used Coleman's Sociometric Connectedness Program to examine the relationships between members of an entire group. Sociometric techniques for determining non-intersecting cliques are still inadequate (Lingwood, 1968:20). However, if a group is actually a social circle, one would not expect to find distinct cliques based on sociometric ties. A true social circle should consist of a complex and undivided network of relationships. If such a group is to be meaningfully partitioned, it ought to be done on the basis of criteria other than social relationships. In the present paper, productivity and commitment to the area were used. Price and Beazer (1966) have suggested a method of locating cliques which utilizes ties based on published collaborations. Communication and influence ties between units formed on this basis have been examined (Crane, 1968a). Russett (1969) relied upon factor analysis to identify within a problem area subgroups who tended to cite each other's publications.

Finally, the points of intersection between problem areas should be examined. If science actually consists of hundreds of groups of scientists, each of which concentrates upon a cluster of related problems, future studies should trace the movement of communication and influence from one area to another. Here sociometric data obtained from snowball samples would be useful. Starting from lists compiled from the scientific literature and other sources of scientists from several areas in the same discipline, interviews with successive waves of respondents would pinpoint the nature of their relationships to different social circles.

<sup>20</sup> Mullins (1966) has argued that the integrating factor in science is a set of orientations toward which research can be directed. For example, research can emphasize chemical or physical aspects of nature, structure or process, control or energy. Such dimensions, however, would appear to incorporate such disparate kinds of work as to be unlikely to play a role comparable to that attributed here to the core members and core journals of the problem area.

<sup>21</sup> For a discussion of methods of studying social circles consisting of political leaders, see Kadushin, 1968.

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## STATUS INCONSISTENCY, CROSS PRESSURES, AND AMERICAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR \*

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*Research on the political effects of cross-pressures, and, more particularly, status inconsistency, has produced contradictory findings on the relationships between these phenomena, and political partisanship and non-voting. An analysis of data on a cross-section of the American electorate suggests that much of the contradiction can be cleared up by specification of whether a particular set of inconsistent statuses are causing stress because an individual's lower status is socially visible, or because his lower status, while not visible, becomes relevant to him under a specific set of political circumstances.*

### *Partisanship and Non-Voting*

A GREAT deal of research in the field of political behavior has been devoted to explorations of the social correlates of political partisanship. (See for example Janowitz and Segal, 1967.) Numerous studies

have shown that in the United States, members of minority religious and ethnic groups, and persons of low occupational, financial, or educational status, tend to support the Democratic Party, while members of "core"

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Protestant churches, and persons of high status, generally tend to support the Republican Party.

A second major concern in the field of political behavior has been the factors associated with non-voting. By and large, the characteristics related to such political inactivity are similar to those related to support of the Democratic Party—particularly, low educational and occupational status (Lane, 1959; Milbrath, 1965).<sup>1</sup>

Research on the correlates of partisanship has assumed, either implicitly or explicitly, at least one of two dynamics to explain the linkage between social and political variables. On the one hand, rational self interest on the part of the voter may be used as the basis for such arguments as "Each citizen in our model votes for the party he believes will provide him with a higher utility income than any other party during the coming election period," (Downs, 1957: 3). On the other hand, processes of social pressure are often cited as the intervening mechanism. "The higher the identification of the individual with the group, the higher the probability that he will think and behave in ways which distinguish members of his group from non-members," (Campbell et al., 1960: 37; cf. Bendix and Lipset, 1957; Lindenfield, 1964). We shall see below that formulations of status inconsistency may similarly be differentiated on the basis of whether they reflect an individual's own evaluation of the relevance of his statuses, or the ease with which he may be identified by others as a member of some reference group.

Most research on political behavior has focused on zero-order relationships between social characteristics and political choice.

<sup>1</sup> It might be argued that non-voting among the types of people who consider themselves Democrats is functional for the viability of the two-party system in America, since in recent years, the Democrats have claimed the allegiance of a much larger proportion of the electorate than the Republicans. If indeed as large a proportion of Democrats as Republicans appeared at the polls on Election Day, elections as such would cease to be contests between competing parties, candidates and policies, and would serve as window dressing to legitimize a persisting Democratic administration. Assuming equal turnout, the Republicans could win elections only if nominal Democrats bolted across party lines with greater frequency than is likely (cf. Segal, 1968).

Conclusions derived from such studies are essentially probability statements dealing with the relative likelihood of two individuals at different points on the same social dimension supporting the same political party. For example, the argument is often found in the literature on the correlates of social class that, *ceteris paribus*, people in white-collar occupations are more likely to vote Republican than are people in blue-collar occupations.

At a somewhat higher level of theoretical and methodological sophistication, some researchers have recognized that other things are rarely equal, and have dealt with first-order relationships between social and political variables by holding some third variable constant. Campbell et al. (1960:367), for example, in controlling for the effect of region, found that "[status] polarization [the relationship between social class and party choice] is lower in the South than in other regions of the nation."

While the search for intervening variables is becoming more common in behavioral research, the study of the interactions existing among social variables is a relatively underdeveloped part of our science. Two notable exceptions exist to this rule, and these define very different expectations in very similar situations.

### *Cross Pressures and Status Inconsistency*

As a result of data obtained in their study of presidential voting in Erie County, Ohio, in 1940, Lazarsfeld et al. (1948:60), proposed that "whatever the source of the conflicting pressures, whether from social status or class identification, from voting traditions or the attitudes of associates, the consistent result was to delay the voter's final decision." In a follow-up study conducted in Elmira, New York, in 1948, Berelson et al. (1954: 200) found that "a few cross-pressured voters act like the proverbial donkey and do not vote at all," while other cross-pressured voters were able to resolve the issue by assigning weights to the relevant pressures. More recent research has suggested that withdrawal of psychological affect from political symbols is one method of resolving cross pressures (Lipset, 1963:211).

Studies of the cross-pressure phenomenon,

however, are not unanimous in their support of the proposition that persons under cross pressures are less partisan than others. Although they initially assumed its validity, Pool et al. (1965:76) found that the cross-pressure hypothesis was not supported by the 1960 presidential election. The Republican Catholic, for example, was likely to vote for Kennedy rather than stay away from the polls.

Lenski's theory of status inconsistency provides a related model of political process. Lenski (1966:87) argues that when an individual is of high status on one dimension and low status on another, he tends to think of himself in terms of the higher status, while other people treat him in terms of the lower one. This is, for the individual involved, a continual source of stress. Lenski proposes that the individual will react to these frustrations by supporting political parties that favor social change. In the United States, this would be viewed as the Democratic Party (Lenski, 1967).

The effects of status inconsistency are most strongly felt, Lenski argues, when they occur between achieved and ascribed statuses rather than two achieved or two ascribed statuses. Data presented by Segal and Knoke (1968) support this proposition.<sup>2</sup> Such status inconsistencies may be seen as one manifestation of the more general cross-pressure phenomenon, and, given the inconclusive results of earlier studies, we may hypothesize that the political effects of such inconsistencies may be either support of the Democratic Party or withdrawal of affect from politics.

### *Status Relevance and Status Inconsistency*

We derive from Lenski's formulation one qualification that does not appear in the general cross-pressure hypothesis. In the true status inconsistency situation, stress is derived from interpersonal relations, and can in fact be translated into a variant of Heider's (1958) system of interpersonal relations. In terms of Heider's general conceptualiza-

tion, a person, P, has an affective relationship with another person, O, and one of the bases of this relationship is agreement on the evaluation of some object, X. There are three links in Heider's triangle: (1) between F and X, (2) between O and X, and (3) between P and O. If signs are placed on these links, i.e., specification of positive (+) and negative (—) relationships, then the system is said to be balanced if there is an even number of negative links. This condition is achieved, for example, if P likes O, P likes X, and O likes X (no negative links), or if P likes O, but neither P nor O likes X (two negative links).

In the present case, X is a person's status, and O is in fact a series of others  $O_1, O_2, \dots O_n$ . There is not necessarily an affective bond between P and O, but there is a nexus of interaction that we may define as a positive link. Through the interaction between P and a series of O's, each constituting a triangular system, P learns that he differs with each O in his evaluation of X, his status, and thus, each triangle is unbalanced. This imbalance is a source of stress, but cannot be resolved in the modes most commonly associated with Heider's theory. P cannot terminate his relationship with O, since O is, in effect, the social system. Neither can he change his evaluation of X, his own status, since he is utilizing objective achievement criteria. He hence seeks to change the system that makes his lower status relevant and supports political parties that promise to change the system. Similarly, the individual of high ascribed and low achieved status is identified in some cases in terms of his lower status and will also feel the strains of status inconsistency. However, in a society where assembly-line workers wear white shirts to work and change at the factory, low ascriptive statuses tend to be more highly visible than low achieved statuses, and the contribution of this latter case to the total effect would be presumed to be less.

It is important to note that for this interpersonal influence to occur, O must identify P's low status. Thus, the true case of status inconsistency arises only when P's low status is visible in some meaningful way: through skin color, physical features, accent, etc. (see Allport, 1958). Thus, for example, the American who has black skin may readily be

<sup>2</sup> Many of the early criticisms of Lenski's formulation are invalid because, although they fail to show relationships between status inconsistency and political attitudes, they tend to focus on inconsistencies between two achieved statuses. (See for example Kelly and Chambliss, 1966.)

treated in terms of his ascriptive status, and if he is of higher achieved status, this will only serve to heighten his awareness of being discriminated against.

There are cases, however, where P's lower status is not visible to O; if it becomes relevant to his political choice, it is due solely to his perception of the political world. The Catholic businessman, for example, is in most cases not readily identifiable as a member of a minority religious group, and people relate to him in terms of his achieved occupational status, which Lenski predicts that he himself will define as relevant. The Protestant manual worker, on the other hand, to the extent that he leads a seemingly middle-class existence, is under no direct social pressure to abandon the political party of his co-religionists.

Insofar as the Catholic businessman is identified by society as a businessman, and thus identifies himself, he may support the Republican Party with impunity, feeling that it best represents his financial interests. If, however, his Catholicism is made relevant through specific political events such as the issue of government aid to parochial schools being raised, or a Catholic candidate running for office, and the Democratic Party is on the pro-Catholic side of the ledger, then affective and cognitive political notions will be aroused which are inconsistent with those associated with his occupational status (for a discussion of these dynamics see Rosenberg et al., 1960:112-163). This is clearly a cross-pressure situation, but, in the absence of interpersonal precipitating factors, it does not truly fit Lenski's status inconsistency formulation. Moreover, this latter case, unlike true status inconsistency, is a transient state, since the individual's low ascribed status ceases to be relevant to his political choice when religion ceases to be a political issue.

#### *Democratic Support and Withdrawal of Affect As Functional Alternatives*

The cross-pressured Catholic voter is in a stressful situation. In 1948, he seems to have resolved the stress by not voting, while in 1960, he resolved it by voting Democratic. Pool (1965) attributes this difference to the fact that in 1948, the Democratic Party was

not a very attractive alternative. Truman himself was a relatively unimpressive candidate, and the party had been tainted by the image of communism through the Harry Dexter White scandal. Thus, while the individual under cross-pressures might have been motivated by that fact to lean toward the Democratic Party, the party itself did not reinforce this tendency. In 1960, on the other hand, the Democrats, aside from having a strong liberal platform, had an attractive candidate, one that cross-pressured Catholics would be strongly identified with. Thus the "push," generated by the cross-pressure situation, was reinforced by the "pull," generated by the party.

On the basis of these considerations, it may be argued that the reason for contradictory findings in research on both cross-pressures and status inconsistency is that there are two different processes going on that cross-cut both fields of research. Where such pressures involve the system's persisting identification of the individual in terms that he finds distasteful, he will seek to effect social change. However, where the conflicting pressures are internal to the individual and transient in nature, he may withdraw affect from the political arena completely, unless one of the alternatives that he is forced to consider is clearly a more attractive short-term choice. Thus, considering cross-pressures in general, it is our first hypothesis that under some conditions of cross-pressure, people will react by supporting the political party that offers the more progressive program, while under other conditions of cross-pressure, people will react by withdrawing from politics. The alternative hypothesis that must be considered is that in any given situation of cross-pressure some people will react by supporting the progressive political party, while others will withdraw from political activity.

The argument presented above also provides some basis for predicting which alternatives will be chosen under given conditions. We hypothesize that where an individual is visibly of low ascribed status but is also of high achieved status, he will feel the strains of status-inconsistency and support the Democratic Party. If, however, he is not identified by those around him in terms of his lower status, but that status is made

relevant by issues or candidates in a particular election, then the choice between withdrawal and partisanship will be based on the difference in attractiveness of alternatives. Where the difference is small, the cognitive inconsistency will be resolved by withdrawal. Where the difference is large, however, the inconsistency will tend to be resolved in favor of the more attractive alternative.

### *The Data*

Tests of these hypotheses were conducted through the secondary analysis of data collected from a sample of the American electorate in March, 1960, as part of a cross-national study of civic involvement (see Almond and Verba, 1963:47, 519-525). We are concerned here with inconsistencies between either of the two ascribed statuses (religion and race) and any of the three achieved statuses (occupation, income and education). Support of a progressive political party has been defined as expressing a preference for the Democratic Party, while withdrawal of affect from politics is defined as expressing support of no political party.

### *Expectations*

1. *Functional Alternatives.* It was anticipated that under conditions of status inconsistency associated with Democratic preference, failure to choose a political party would be minimal. On the other hand, where a high degree of non-partisanship existed, it would be at the expense of the Democratic Party.

2. *Effects of Race.* Americans whose skin color is other than white are readily identified as being of low racial status, and inconsistencies with achieved statuses can only serve to increase their awareness that they are being discriminated against. It was expected that among non-white Americans in 1960, status inconsistency would increase support for the Democratic Party.

3. *Effects of Religion.* Previous research has shown that members of minority religious groups tend to support the Democratic Party, but that there is some differentiation on the basis of occupational status, with white-collar workers being somewhat less "Democratic" than blue-collar workers (Segal, 1957). Hence, it was expected that John F. Ken-

TABLE 1. EFFECT OF STATUS INCONSISTENCY UPON DEMOCRATIC PREFERENCE \*

|          | Occupation | Income | Education |
|----------|------------|--------|-----------|
| Religion | -6.2       | 20.5   | 12.1      |
| Race     | 12.4       | -6.7   | 12.3      |

\* Each cell entry is based on the entire sample of N=970 cases. For explanation see Footnote 4.

nedy's announced attempt to attain the Democratic nomination for the presidency would create cross-pressures for middle-class Catholics. Their occupational status caused them to identify with the Republican Party, while Kennedy's candidacy made their religious status relevant and caused them to attach affect to the Democratic Party.

The attractiveness of the Democratic Party, however, was lessened by the fact that in early March, 1960, few Catholics felt that a Roman Catholic had a chance to be elected president.<sup>3</sup> Given the relevance of Catholicism, the fact of status inconsistency, and the widespread belief that the United States was not yet ready to elect a Catholic to the presidency, it was expected that white-collar Catholics would in fact hesitate to state a party preference. Note that this expectation was not generalized to Catholics of high financial or educational status, because earlier research had failed to yield political differentiation among Catholic along these status dimensions when the effects of occupation were accounted for.

### *Results*

Tables 1 and 2 present the effect of status inconsistency upon Democratic preference and upon failure to choose a political party respectively. Each cell in Table 1 represents a four-fold table, in which the percentage of

<sup>3</sup> Two-thirds of the subscribers who replied to a poll conducted by *Jubilee*, a Roman Catholic publication, for example, held that if nominated, Kennedy would not win the election because of a bias against Catholics.

TABLE 2. EFFECT OF STATUS INCONSISTENCY UPON FAILURE TO CHOOSE A POLITICAL PARTY \*

|          | Occupation | Income | Education |
|----------|------------|--------|-----------|
| Religion | 19.5       | -6.5   | .3        |
| Race     | -9.7       | 5.3    | -5.2      |

\* Entries based on 970 cases.

Democrats in the consistent cells (two high statuses or two low statuses) have been subtracted from the percentage of Democrats in the inconsistent cells (one high status and one low status).<sup>4</sup> A positive difference indicates a surplus of Democrats in the inconsistent cells. Table 2, similarly, represents the difference in per cent expressing no party preference in the consistent and inconsistent cells.

The first hypothesis is supported by the data. For those inconsistent situations where support is shown for the Democratic Party, surpluses of people preferring no political party fail to appear. However, in the two instances where there are fewer Democrats in the inconsistent cells than in the consistent cells, there is a surplus of respondents who failed to state a party preference.<sup>5</sup> As Figure 1 shows graphically, there is an inverse relationship between incidence of Democratic preference and incidence of no party preference in status-inconsistent situations. Clearly preferring the Democratic Party and refusing to choose a party are functional alternatives, appearing in different situations of status inconsistency.

Let us now look at the instances in which the two types of reaction occurred. It had been hypothesized that the effects of inconsistency between racial and achieved variables would be increased support for the

<sup>4</sup> If we imagine each cell representing a table showing status on 2 dimensions thus:

|          |      |          |      |
|----------|------|----------|------|
|          |      | Status 1 |      |
|          |      | Low      | High |
| Status 2 | Low  | II       | I    |
|          | High | III      | IV   |

then if the cell entries are percent Democratic, the inconsistency effect is equal to  $(I+III)-(II+IV)$ .

The relevant dichotomies for the status attributes were:

|                         |           |              |          |                  |
|-------------------------|-----------|--------------|----------|------------------|
| Religion                | Race      | Occupation   | Income   | Education        |
| Low Catholic and Jewish | Non-white | Blue-collar  | \$4,999— | 11 years or less |
| High Protestant         | White     | White-collar | \$5,000+ | 12 years or more |

<sup>5</sup> That is, the corresponding cells of Tables 1 and 2 are in all cases of opposite sign with one exception; inconsistency between religion and education, the sole exception, has an excess of non-identifiers of 0.3.

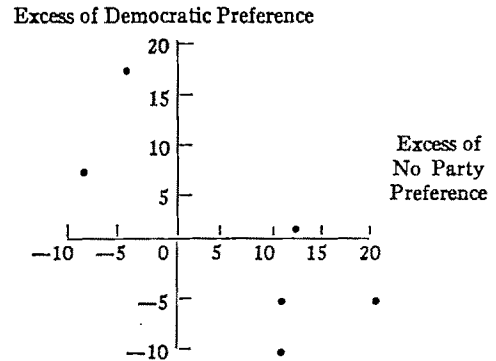


FIGURE 1. EXCESS OF DEMOCRATIC PREFERENCE BY EXCESS OF NO PARTY PREFERENCE FOR INCONSISTENT CELLS

Democratic Party. Indeed, in two of the three tests of racial-achieved inconsistencies, Democratic support was more than 12% higher in inconsistent than in consistent cells. In the third case, where inconsistencies between race and income are considered, respondents who were status-inconsistent were less likely to be Democrats and more likely to prefer no political party. Table 3 presents the set of data from whence this deviant case was derived. Clearly, the lowest proportional support for the Democratic Party and the highest rate of no party preference is found among high-income non-whites. This is strange, since our data indicate that non-whites of high educational or occupational status do support the Democratic Party and have relatively low rates of no preference. Indeed, we may infer from these data that those high-income non-whites who voice no preference are of low educational and occupational status. It may well be that the results in this table are a reflection of a segment of the non-white community that has found lucrative employment in domestic service but has not been integrated into the body politic. Whether or not this truly explains

TABLE 3. DEMOCRATIC PREFERENCE AND NO PARTY PREFERENCE, BY RACE AND INCOME \*

| Race      | Income | % Democratic | % No Preference |
|-----------|--------|--------------|-----------------|
| White     | Low    | 36.4         | 39.7            |
| White     | High   | 36.6         | 42.1            |
| Non-white | Low    | 39.8         | 52.3            |
| Non-white | High   | 33.3         | 60.0            |

\* Entries based on 970 cases.



TABLE 4. PERCENT OF MIDDLE-CLASS CATHOLICS IDENTIFYING WITH DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1952-1964

| Fall, 1952 *    | Fall, 1956 *    | March, 1960 ** | Fall, 1960 *    | Fall, 1964 *    |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 43%<br>(N=1614) | 49%<br>(N=1731) | 38%<br>(N=570) | 70%<br>(N=3021) | 53%<br>(N=1489) |

\* Survey Research Center (SRC) Presidential Election Survey.

\*\* Almond-Verba Survey.

this deviant case, the data on inconsistencies involving racial status in the main support our expectations.

The data on religion similarly confirm our expectation. Inconsistencies between religion and income or education yielded only the Democratic affiliation generally associated with minority religious status. Catholics with middle-class occupations, however, were cross-pressured by the candidacy of a Catholic in the Democratic Party which deterred them from their customary middle-class identification with the Republican Party. However, for the most part, they believed that Kennedy could not win the election, and rather than support a loser or oppose a Catholic, they withdrew affect from the political arena and claimed non-partisanship. As Table 4 shows, the middle-class Catholics who claimed identification with the Democratic Party in the 1950's, excluding those who called themselves independent but leaned toward the Democratic Party, were less than 50%. By March, 1960, the percent of Democrats and of Republicans decreased, and the percent claiming no preference increased. After March, 1960, during which month John F. Kennedy polled a record 45,000 votes in the New Hampshire Democratic primary, the percent supporting the Democrats soared, reaching 70% in the Fall. In 1964, when their religious status was no longer politically relevant, some middle-class Catholics returned to the Republican Party, although a small majority still called themselves Democrats.

### Conclusion

Lenski's conceptualization of status inconsistency has been shown to subsume two different aspects of cognitive imbalance, only one of which meets the specifications of Lenski's own formulation. Where an individual defines his own status as high and others define his status as low, he suffers from

status inconsistency, and tends to support the Democratic Party. This situation assumes that his lower status is, in some sense, visible. On the other hand, an individual may feel cross-pressured because two statuses which become salient to him in the absence of interpersonal pressures involve conflicting expectations. In this situation, the individual may withdraw from the political arena until such time as one of the troublesome statuses becomes politically irrelevant. However, if one of the alternative sets of expectations has greater short-term pay-off value, then that alternative will be chosen.

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## MY SON THE DOCTOR: ASPECTS OF MOBILITY AMONG AMERICAN JEWS

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*The unprecedented rapidity and breadth of Jewish upward mobility in the United States is generally attributed, at least in part, to a continuity in ideational culture that characterized the East European shtetl, namely, a high value placed on learning. Upon examination, we contend that this explanation appears to be based on a myth of intellectuality. Continuities there are, we maintain, between the Old World and the New; they reside, however, insofar as upward mobility is achieved, in socio-economic patterns and their associated values. To the minimal extent that shtetl scholarship ideals were internalized, they functioned as an obstacle to acculturation in an expanding industrial environment. Professionalism, not intellectuality, was an outgrowth—for Jews as well as groups lacking ancient learning traditions—of urban, middle-class status. The Jews, however poor, arrived with a middle-class orientation.*

### INTRODUCTION

"My son the doctor" is a phrase that characterizes a powerful man slipping on the banana peel of his ethnic background.<sup>1</sup> The mother in the popular joke cycle could only be Jewish, for no other American minority manifests the structural reality underlying its paradoxes. In contrast to the behavior of comparable lower-status mass migrants, the unprecedented rapidity, height and breadth of Jewish upward mobility mark the Jews in many ways as a special case.

Whether "my son the doctor" symbolizes an exceptionally successful adaptation in the broadest socio-economic terms, more nar-

rowly in a category of professionalism, or perhaps intellectuality, is an enduring ambiguity. But whatever the emphasis, the phenomenon is as conspicuous in social science as in urban folklore. And it is our contention that the dividing line is not always clear—that the prevailing tenor of scientific explanation reflects mythic elements. Some kind of Jewish advantage is generally attributed by social scientist and layman alike at least partially to an ethnically Jewish respect for learning. This thesis, we contend, has not been tested. Let us first see how ubiquitous it is.

Parsons, for example (1942:113, 106), says of this "remarkable feat of social climbing": "The strong propensity of Jews to enter the learned professions can certainly, at least in part, be looked upon as a result of the traditional high regard for learning." Will Herberg (1960:9-10) cites Lloyd War-

<sup>1</sup> A characteristic situation in this urban American joke cycle concerns a man who falls into his swimming pool, whereupon his mother shouts: "Help! My son the doctor is drowning!"

ner and others: "The Jewish immigrants came with a traditionally high valuation of education and of 'educated' occupations . . . Unlike other immigrants, Jewish parents were passionately concerned with giving their children an education."

Louis Wirth (1943:62) is more specific in differentiating between European and American contexts, and between Western learning as opposed to an ethnically Jewish type. But his hypothesis is similar: "The fascination which higher education and professional careers have had for the Jews may be traced to at least three factors: (1) the traditionalist scheme of learning . . . cultivated for centuries and now translated into secular terms; (2) the relatively high degree of urbanization . . .; and (3) the lack of interest in or opportunity for entering other occupations."

Although no theorists fail to recognize economic factors, only Wagley and Harris (1958:217) emphasize an economic component of learning *per se* as integral to the explanatory value of Jewish traditional scholarship: "Jewish concentration in . . . professional categories reflects an ancient emphasis upon intellectual pursuits. The Jews had a role in transmitting learning of the Greek, Roman and Arabic civilizations into medieval Europe. Jewish scholars as a class were exempt from taxation . . . In the New World, education . . . (is) a kind of 'intellectual investment' which . . . cannot be expropriated . . . [This] emphasis on learning may well represent an adaptation to a precarious economic status as well as an ancient traditional value."

We see, thus, that the notion of the Jewish professional as a precipitate of trans-cultural intellectual values is a persistent and widespread contention. We shall call it the "scholarship theory." One finds it echoed even in the one study which we believe provides quantitative counter-evidence. This work (to be summarized later) is by Andrew Greeley, who says (1963:58): "The Jewish over-choice of graduate school is the result of the . . . [preference for] law and medicine, rather than . . . any specific Jewish tradition of learning." As we shall see, this preference correlates with the maintenance of high socio-economic status. In a footnote, however, Father Greeley makes his obeisance

to the myth after all, albeit reluctantly: "Of course, the Jewish scholarly tradition (which is unquestioned) is probably working in the choice of these two professions. One does not wish . . . an extended discussion . . .; but rabbinic learning, like law and medicine, was an eminently practical science. Perhaps a more potent reason for . . . [electing] independent professions is that . . . prejudice was less."

Only Veblen has pursued a contrary hypothesis, but in another land. In "The Intellectual Pre-eminence of Jews in Modern Europe" (1919:469), he refers not to the overall professionalization of Jews who "supply more than a proportionate quota to the rank and file . . ." but to their contribution of "a disproportionate number . . . to whom modern science and scholarship look for . . . leadership." He attributes it to the very act of breaking with an ethnic world view. Given that they are "gifted," men who discard one tradition become skeptical of all "conventional verities" (p. 475). This doubly alienated vantage point sparks intellectual revolutions.

Veblen's thesis, involving an entire philosophy of science, is beyond our concern except for calling attention to the absence of any continuity with an ethnic ideational past. But like those who offer a continuity hypothesis, Veblen omits examining the acculturative mechanisms whereby Jews succeed in general, preeminently or not, which is the base for any pre-eminent potential. The latter could be an expected proportion of a broader spectrum, or may even be in the process of reversing itself in response to the very conditions we suggest to account for the initial adaptation. Thus, in shifting from a present situation to an undemonstrated historical process, Veblen, no less than others, incorporates aspects of the myth of intellectuality.

The prior problem is presented by the general mobility patterns, which depart sharply from the usual experience of each successive wave of newcomers who only inch up the social beach. Like their Italian contemporaries and Irish, Slavic and Scandinavian predecessors, most Jewish mass migrants became laborers upon arrival. But by way of contrast, as Herberg says (1960:173-175), "almost immediately a reverse process

of 'deproletarianization' set in . . . The Jewish factory worker . . . was 'a man of one generation; neither the son nor the father of workers,' his father had been a petty merchant or artisan, his son was to become a businessman or professional."

Not only was this rate atypical, but the exceptional quality of its height is revealed by such facts as this: by the time of the depression, of every 1,000 employed Jews in San Francisco (an accurate reflection), 16 were doctors, as opposed to five in the non-Jewish population (Glazer, 1957:82). As to the wide base of over-all success, a national breakdown for 1948 (Herberg, 1960:225, 126), defining class by income, shows that only 8.7% of Catholics had reached the upper class and 66% remained in the lower, whereas 21.8% of Jews were upper and 46.2% lower. Upper-bracket Jews proportionately exceeded Protestants by 8%. And fewer Jews than any other group were lower-class; 53% of Protestants fell into this category. The occupational distribution shows 11.1% of Protestants as professionals; the Jewish proportion, 15.4%, was double the Catholic.

Postponing further interpretation and more recent trends, what we criticize at the outset is that such facts are used as *prima facie* evidence for the scholarship theory. This is attested by the tendency of all its proponents to beg one question or another concerning the connection between financial success and professionalism, the relation between either and a shifting notion of "traditionalist scheme," and/or the place of secularization in the dynamics of change. As a result, the process implied by the shared assumption that ideational values have been retained is obscured. Possibly mutually exclusive links are presented uncritically—the practicality of the rabbi, the privilege granted medieval specialists, the attitude or skills surrounding Talmudic scholarship, and an admiration for mundane practitioners. Were all relevant migrants equal participants even within any one of these patterns?

Most authors use details in a diffuse manner as if their articulation with the American end-product could be taken for granted, whereas Parsons and Wirth are more systematic. Both specify that the need to reconcile a territory-centered religion with disper-

sion resulted in the Talmudic complex, which entailed a pervasiveness of holy writ. Whereas Wirth implies that its secularization is self-explanatory, Parsons spells out its direct pertinence for the scholarship theory. It is the effort to make this reconciliation (Parsons, 1942:106) that created the Jewish "reputation of intellectualism" and gave rise to an "attitude (which) could readily be extended to cover other fields of study," for it obliterated the sacred/profane dichotomy to an unusual degree. That is—and this is the only concrete hypothesis published—, given that holy writ touched all of life, bookishness was easily generalized to secular spheres in America because it was already quasi-secular.

It is not specified whether the American attitudes are a generalization of the ideal of Talmudic learning, its content, or its cognitive style. One must test, we suggest, to see whether any of these features are adhesions, and if any combination is sufficiently free-floating to operate as alleged in a new context. We conclude that the other aspects of the "partial" explanation of the problem are sufficient. That is, a Jewish mother wants her son to be a doctor only because she is an unusually ambitious middle-class urbanite. Moreover, her status stems from her husband's pre-adapted business skills brought into an expanding economy.

A proposal in favor of the scholarship theory has been suggested.<sup>2</sup> "We are not concerned with explaining why middle-class Jews [turn to education]. . . . The problem is to explain why Jews of essentially proletarian background are so much more 'successful' than their class-peers of other . . . ethnicity," whose aspirations are class- or occupation-bound. That is, Jews alone among lower-class Americans regarded book-learning as not only appropriate but mandatory even for the humblest worker, while others tended to associate it with privilege or unsought specialization (e.g., the priesthood). Thus, one need not hold intellectuality constant if one does not seek the Talmudic carryover in the usual notions of intellectuality, but in distinctively Jewish role expectations—the religious injunction that every man must

<sup>2</sup> An ASR reader.

study holy books. A corollary to this argument is that "if the capacity for sheer book-oriented drudgery" is attached to the status of Jew *per se*, whatever his relative rank, this preoccupation would be reinforced by its confirmation of Jewish masculinity, whereas studiousness tends to be "dissonant with a typical youthful concern" of the non-Jewish lower classes.

We agree that the self-image of Jew as American secular student is non-hierarchical and that the role of religious Jew also requires book-oriented drudgery. Both activities are perforce consonant with ego-ideals which cannot, by definition, exclude manliness. But among groups who eschew education—and sumptuary restrictions may affect upper- as well as lower-status groups—, we believe that counternorms are dependent not only on class but also on access to the means of gaining an education or on whether these means are necessary for improving or maintaining status. Such variables emerge when one compares the Jews not with Catholics but with Negroes, who are as marginal to the open-class structure of America as the Jews were to the structure of European society.

In a survey of the aspirations—not the achievements—of poor whites and Negroes in New Jersey high schools (Antonovsky and Lorwin, 1959), it is the Negroes, having been denied the security of acceptable ascribed-status accorded the poorest whites, who seek escape in dreams of educated professions. Similarly, speaking of Mississippi blacks, Dollard (1937:194; 77) states that "high school and college . . . are the portals to middle-class status for those who do not have other types of claims on it." And once the Blacks have achieved it—and some of these are poorer than the lowest-status individuals, "middle-class families will cling bitterly to their class standards, one of which is education. . . . They will endure great hardships . . . to make this education possible rather than risk demoting the family line." The cross-cultural record reveals many other constellations lacking prior intellectual traditions—in terms of ideal, content or role—which show not only the aspiration but the achievement of upward mobility *via* education—the Ibo of Nigeria, the mulattoes of

the Caribbean, the Asians of East Africa, etc.

In view of such facts, one suspects that it is a myth which predisposes the theorist to assume that one learning context must proceed from another, or there would not be so many mutually exclusive or inconsistent versions which seem to carry equal conviction. At purely face value, the same non-hierarchical attitude the Jews displayed toward education could equally support our view—namely, that the Jewish self-image stems from an essentially middle-class world view possessed by even the poorest. If this diagnosis were formed by observing only one symptom—an attitude to education, then our circularity would open the way for seeking reinforcing factors. But if the middle-class label characterized a syndrome, then the attempt to identify reinforcing factors in a continuation of intellectualist traditions might be an exercise in providing real gardens for imaginary frogs.

The plausibility of either thesis ultimately rests on two sets of alternatives. First, it depends on the accuracy with which one delineates the internal and external stratification of the Jews in East Europe; and secondly, on whether the secular student arose because of, in spite of, or at a tangent to the norms which supposedly contribute to his behavior. Regarding the first step, we suggest that a false problem is created by positing a proletarian stratum of Jews such that they can be equated with non-Jewish lower classes in all parameters except religion. As we said, the modal Jewish immigrant was "neither the son nor the father of workers," and it will be clear shortly that class-conscious Jewish laborers in Europe formed a *tertium quid* in relation to their commercial relatives on the one hand, and rural Gentile immigrants on the other. Because of various historical anomalies, one cannot find comparable class- or status-peers of the Jews in terms of income or occupation, but in terms of world view, for they were marginal men. As to the second step, if "my son the doctor" represents a continuation *vis* role expectations rather than other Talmudic elements, the thesis still involves, as we shall see, certain questions begged by the secularization hypothesis. We contend that there was the presence of co-existent secu-

larized goals to which the humblest man also felt he was entitled.

We propose to examine these problems in sharper anthropological focus. Without a commitment to searching only for retention, reinterpretation or syncretism within ideational systems, but also for loss and innovation, we shall view the relevant learning traditions in terms of form, function and role models. We conclude that the Old and New World intellectual patterns are so disparate that the former do not even partially illuminate the latter.

Having cast at least some doubt on this mode of explanation, we shall explore the non-ideological modes and offer an alternative hypothesis. Continuities there are, we suggest, between certain Jewish conclaves and industrially expanding America. But they lie in what for brevity we shall call socioeconomic patterns and such associated values as status striving. Those who uphold the scholarship theory are, of course, not unaware of such determinants. On the contrary, it is they who provide us with much of our information. We also draw from those who restrict themselves to socio-economic analysis, some of whom may agree with us. We have no way of knowing, for when they do not reiterate it (as an incantatory *non-sequitur*), they leave a vacuum for others to fill with a supposedly complementary scholarship theory.

Our approach departs from all of these by relating the two levels of analysis to each other in order to detect their implications for myth and method. It is not because we subscribe to a universal monolithic economic determinism that we believe the intellectual traditions, adduced as explanatory, to be contradictory rather than complementary within a total configuration; it is rather that we believe we can document a historical break with such traditions. If our interpretation is valid, the following proposition seems warrantable: other things being equal, a general process operates in determining the mobility patterns of American minorities regardless of their previous condition of intellectualism.

Our problem is this: although even the most impoverished Jews may have been middle-class in initial orientation, and additionally motivated by such factors as their

stigmata, insofar as they were already book-oriented, how can we exclude this influence? It may look as if a resolution depended on which hand holds Occam's razor. But we think the convergence between two sets of scholarly patterns is a misleading analogy, not the homology it appears to be.

### *A Cultural Base Line*

Since a resolution depends on specifying when, and which Jews, have valued what kind of learning in context, a preliminary differentiation must be drawn between the ethnic provenience of ideational elements and the social identity of their carriers. Just as a Negro chemist's knowledge is not African, so too Spinoza's philosophy in Holland concerning Cartesian principles is Western, not Hebraic, although there is a shared minimal substratum. By the same token, Einstein *qua* scientist, no less than Newton, is a carrier of non-Jewish culture. It was in Alexandria at the time of Christ that Philo was creative in a Jewish tradition, not fifteenth-century Minsk.

One must compare intra-Jewish sub-cultures before deciding whether to compare Jews as a whole with any other group. To the extent that certain Jewish groups were integrated into a dominant society, their New World careers do not reflect Jewish culture traits positively or negatively. The 5,000 Sephardim (as of 1825) and the quarter million West European Ashkenazim who arrived between 1820 and 1870 fall into this category. Only the East Europeans from specific areas bore a distinctively Jewish tradition at the time of migration.

The fact that those who were the most intellectual (as individuals or as bearers of the most intellectual traditions) were not prominent in the professionalization of the Jews puts socio-economic factors in raised relief. Iberian Jews, once carriers of a high Hellenistic and Byzantine culture, became tradesmen instead of "philosophers, scholars and statesmen . . . as they had [been] in Europe. . . . A similar fate befell the German Jews . . . [who], until 1900, played only a minor role in United States history . . . , leading no vanguard . . ." (Dimont, 1962:356). So antithetical was America to East European intellectuals that they were advised

against migrating. In 1887, for example, there was a "small band of American Hebrew writers who . . . had to engage in peddling. . . . While there were a good number of Hebrew readers, 'they . . . [preferred] the dollar over literature' " (Kabakoff, 1955: 183).

Most German Jews identified with their Gentile co-nationals—artisans, commercial men—, their mobility rates matching. Despite the aristocratic status of a few German Jewish families, "about 70% of the Prussian and over 95% of the Bavarian Jews were traders" (Lestchinsky, 1942:405). Regardless of the advantages or disadvantages of Jewish or Western prior traditions, by 1940, East European Jews had generally achieved the same economic position attained by the Germans in America as of 1880 (Glazer, 1957:106). Such parallelism would seem to be attributable to common forces operating at a given time and place rather than to differential types and amounts of prior intellectuality.

To explore the influence of a distinctive, ethnically Jewish intellectuality, we must concentrate on immigrants from East Europe originating in such peripheral areas as the Ukraine, Lithuania, Rumania, and Carpatho-Russia; some two million landed between 1880 and 1914. By 1930, three million had come, a million entering between the turn of the century and World War I, a period when America received a total immigration of six million. Although not entirely homogeneous, most originated in the little post-Crusades towns called *shtetlach* (s. *shtetl*), with mostly men in commerce, the number in handicrafts perhaps doubling between 1825 and 1897 (Lestchinsky, 1942: 405).

Between 1905 and 1914 Jewish immigration "included to a much larger extent residents of big cities, industrial workers and artisans, who became class-conscious proletarians" (Lestchinsky, 1942:406). It is estimated that such workers constituted a third of Russian immigrants, who in turn constitute 70% of Eastern Jews. Note that they were not a deeply rooted proletariat, for they "were children of shopkeepers and traders who left the small towns" (*Id.*). But at the same time, as we shall see, distance from the *shtetl* had loosened their

commitment to those norms which are fostered only in a tightly-knit isolate.

It is the *shtetl* which will provide the main point of departure for testing continuities between the majority of American Jews and their most recent distinctively ethnic Old World past. As Margaret Mead says in Zborowski and Herzog's anthropological study of *shtetlach*, there is a "common core shared by all of them, however great the local differences" (1952:18).

### *Portable Fatherland*

Typically lacking both primary producers and aristocrats—hence containing a proto-middle class—, these communities were part-societies. They were also quasi-national, a societal anomaly which, as Wirth points out (1943:55-56), made education an integral part of politics and identity: "The Torah became a 'portable fatherland' in exile, and the Talmud served as a fence. . . . The creed of the Jews . . . was not so much connected with a city or a land as with a book."

One source of the myth of Jewish intellectualism is the use of words like "study" or "learning" to stand for contradictory entities. In a kind of "disease of language," connotations are manufactured to render the alien intelligible. The West has nothing congruent with that *shtetl* intellectual output revolving around the Talmud, for it stemmed from political disintegration. In determining its comparative richness, one should view the ethnic ideational culture of the *shtetl* as foreign to any mainstream in the West or erstwhile Near East. It consists of rigidified splinters of early Jewish or Hebrew culture climaxes merged with marginal anachronisms of the West.

Since *shtetl* learning, a portable fatherland, is sacred, should we weigh Talmudic ritualism against Sicilian folklore or against Renaissance humanism? Either comparison is irrelevantly invidious. The Jewish culture whole, as expected in a quasi-national part-society, is unlike either the bottom or top of Gentile total states. Let us now examine whether the integration of the American Jew with the latter represents a continuity with his intellectual past. Could any part of it be "readily extended to cover other fields of study"?

*Education as Sacred and Profane*

Regarding formal intellectual traditions, the cognitive maps of a *shtetl* resident and "my son the doctor" are substantively and functionally related in contrapuntal fashion.

(1) Point: *shtetl* education is ritualistic, ranging from magico-ethical literacy to survivalistic scholasticism; both are sacred. Counterpoint: Western learning is pragmatic and/or humanistic; both are profane.

Portraying that scholasticism which is the highest development of the *shtetl* tradition, Wirth says in effect (1943:55): the type that it produced was the hair-splitting dialectician who prided himself on his impracticality. And Zborowski (1955:132-133) describes the content of this ideal, which centers on the Talmud, a code of laws and a handbook, thus: "To describe a man's scholarship, people will tell how many times he has gone through the Talmud . . . In . . . Brooklyn, the Jew will discuss the sacrificing of a lamb . . . in the Temple, and which parts are due to the High Priest. It is of no moment . . . that the situation was actually 2,000 years ago, that there is no more Temple."

The manifest function of reading, a Biblical interpretation, is conceptualized as one of 613 *mitsvas*, or divine commands, which must be taught diligently in order to avoid disaster. Learning, then, like the dietary laws, sacralizes daily life and is specifically magical in that the activity is transmogrified into something else—righteousness: "One of the basic principles of Jewish education is that the mere fact of learning the rules . . . causes one to behave accordingly" (Zborowski:121).

In awe of this rite, the child "endlessly repeats the incomprehensible Hebrew words, memorizing each letter" (Zborowski, 1955: 124-125). Watching the chanting and swaying of the father as he "reads"—prays—, the child grows to respect not information or discursive reasoning, but ritual. A departure from Western scholasticism, Glazer says (1957:64; 130): "Judaism . . . tended to ignore everything that might be considered theology. Only the practices . . . were taught. . . . As soon as one came in touch with . . . thought which questioned fundamentals, one was at a loss . . . they had no doctrine. . . . The issue was not creed and conviction; piety

and faith were expressed . . . in the performance of hundreds of commandments."

(2) Point: *shtetl* learning is conservative, nativistic, separatist. Counterpoint: Western knowledge is innovative and facilitates entering the mainstream.

The latent function of study or the maintenance of literacy, as Wirth points out (1943:56, 60), was "to educate men for an order . . . which was . . . a romantic leap into an imaginary past and a utopian future . . . [It served for continuing the religion] unchanged—embalmed—and for maintaining the Jews . . . as a separate cultural unit in a hostile world." That this pattern formed a nativistic cult is shown by Wirth's observation that the rabbinical pronouncements extolling "education" increased with the progressive dispersal and isolation of the Jews.

(3) Point: *shtetl* contemplation is unrelated to technology, art or science. Counterpoint: Western intellectualism concerns the natural and social environment.

The *shtetl* scholar specifies his focus—Talmudic legalisms—with such intensity that a shift in its subject matter would involve a reversal in values. It is not the dialectician who creates a false identity between a university curriculum and the chanting of holy writ. As Zborowski writes (1955:135-136), "A learned Jew has scant regard for pure science, pure literature . . . the opposition is not between secular and non-secular but between Jewish and non-Jewish. [He condemns Western learning] for being . . . superficial . . . as [are] all studies . . . that do not stem from holy books."

This attitude is consistent with the separatism of Point 2 as well as with the escapism indicated below (Point 4). If this is the learned Jew, we should suspect that it was not his son who became a doctor, or if so, his determination was independent of his father's norms. Actually, few were exposed to the direct conflict, for "It is, of course, only a small minority who attends the *yeshiva*, that special elite. . . . The number is further limited by the distance of many towns . . . from the centers" (Zborowski, 1955:129-130).

The average man attended only the *kheder* or *talmud tora* (a free *kheder*) until the age of fourteen, where he memorized the commandments for twelve hours a day. Older



men could meet at the *bes hamidrash* or in *khevr*s, which are teams of what Zborowski calls "non-scholarly students [*sic*]. . . . Each *khevr* studies a definite segment of Jewish lore." If that which is secular in America, the school, is the end-product of that which was holy, the *kheder*, the process must also account for major realignments in the articulation of economic values with the pattern.

(4) Point: *shtetl* learning is not integrated with gainful employment. Counterpoint: Western education is generally most highly prized where it is most lucrative.

When Zborowski says that "Learning . . . is . . . the primary basis for social stratification, at least in principle" (1955:119), he describes status symbols which, with one exception, are independent of the economic structure. The truly learned holy man receives an honorific seat in the temple, where he commands an audience. He may be supported by his wife, her rich family, or the community. Otherwise learning cuts across class lines, for "it is far from admirable or prestigious to make a living from one's learning. A Jew looks with scorn upon one who sells knowledge . . . it is unworthy. The *melamed* who teaches elementary *kheder* is despised as a symbol of failure. . . . Even the rabbi does not receive payment" (Zborowski, 1955:131). In harmony with this attitude, "the amount of knowledge amassed . . . is not officially measured. There is no degree. . . . Every Jew, from the tailor who studies a chapter . . . weekly . . . to the most learned of savants is called Reb, 'my teacher'" (*Ibid.*).

In view of these four contrapuntal observations, to the extent that the *shtetl* was an integrated system, Western education would not seem to involve old forms—elite learning or *kheder* ritualism (non-study)—which acquired a new function—gainful participation in the dominant society. Nor would professional status seem to represent old functions—solace for the individual and cohesion for the group—that meshed with the new form of post-Enlightenment knowledge.

It is true that acculturation to American patterns was accompanied by a corresponding religious deculturation, particularly for those who rose in prestige as well as income. To suppose, however, that innovative secular behavior is the end-product of a seculariza-

tion process of given forms (or roles derived from them) requires demonstrating concrete value reversals. Which rights and duties underwent such transformation? Was it elitist ideals? To the contrary, if our functional analysis is tenable, insofar as such goals were internalized, we should expect them to be a deterrent to desiring higher education. As to the universality of *kheder* attendance, we should expect its sense of appropriateness and/or obligation to disappear or continue through religious organizations. In neither case would it be transformed or secularized, but replaced or compartmentalized. Let us pursue these points by investigating immigrant and first-native-generation role models.

### *Wandering Philosopher Kings?*

When Wirth evaluates the highest development of Talmudic scholarship, he comments (1943:55): "The saving grace of this type of education was that it only indirectly touched the majority." And we have seen Zborowski's insights into the fact that the few who realized these ideals preferred nativist inculcation to non-Jewish learning. "An orthodox father [i.e. learned]," he says (1955:135), "forbids his . . . [child] to attend a secular school." Clearly it was not demoralized fathers or rebellious sons who account for the following figures: By 1908, Jews in higher education exceeded their proportion in the population fourfold (Glazer, 1957:81); and half a century later, "proportionately three times as many . . . [Jews] were going to college . . . as . . . [non-Jews]" (Herberg, 1960:188).

It would seem that American Jews succeeded in inverse ratio to the presence of *shtetl* intellectualism. This coin has, of course, an opposite side. Wagley and Harris state that pockets of *shtetl* orthodoxy persist typically where Jews are not only poor but alienated (1958:214). Perhaps this feed-back between economic frustration and compensatory ritualism helps explain why at least some were among the 46.2% Jews who remained lower-class in 1948. The most upward mobile might always have had a higher if not exclusive commitment to secular norms.

If this reconstruction is tenable, the scholarship theory seems reducible to the consequences of literacy. Literacy also spread in

Post-Lutheran Europe, which, like the Jewish situation, lacked an authoritative priesthood. However, its spill-over to learned pursuits was quite limited. The *shtetl* uses of the written word are reminiscent of those American sects where no one who reads the Bible is excluded from competing for holiness, as someone has put it, when worldly success is precluded.

In point of fact, literacy among the Jews was more limited in quantity and quality than many assume. Just as fantasy has glorified the "embalmed" scholarship of the *shtetl* into the brilliant *responsas* exchanged by rabbis in Babylonia, so too a myth of literacy has grown. In fact, neither wandering philosopher kings *manqués* nor rural *analfabetos* most "spoke only Yiddish and about 26% were illiterate at least in the language of . . . [their motherland]" (Wagley and Harris, 1958:208). Moreover, "It was the learned who were the least apt to be familiar with the official language" (Zborowski and Herzog, 1952:18). Menes says (1955:14): "The majority of Jewish immigrants . . . [had] but scanty education—many were, in fact, almost illiterate. Intensive educational work was, therefore, required in order to prepare a reading public for the socialist newspapers, books and Jewish literature."

Full, functional literacy in the information-bearing languages seems to have come in the wake of socialism, which gave to the immigrants "a sense of dignity in a Puritan world in which they were not among the elect" (Menes, 1955:148). Political activism exemplifies innovation, not a retention or reinterpretation of an ethnic learning overlapping Western education. That even the role expectations are not culturally Jewish is attested by the fact that previous attempts to trigger internal incentives to gain knowledge failed. Despite attacks on *shtetl* isolation by nineteenth-century government decrees attempting to force children into secular schools, and despite attacks by the eighteenth-century German Jewish Haskala, which promulgated Western knowledge in Hebrew for the holy who did not read Yiddish, East European Jews remained nativistic. As told by Zborowski and Herzog (1952:60), "Until the late nineteenth century . . . [most] of the *shtetl* . . . grew up in ignorance of the world beyond. . . . In the

nineties, [the] whole world was commonly assumed to be just one *shtetl* after another."

As those Jews who encouraged American education became ever more mobile, they offered not so much a denial or secularization of *shtetl* patterns but a new set of interests. The transition was eased by the very rarity of the dialectician, and it was not difficult to avoid a religious education, since "for more than two and a half centuries America could not boast a score of men learned in the law" (Rackman, 1955:35). In the judgment of Rabbi Gordis, even abroad "Creative thought . . . had largely been absent from the life of the East European rabbi" (1955:13), who was usually not a synagogue official, but a political liaison between the community and the state.

We have offered a number of reasons in the history of migration as well as in the nature of the *shtetl* to support our view that there was low commitment to those ideals which might suggest a continuity in intellectual traditions or roles. However, the probability of our theory or the scholarship theory depends on the degree to which we can now identify continuities between the New World and non-ideational *shtetl* values and roles.

### *The Market Place*

"The typical mother's day-dream, as expressed in [*shtetl*] folklore is to have her son 'a *talmud khokhom* [scholar] and also a clever businessman'" (Zborowski, 1955:119). Sombart (1911:244) quotes a proverb dating back to Biblical times: "'The world needs both the seller of spices and the tanner, but happy be he who is a seller of spices.'" Zborowski (1955:127) illustrates the use of materialistic terms to express value even at the most sacred level: "'The Torah is the best commodity.'" As a goad to mastering the alphabet, angels throw pennies from heaven. "Money heroes," Zborowski continues (pp 262-263), "are popular personalities in . . . daydreaming. . . . The hungry and ragged will count and recount the treasures of the Jewish millionaires. . . . There is a tendency to associate possession of money with virtue. . . ."

The fact that the scholar was not only counting out angels in his counting house leads us directly to the bridge between the

Old and New Worlds. These attitudes of the market place were reinforced in the precarious economic life the Jew led in Europe: "You never refuse a job. . . . If you don't know how, then you learn by doing . . . cut-throat competition and mutual aid dwell side by side" (Zborowski, 1955:259-261). Such experience gave the single individual, and the group as a whole, greater occupational versatility than other minorities: "The best cobbler of all the tailors is Yankl the baker" (Zborowski and Herzog, 1952:418). Lestchinsky (1942:403) says that the Polish Jew, as opposed to the two Gentile types of immigrant Pole, the trader or son of an impoverished landowner, "brings with him much more potential business ability . . . [and] a greater aspiration to reach a higher social status. . . . The first . . . was brought up in an atmosphere of . . . commerce. . . . Moreover, he was an urbanized person for generations." The Pole, on the other hand, is "usually a former rustic or at most a first-generation urban dweller . . . [imbued with] the contempt in which business was held by their aristocratic ancestors." (p. 404).

This contrast of one Jewish-Catholic polarity is important for showing that the role-expectation hypothesis as opposed to the socio-economic is not merely a matter of Occam's razor. As we shall see, the Jewish propensity for business careers, which is more striking than for the professions in 1948, enabled many Jews to attend graduate school. Not having this propensity, many Catholics could not afford the jump. It is not, then, that Jews displayed some continuous bibliotropy so much as that many Catholics did not take to the business opportunities which in America allowed at least one son in a commercial family to afford the luxury of postponing his earning potential.

The major difference in the core, rather than the superstructure, of East Europe and America was not in activities but their consequences: "The Jews entered upon the modern world at the time when certain areas of economic activity began expanding at a faster rate. . . . It was their good fortune that by tradition and experience Jews were excellently equipped precisely for those activities which were at the threshold of greatest expansion" (Reich, 1958:418). Barred

from banking, insurance, heavy industry, advertising, etc., as McWilliams documents (1958:419), they entered stigmatized and marginal occupations, such as the amusement and liquor industries. In addition, they found the garment industry, which many had learned abroad, an open field where they did not have to contend with other workers. More than half of all Jewish workers and two thirds of wage earners were in this trade (Menes, 1955:136-137).

The nature of Jewish migration gave a further impetus to success. That they brought a higher number of women and children "imposed a greater burden of duties on family heads and compelled them to work harder and longer . . . [Those with kin abroad] were . . . obsessed with one idea . . . to save passage . . ." (Menes, 1955:134). Fewer than 5% of Jews, in contrast with 30% of other immigrants, returned to Europe.

It would be "puzzling," says Lestchinsky, only if hard-working commercial Jews had remained proletarians in view of general economic trends between 1870 and 1930. In this period, when the total number of gainfully employed increased less than fourfold and the agricultural population less than doubled, the number in the professions increased more than ninefold. Moreover, in 1930, "the intermediary and service fields occupied fully 46% of the population" (Lestchinsky, 1942:408, 563). As Simpson and Yinger (1958:563) summarize the situation, "Interest in obtaining a college education is related to urban residence, social class, and desire to enter a profession. A higher percentage of Jews than of other groups happen to [fall into such categories]."

We have reviewed some of the reasons why they happen to do so. Today, 75% of American Jews live in the five largest metropolitan centers, 40% of them in New York, a milieu much more continuous with their past than with the experience of the Slavic or Irish countryman, or the Italian agricultural villager. A cyclic pattern viewed at the developmental moment between 1880 and World War II is consistent with a long Jewish evolutionary sequence. Frequently, a neutral trait possessed in one stage became the source of comparative strength in another. This occurred each time marginal occupations be-

came dominant. For example, Jews who were commercial *faute de mieux* in manorial Europe were as peripheral as the first mammals among the dinosaurs, but fortuitously advantaged later. At the same time, many such gains were short-lived as Jewish specialties were expropriated by Gentile competitors—first by craft guilds, later in banking.

Just as it was not intellectual traditions which accounted for past instances of adaptive radiation, the 1948 patterns are no exception. Although the rate of entry into the professions exceeded that even of Protestants by 3.3% during the previous decade (Glazer: 1957:80), this interest, we contend, is less than one would expect from the class-position of the Jews. And there is even a statistical indication—not proved until Greeley's work in the 1960's—that the primary motivation was in security rather than the prestige of intellectualism. One must discard the distorting lens which enters when all Protestants are treated as a homogeneous group. The Protestant elite—Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Congregationalists, etc.—exceed the Jews proportionately in both urbanization and professionalization. Including rural and small-town residents, Jewish professionals exceed the Protestants by only 4.3%, even though roughly 8% more Jews are upper-class. It was in business that the Jews of 1948 outdistanced the Protestants by the highest margin—21.4% to 8.1%.

The Jewish professional explosion, says Lestchinsky, resulted from the artificial prosperity of World War II, and "Today (1942)," he continues (pp. 412–416), "Jewish youth is turning again toward the factory," as they are pressed by the Slavs' pushing up and the Anglos' entering previously Jewish occupations. And in none of the fields where they predominate "do they by any means occupy the most important positions."

The very latest trends, related to stated values, are captured in Greeley's analysis of a National Research Center Survey of the 1961 college graduating class (1963). His most surprising discovery is that "the Catholics are not appreciably less likely to graduate from college than Protestants" (p. 30); about 75% of all three major groups at least aspire to go on to graduate work (p. 73); and "Catholics are not a bit different

from Protestants or Jews in planning careers in academic professions" (p. 50). This last orientation is Greeley's measure of intellectualism (p. 52). Such dramatic change in Catholic behavior reflects a steady trend as well as the fact that lower-class Catholics for the first time are attending college (pp. 30–32). Among parents in the highest brackets, the Jewish proportion of 20% is twice that of Protestants, and of these 4% are Blacks; Protestants, in turn, outnumber the Catholics two to one in this category (p. 29, p. 59).

Against this background, it is the values underlying differential choices which furnish, we believe, quantitative corroboration for our interpretation of Jewish mobility. Greeley's emphasis is that the new data cannot support the "self-critics'" notions that American Catholic schools (p. 17, p. 19) "are anti-intellectual or anti-scientific. This does not mean that . . . Catholics are becoming intellectuals . . . , but . . . that there is no evidence that they are not . . . [Whatever] anti-intellectualism [still exists] is probably more American . . . than . . . Catholic." Since the Catholic myth of anti-intellectualism is the opposite of the Jewish image, the comparative case of upward mobile Catholics shows the irrelevance of prior traditions or their absence in both instances.

The three major groups are about equal—and equally low—in electing the scholarly professions: 16% of Catholics, 17% of Protestants, and 18% of Jewish graduates (p. 52). In our opinion, Jews would have to score much higher to justify any intellectual proclivity—if one is expected to continue into the present—, since they alone attend college in numbers disproportionate to their representation in the population—almost threefold.<sup>8</sup> Regarding over-representation (a

<sup>8</sup> Below is Greeley's (p. 29) breakdown of the ethnic proportion of college graduates compared with their proportion in the general U.S. population for 1962:

|             | graduates | 1957 census |
|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| Protestants | 61%       | 66.2%       |
| Catholics   | 25%       | 25.7%       |
| Jews        | 8%        | 3.2%        |
| Negroes     | 3%        | 10%         |

contrast with the percentage of the other religions making the same choice), "there is an inclination of Catholics to business, Protestants to [non-academic] education, and Jews to the free professions [law and medicine]" (p. 54). Such choices correlate with the decision to plan graduate school immediately as opposed to later, and with placement on a 5-point "academic orientation scale."

Those Jews planning immediate training (47%) outdistance the others (Protestants 28% and Catholics 34%) by a large margin (p. 160). And the over-choice for law and medicine is at the expense of the academic life, whereas, to paraphrase Greeley, the Catholic over-choice of business is instead at the expense of elementary education, where Protestants have about a 25% lead over the other two (p. 53). Academically inclined people score high on the desire to be helpful, useful, original and creative as well as to work with ideas. Opposed to these are options for money, leadership and independence. Jews scored highest on an interest in money, correlating highly with the desire for self-employment and the choice of law and medicine: "They found the college professor's job interesting but . . . were dissatisfied with the money" (p. 55).

Relating to this question, "The key comparisons . . . [are] among big-city, high SES males," in which category are 18% of the Catholic, 13% of the Protestant, and 39% of the Jewish populations (p. 35). Among these Jews, 40% are in law and medicine, whereas their Catholic and Protestant counterparts are equally in the arts and sciences (p. 64). The nearest equivalent of the Jews in economic background are Episcopalians, 81% of whom are in the highest brackets. Among Episcopalians only 7% of them opt for law and medicine, whereas they show the highest incidence of all sub-groups in entering academic professions (20%) (p. 67).

A choice for law and medicine, thus, is related to big-city, high SES ratings only when the group involved is Jewish. Jews of other backgrounds are not attracted to these fields: "More than twice as large a proportion of low SES Jewish males (25%) choose the academic professions as do high SES males [although the reverse is true for Jew-

ish girls]" (p. 169),<sup>4</sup> and poor Jewish girls enter non-academic education. Whereas 10% of poor, big-city Jewish men enter law and medicine, no low SES, small-city Jews do so. The poorer Catholics choose business, and all lower groups seek the corporation.

Viewed from another angle, academe is typically Episcopalian and Congregationalist (p. 68). It is also the means for moving up from the bottom for poor Jewish males (p. 64). Within the Catholic sub-groups, it is the Polish and Germans who become scholars, whereas Italians and Irish tend to enter law and medicine. All four of these categories include predominantly high SES individuals (p. 101).

Considering "the possibility that the various ethnic groups may see different values in the same career choices" (p. 103), Greeley believes that Catholics have become more intellectual because they have lost the "immigration trauma," and they are not motivated mainly by socio-economic goals, although such influences send them to college in the first place (p. 94, p. 98). Our hunch is that the intellectual life in America, all things being equal, is the choice for achievers lacking the pressures and/or opportunities for earning high incomes.

What of the values of "my son the doctor"? Big-city, high SES male that he is, he evidently cannot afford the luxury of academic life open to women, to certain Catholics of his own standing, or to those Protestants who are most secure both financially and socially. Has he settled for the more profitable end of a still scholarly if not academic continuum? Perhaps he is in that part of American culture which is the most sacred of all—health. Or is the doctor, like the lawyer, basically a seller of spices to the 1<sup>st</sup> degree?

<sup>4</sup>The proportion of the three ethnic groups' choice of law and medicine by SES and residence, according to Greeley (p. 169), is as follows:

|            | Prot. % | Cath. % | Jewish % |
|------------|---------|---------|----------|
| Large City |         |         |          |
| High SES   | 12      | 18      | 38       |
| Low SES    | 7       | 10      | 9        |
| Small City |         |         |          |
| High SES   | 13      | 16      | 28       |
| Low SES    | 4       | 7       | 0        |

*Religio Medici*

Sir Thomas Browne's "religion of a doctor," this sometimes misunderstood title, is probably the last testament to the life of the physician as avatar of the religious, humanistic and technological currents of the West. The modern specialist is as far from seventeenth-century virtuosity as he is from the contemplative wisdom of the *shtetl*, whose learning was not a window but a shade. Nor is the modern doctor's charisma as curer connected with health patterns in the *shtetl*. With the exception of the Tsaddik, a shamanistic leader of the Hassidim who was sought for a brief period as a last resort, Jewish medicinal traditions did not bring their practitioners prestige. "In times of illness the women take command, the men are helpless. Their only contribution is the recital of prayers . . . the universal method [of removing the cause of illness] is the enema . . . A . . . dread figure . . . is the enema woman. . . . If [her] remedies fail, the *feltsher* . . . is called—a man or woman . . . [whose] battery of cures includes chiefly castor oil, gargle, and cupping, with leeches" (Zborowski and Herzog, 1952:354-355).

An outside physician is called for a few "extreme cases, with both reluctance and fear" (*Ibid.* p. 355). He is "a figure of awe waited on hand and foot and deferred to by everyone. . . . His instruments, his learning, his foreign appearance and manner . . . inspire wonder and uneasiness." A glorified image of the doctor, then, is based on contact with the elite world under emotionally charged but beneficial circumstances. He is, of course, handsomely paid. Thus, a doctor's financial security was an obsessive goal of the impoverished.

At their great social distance, the poor not only lumped together men who from the viewpoint of an elite were stratified, but associated intellectuality with their financial position. That such notions are not extensions of Hebraic traditions is clear. "In the cities of Eastern Europe, any profession which requires special education is regarded as an intellectual calling, by non-Jews as well as by Jews. The dentist and the veterinary surgeon are professionals and intellectuals. They have studied at a university and so are educated people . . . Even a . . . beauty

parlor [operator] shares the aura that distinguishes one whose profession requires a . . . [degree]" (Zborowski, 1955:139-140).

In advanced centers with broader horizons and a closer view of the elite, it is a small step from these *petit bourgeois* standards to an awareness of the doctor's high relative ranking. But until assimilation is further advanced, confusions of astuteness or wealth with intellectuality will persist. A stereotype shared by *shtetl* Jews and their Gentile neighbors is "'God help a man against Gentile hands and Jewish heads'" (Sombart, 1911: 244). Commercial people appear to be masters at mental gymnastics. Perhaps these attitudes will help explain the similarities and differences between the mother and her sons whose over-choice of law and medicine are so ethnically distinctive.

There is always a delicate balance between money-making and qualifications for making it in a special way—between the amount and source of income. The mother's balancing, we suggest, is at a lower point on the continuum of middle-class values than that of her sons. But both express a grammar of values which can best be seen in terms of the confluence of two economic streams rather than in terms of intellectual traditions of the *shtetl* or the West.

"It is not surprising," says Menes (1955: 140), "that economic success became the center of the immigrant's ambitions . . . [and] the yardstick with which all values were measured." It is this, we believe, which influences high SES Jewish males to think they will risk losing face if they do not choose reliably profitable careers. Menes sees the "contempt for spiritual values" as a departure from the "cultural traditions of the old home" (*Ibid.*). We do not think it entails any reversal. The myth of Jewish intellectualism is a two-way street. In one direction, images of the *shtetl* as scholarly in a Western sense create a foregone conclusion about why educated American Jews became so. In the other, an ethnocentric identification of the *doctor* as an intellectual leads to projective speculation on what must have been.

The myth in either form is entertained more by the mother in the joke (or *her* mother) than by the son. So rare among Jews

is critical or creative intellectualism that David Boroff (1961:79-81) labels it a contra-culture in American-Jewish life along with orthodoxy and small-town living. His survey shows that university students are ignorant of the existence of the myth. The teen-age "image . . . of their milieu . . . [is] entirely consonant with the dominant mores of American life . . . With respect to . . . the scholarly tradition . . . , counter images have developed . . ." Here is a representative statement: "When a Jewish boy becomes a doctor,' a girl said with some outrage, 'it's because he can make more money. . . ' The majority expressed the view that Jewish youth is less academic . . . than non-Jewish . . . 'Jewish kids won't work as hard as others because they have something to fall back on' . . . [the family business]. There was . . . surprise . . . that Jewish academic performance tended to be high" (*Ibid.*:79-81).

Some commentators see a persistence of Jewish mental styles in lawyers. Of course, their cognitive tools are the same among sons of shopkeepers or scholars. But how does one explain the doctor by this criterion, steeped as he is in the empirical floundering and manual skills so despised by the dialectician? And these two professions are paired in the over-choice. That the doctor outranks richer businessmen might be a better indication of idealism, if he did not also outrank the more learned executive. Without an intimate knowledge of the power elite, it is easier to recognize the doctor's power. There are, of course, no jokes about my son the rabbi, novelist, painter. And the "doctor doctor" is esteemed over the doctor of philosophy by high SES individuals of middle-class orientation in typical anti-egghead American terms. Of course, criteria for glamor come from many sources, but from any view, Dr. Kildare is not admired for being more (or less) holy or learned than other successful men.

### Summary and Conclusion

We have tried to show that the mobility patterns of the New World Jews, like other American minorities, are not attributable to their previous condition of intellectuality. Singling out the *shtetl* for a test case, we argued that its functional integration was

such that its intellectual tradition, which was in a sacred frame, was not likely to be continuous with American educational institutions. Since the learned Jew represented separatism and escapism, the American doctor—a symbol of the culture change to be explained—had either not internalized his father's norms, or his father was not a Jewish intellectual. We then sought to corroborate these theoretical probabilities by examining immigrant role models. Finally, we documented continuities between the two contexts in secular patterns and values, attempting to find their traces in the most recent trends in career choice. We do not believe that the scholarship theory can be saved by identifying a Talmudic carry-over in bookish role expectations stemming from non-hierarchical religious obligations. Prior attempts to lead *shtetl* residents to attend secular schools failed. And the proclivity to professionalism appeared only after commercial success; therefore, it must be attributed to the co-existent secular rather than religious goals to which the humblest also felt entitled.

In short, the atypical patterns of mobility may be explained, as economists have said, in terms of the Jews' initial middle-class status as marginal Europeans. Their later expression in professionalization stems from a combination of commercial pre-adaptation, opportunity, exclusion and incentive. We depart from such interpretations only by asserting that the scholarship theory is not complementary but contradictory as an additional mode of explanation.

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# SOCIODYNAMICS: AN INTEGRATIVE THEOREM OF POWER, AUTHORITY, INTERFLUENCE AND LOVE

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*This is a tentative attempt at an internally consistent conceptual framework of social power. It is seen as a function of the situation, dependent on the supply of, and demand for, humanly acceptable resources at large, as well as an eventual complementarity of human wants. Concentration and diffusion in the demand and supply of these resources, and access to alternative markets, are hence crucial factors. Since sociomotive power requires access to resources irrespective of ownership rights, and interaction with others, the limiting factor in the case of mortals, unable to be omnipresent, is imposed by space-time. Involvement may, however, be simulated subject to diminishing returns. When resources cannot be exchanged or bartered, satisfactions only may be traded. Manipulative power derives solely from imbalances in extant multilateral power, which become manifest in the presence of conflicting demands. Unilateral coercion is thus a process associated, not with physical force, but with pivotal power. In personal relations, this may rotate, leading to the cultivation of a coercion tolerance. Compromise is depicted as multilateral coercion. All social intercourse involves reciprocity and coercion. A neologism, interfluence, is introduced to denote the process of multilateral power exerted in the absence of conflict. Induction, integration and disintegration are identified as bona fide processes of conflict resolution, though of uncertain outcome and tendentiously delayed in effect. Authority is ceded sociomotive power derived from the single resource of personal, social or societal sanction. Each is productive of complementarity but they are not mutually implicit. Hence, authority may be exercised coercively. Synergy is characteristic of inorganic synthesis; nevertheless organisations are the sums of their parts.*

## POTENTIAL: LATENT POWER

SOCIOMOTIVE power is the capacity to affect the behavior of others, and of the self in the presence of such power exerted by others. It evolves from the ability to dispense or withhold rewards and penalties. Rewards and penalties derive significance from human wants. Though human wants may be relatively inelastic, their variants are potentially infinite in number and, unless habituated, they are relatively elastic. Thus the resources which both stimulate and satisfy them must be potentially infinite in variety. To catalogue the sources of sociomotive power is hence self-defeating. There is no necessity, for there is this denominator common to them all: each identifies some resource situationally perceived to be scarce. Be it in the form of physical prowess or weaponry, material goods or money, expertise or information, charisma or sex, or whatever else—sociomotive power issues from the disposal over some situationally scarce resource. It is not essential that it has objective reality so long as it is perceived as such. It is essential, on the other hand, that it be relevant to the needs of someone else.

Society does not represent the totality of the human environment; there are other kinds of human power. Human power, in all its manifestations, is derived from resources. But since these are unequally distributed, and since the organism is itself part of nature and harbors some of these resources, there must be interaction, and the conditions for sociomotive power are thus met. Need is at the root of psychomotive power, and the need to interact so as to satisfy a need is at the root of sociomotive power. Each congregation of two or more persons is a market place where resources, or satisfactions derived from resources, may be traded and influence exercised accordingly. The terms, market place and social setting or context, will hence be employed interchangeably to denote the background of such transactions.

The power potential available to a single resource controller—whether an individual or a coalition acting in unison—is thus affected by the demand for such resources as are disposed of and are perceived to be scarce by others ("what does he see in her?"). Hence, an individual may be powerful in one market place and powerless in another ("who

do you think you are?""). As satisfaction turns into satiety diminishing returns are yielded ("I would gladly die for you"—"drop dead"). In so far as basic needs are not eradicable, however, repletion is a transient phenomenon, and a concatenation of regenerative cycles brings forth dynamic equilibria. Demand and sociomotive power are therefore directly related.

Other factors being equal, the injection of others who dispose of similar resources or substitutes into a situation will diminish the importance of each supplier. There is thus an inverse relationship between supply and power. Stockholders in large corporations and consumers in an oligopolistic economy are examples of diffusion in supply and demand. Moreover, these same examples illustrate the antithesis of diffusion, namely, concentration. They also indicate that power is derived from access to, and control over, the resource, not the resource itself, and quite regardless of the rights of ownership. Spontaneous concentration is not a resource itself. Like dissent, coalition in supply is designed to raise the scarcity value of resources; coalition in demand to lower it. In so far as social interaction implies collusion, a perfect market cannot be said to exist. The curvilinear relationship of power with respect to demand and supply is thus affected by the configuration of coalitions and individuals as contextually determined.

#### AMBIVALENCE: PERCEPTUALLY POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE RESOURCES

Social interaction tends to consist of package deals. Resources, certainly in so far as they are perceived to reside within the person, cannot always be traded singly, and ambivalence is frequently present. Whether resources are assets or liabilities is, again, a matter of perception. Physical force, for example, may be either, and hence is not tantamount to coercion. Its gratifying function in sex play is well documented and not confined to the masochist; he, in common with others, will regard force as positive or negative according to the situation.

When single resources are traded, the greatest power attaches itself to whatever resource exhibits the greatest inelasticity of supply at the margin: the one that is hardest

to get. It is unlikely, however, that any but the most ephemeral or superficial relationships can be predicated on the existence of a single resource and its reciprocal. A mutually satisfactory equilibrium cannot be sustained long on so fragile a basis, and social relationships tend to exhibit some degree of continuity.

Both in the immediate and in the wider context, therefore, latent sociomotive power is a curvilinear function, respectively direct and inverse, of the demand and supply for and of positive and negative resources perceived by others to be scarce in algebraic sum. It can hardly be conceded that "Power and influence are in a sense static. They reside in someone or some office" (Piffner and Sherwood, 1960). Sociomotive power is dynamic and purely a function of the situation. "It is clear that between what a man calls *me* and what he simply calls *mine* is a line difficult to draw" (James, 1890). The greater, then, the need for precision. A power base is built on resources, even if the significance of resources derives from human wants and a minority of those resources are perceived to emanate from persons.

#### INVOLVEMENT: SOCIAL INERTIA AND SOCIAL EFFICACY

Although the conditions for acceptance by others may be met, no actual power may be exerted because the prospect of satisfactions obtainable in return is not attractive ("what's the percentage?"). Latent power, or capacity, does not freely become applied capacity unless reciprocal resources are in supply. A "zone of indifference" (Barnard, 1938) is by no means characteristic solely of authority but applicable to sociomotive power in general. Thus Timasheff (1938) coined the expression, social inertia. Reciprocity is voluntary involvement: it subsists on a mutuality of acceptable resources. If the avoidance of a negative resource is voluntarily traded for the avoidance of another negative resource ("if you don't tell on me, I won't tell on you") the transaction is doubly negative, and hence positive. It amounts to voluntary collusion; thus there is reciprocity.

Regardless of the typology of human needs, the extent to which they are fulfilled in number may be designated as satisfaction in

breadth; the extent to which they are fulfilled in intensity may be referred to as satisfaction in depth. Compatibility is the degree in which resources are present for mutual satisfaction in both breadth and depth. Voluntary involvement, or reciprocity, is not necessarily proportionate: it tends to lag behind compatibility if there is access to others and, in any case, cannot exceed it. Involvement may, however, be involuntary, or partially so; and involvement may hence exceed compatibility.

Reciprocity is therefore a function of compatibility and the availability of options. The individual's involvement relative to his potential in the total social context accessible to him, i.e., the ratio of his involvement to his latent power *in toto*, may be termed his social efficacy. The socially inclined are likely to attain a high degree of such efficacy—in which case the ratio approaches unity—but this does not imply that they are also powerful, since their resources may be slender. The highly active sociodynamo is a busy trader since he is a trader by vocation, but he is a small trader nonetheless if his stock in trade is so limited as to consist largely of affect.

#### LOVE

Contentment is adjustment, and adjustment is engendered by compatibility. Absolute commitment is a hypothetical state when involvement is complete. It is evident that this condition is not only the requisite for absolute love, but its equivalent. Since diffusion in supply vitiates intensity of involvement, intense love is attainable only in a pair relationship. The additive effect of further satisfactions emanating from resources of non-human origin enjoyed in the presence of ongoing bilateral relations of this intensity marks this as the optimal phase of well-being. Love under these circumstances is the quintessence of human gratification. Hence, the pervasive import of libido. The romanticism of the ages displayed in numerous epics celebrating ostensibly selfless acts of devotion, the ubiquity of favorites in the midst of plenty and profligacy as epitomized by the Scheherazade, bear witness that this realization is deeply enshrined in the human consciousness. "Some of the most

'primitive' peoples are strictly monogamous in their ideals" (Ford and Beach, 1965). It seems likely that human beings, equipped to render their own wants and consequent satisfactions complex by sheer feat of imagination, have tended for this reason to live in relative monogamy whenever economic circumstances have permitted them to do so; a slight surfeit of females and the remnants of polygamy bear witness to the primeval *modus vivendi*. Viewed in this light, legalized monogamy reflects a socio-normative value which springs from a desire for maximal gratification, not the reverse. By the same token, the moral condemnation incurred by prostitution may be viewed in part as a social rationalization of its limitations. It seeks to gratify a single physiological need, as a rule utterly unreinforced by emotive content; security alone among basic human needs is likely to give rise to more than an ephemeral happening when singly satisfied.

If, in the market places of human satisfactions, intensity of voluntary intercourse is partly a function of the mutuality of acceptable resources, then it is not improper to conceive of zones of indifference, of involvement, and of commitment. On an ascending scale these represent successive phases of intensity, in a positive and negative sense alike. The ambivalence typical of the package deal is not, however, sufficient in itself to account for the rapidity with which love may turn to hatred and back again without impairment, and without traversing successive stages of intensity. Since satiety is gradual in the attainment and the effects of deprivation are similarly cumulative, a dynamic phenomenon of such brusqueness calls for further explanation. The scales are upset so suddenly and dramatically only if trust is summarily subverted or restored; for, while it is equally susceptible to gradual erosion, confidence may be demolished almost instantaneously—yet desirable resources still remain. An intense involvement, whether it manifests itself as love or hatred, attests to the existence of a high sentience level virtually by definition. A temporary aversion is therefore characterized by temporary ambivalence engendered by the fact that, as in the case of jealousy, the satisfaction of the need for security has been undermined. By contrast, the so-called civilized divorce is char-

acterized by the gradual attrition in satisfactions to the point of near-indifference. The objective rationality associated with divorces of this kind has less to do with civilization than with the absence of emotional involvement. Again and again in human affairs, *les extrêmes se touchent*: perhaps, then, the continuum of intensities in human relationships is best visualized, like a horseshoe magnet, as one with converging poles. A *volte face* under conditions of intense involvement from positive to negative and *vice versa*, one surmises, is akin to jumping the magnetic field; for apparently there is no oscillation of the needle through all the intervening stages, as in the case of the civilized divorce.

It has been noted that, if the degree of compatibility in a pair relationship is such that every category of basic want finds ample mutual satisfaction, repletion is evanescent. Final satiety is likely to occur only if a variety of stimuli present themselves such as hold out the prospect of satisfying basic wants in novel ways; or, on the other hand, if the imagination of at least one partner leads him or her to conceive of variants which might be obtainable elsewhere. Commitment is thus inversely related to the imagination and directly to the degree of isolation. This leads to the apparent paradox that the probability of falling in love does not necessarily increase as the market itself increases in size. An inordinate increase in the number of the opposite sex present leads to a proliferation of stimuli. The probability of attaining greater compatibility notwithstanding, the condition is antagonistic to intense involvement. An inordinate increase in the number of those of the same sex present leads to a shortage. An increase across the board leads to an increase in general demand as well as in general supply. "As the individual in his exploration of alternatives finds it *easy* to discover satisfactory alternatives, his aspiration level rises; as he finds it *difficult* to discover satisfactory alternatives, his aspiration level falls" (Simon, 1949). If the term "aspirations" connotes subjectively perceived wants, or demand—and this is how it is employed throughout this discussion—then what goes up and down with supply is his expectations, in which demand has been discounted for supply. If resources are in short supply, the individual is driven by his aspira-

tions—which, in so far as they reflect basic wants, are fairly inelastic—to accept substitute resources, that is, to "satisfice." If his aspiration level, as opposed to his expectations, really fell, then he would be satisfied, not "satisfied." In a restricted market the individual is driven to maintain his involvement, if he is that way inclined, in such a way that his highest aspirations are not met. It would be futile to pretend, therefore, that the probability of his falling in love would not recede when the market shrinks below a certain size because he is less choosy in maintaining involvement of a sort. Above that point, however, it is more likely to increase in consequence of *successive* changes in social environment than by expansion of the *current* environment.

Two concepts enter here. The first, embodied in the preceding quotation, asserts that the more you get, the more you want, and *vice versa*. Supply and demand are deemed to co-vary. The second asserts that enough is as good as a feast. Supply and demand do not co-vary. The first emphasizes *insatiability* and a hierarchy of wants, not necessarily Maslow's (1954) stereotype: so that it operates longitudinally, in the temporal dimension. The second stresses *satiety* and invokes marginal utility: so that it operates laterally, in the spatial dimension. They are thus not inconsistent. In deference to the dynamism of sociomotive power, the formulation introduced here has reference throughout to a given point in space-time, although it will emerge that capital and credit are not excluded from the context.

Thus, if compatibility is the product of potential need satisfaction in breadth and depth and access to resources is restricted, the individual's involvement is then a gross geometric distortion of his aspiration pattern. Consequently, he feels highly deprived and may be driven to boost his social efficacy by accepting substitutes, and so compound the distortion. His actual aspiration pattern is, however, unlikely to be modified materially except over the longer run.

#### COMPLEMENTARITY

How does one partner in a dyad achieve ascendancy over the other? If they are plurally involved and the potential of the one exceeds that of the other, the answer is clear.

Considerable disparity in latent power as between partners in a dyad will, however, lead to disintegration of the relationship if alternatives are readily accessible; though in an imperfect market, marriage, for instance, withdrawal may take the form of alienation rather than actual separation. Since liabilities are present alongside with assets, even though they may be overlooked (strictly, outweighed) when the involvement is intense, absolute compatibility is a hypothetical condition. Hence, even under conditions of bilateral monopoly-monopsony—as on an otherwise deserted island—involvement may be limited. One may have more need of the other, in which case the disparity leads to submission. Consider, however, the case of an isolated dyad which is in fact intensely involved voluntarily—a condition which, by definition, is predicated on a high degree of compatibility in breadth and depth. Suppose, further, that the resources available for mutual satisfaction do miraculously balance. The fact remains that the satisfactions traded by human beings are not restricted to the simple *quid pro quo* (“you scratch my back, I’ll scratch yours”) but are in part complementary. Some people need; others also need to be needed. Their respective needs for dominance and security may be lopsided, yet dovetail harmoniously enough if they are reverse images of one another. Pivotal power may thus come into being, or be augmented, by a complementarity of needs involving security. It will emerge in due course that this is akin to authority, which is similarly based on a complementarity of resources traded.

#### MANIPULATION: PIVOTAL MULTILATERAL POWER

If an involvement is not entirely voluntary, there is a restricted market. Whoever possesses the increment of power needed to corner another in a market of this sort initiates and maintains the relationship with manipulative intent. However, even then there must be at least a degree of reciprocity. A prisoner has to be fed once in a while. If he decides to opt out at the cost of his life and declines to press a bar for food pellets, he must be fed intravenously if it is planned to secure future responses from him. Sociomo-

tive power is invariably multilateral, even if unequally distributed.

Thus Pavlov’s (1927) *respondent* dog and Skinner’s (1938) *operant* rat were *equally* the victims of manipulation when they were placed on leash or in a box and deprived of options. Had Pavlov been on leash and Skinner in the box, the shoe would have been on the other paw. They would have had no choice of process; yet the processes themselves, respondent or operant, would have reflected reciprocity. To extrapolate behavioral findings from a totally restricted to an open market is exceedingly dangerous practice. Conditioning and indoctrination are far less effective when the object is possessed of options. Rats have no predilection for playing the piano, but they can be induced to press a key if they are forcibly subjected to an ongoing process of coercion which denies them freedom to go elsewhere and do otherwise. The gist of the matter is that sociomotive power is invariably multilateral and that its application is not invariably manipulative. Manipulation is gratuitous when aspirations are in harmony. Sociomotive power is manipulative in intent only when there is a conflict of aspirations, and manipulative in effect only when there is also an imbalance of power—not a balance as misinterpretation of the colloquialism might suggest. Power does not manifest itself in the open until the possibility of conflict arises: it surfaces as part of a state of flux; that is, when an incipient relationship is being negotiated or, as is frequently the case, when an ongoing relationship is being renegotiated. It may then be called discordant multilateral power. No doubt “in bargaining each party attempts to influence the behavior of the other” (Goldhamer and Shils, 1939), but what they are really doing is to test one another: first to ascertain whether there really is a conflict and, secondly, to appraise each other’s strength. If there is no conflict, or if the conflict is resolved, multilateral power ceases to manifest itself in the open since it is then concordant. The bargaining may be of short duration or protracted, and it may be overt or covert, in any combination. For instance, a courtship may be consummated with a wink or it may extend into years, taking the form of probing, ostensibly impersonal, discussion of social issues

("should a girl?") and other questions which conceal ulterior motives. If testing discloses the presence of conflict, it continues and turns into a test of strength. The power play goes on until each side is able to gauge how far it can push the other(s). An imbalance of power, or disequilibrium of power, may thus emerge. It alone is manipulative; it alone can lead to unilateral coercion. If conflict and substantial pivotal power are both manifest to all concerned from the start, bargaining may never take place ("reach for the sky, everyone").

#### EXTANT POWER

What determines how much power is actually exerted thus by each when several are at conflict? Latent, or potential, power becomes extant power by virtue of involvement. Voluntary involvement, however, is reciprocal and does not itself give rise to disequilibria unless there is also complementarity. Hence, though involvement is a condition of extant sociomotive power, it is not necessarily a measure of it. If the involvement is unique, if the context is the only possible context, if, in short, there is monopoly-monopsony, then extant power equals latent power. But what if the contestants are plurally involved? Is extant power equal to latent sociomotive power in the immediate, local context which constitutes the involvement of the contestants; or is the extant power of each equal to his latent power in his particular, plurally distributed, cosmopolitan environment? The answer seems to be neither. An attempt at coercion behind closed doors cannot be equated with a similar attempt when the door is open, as we have noted; if the latent power of those involved in their respective total social contexts happens to balance, it is only in the here and now that one or the other can enjoy the distinct advantage which facilitates coercion. But any implication that extant power in a given situation equals whatever portion of latent power is here and now accessible to each contestant would not hold good unless the door remained locked permanently, so that involvement would not be plurally distributed. Thus, he who enjoys an excess of power behind temporarily closed doors may very well abstain from coercion, because he is aware of resources beyond the here and

now which may lead to future retaliation. Although sociomotive power is dynamic and bears reference only to a point in space-time, "it is important to realize that the psychological past and the psychological future are simultaneous parts of the psychological field at a given time" (Lewin, 1966). Social transactions may provide for credit in the form of obligations assumed (for the future), as well as for obligations yet to be discharged (and incurred in the past)—Gouldner (1960)—and in this respect what applies to time also applies to space, and amount. As long as there is an awareness, or more precisely, recognition, of resources beyond the immediate field or context, extant power is derived from those resources in that context. The extant power of the individual is, therefore, that portion of his latent power which is accessible to him in the here and now, plus any in the beyond which is perceived as valid and relevant. If there were such a thing as perfect competition, if all the markets to which plurally involved individuals have access at different times and in different places were equally accessible to them in the here and now—which as a rule is physically impossible—then, and only then, might their extant powers in any given situation be expected to equal the sums of their latent powers in their several social contexts.

#### CONFLICT RESOLUTION

If an imbalance of power is substantial, and other factors being equal, then, and only then, does it become pivotal so that the conditions for unilaterally coercive, manipulative power exist. If, on the other hand, the contending parties are fairly evenly matched, then, other factors being equal, bilateral coercion is more likely to ensue: each side will have to accept resources which it views as liabilities along with others which it views as assets, even though they are not inseparable by nature. This is likely to happen in a ratio which reflects whatever imbalance of power does obtain. The process of bilateral coercion is known far and wide as compromise. As Follett (1926) pointed out, unilateral coercion ("domination") and compromise both leave some aspirations unsatisfied, and on those grounds cannot be regarded as *bona fide* methods of conflict resolution.

Follett's third alternative was termed in-

tegration. She clearly realized that a business organization cannot be viewed as a zero-sum game; for any consideration of integration and what it entails compels the conclusion that it is a device by means of which rewards are secured collectively from some source exogenous to the partners in a coalition. This is one way in which conflicting demands for resources, of which the supply is limited, can be satisfied, but it may give rise to conflict elsewhere. Thus the contending forces integrate into either a coalition or an intensified coalition for the purpose of enriching themselves extra-coalitionally. However, when employers and trade unions integrate in times of boom and agree on substantial wage increases, employees gain as suppliers but, to a far lesser extent, may also be penalized as customers. Spiralling inflation benefits neither the macro-economy nor, in the end, the micro-economy. Hence, Follett laid much stress on collective innovation, itself a form of integration, but creative in the sense that it may be aimed at the better utilization of resources, which may be already at hand. If so, the aspirations of outsiders are not necessarily affected. She did not consider a fourth alternative, disintegration (dissolution or withdrawal)—doubtless as a possibility too painful to contemplate. However, rates of labor turnover are often such as to suggest that this is a highly common form of conflict resolution. Social inertia does favor the *status quo* if it provides satisfactions which are at least adequate and if the alternatives are shrouded in uncertainty. But if there is no need for searching, if the bait is big enough and dangling in front of someone's nose, it is likely to elicit a response. Thus as inertia inhibits association, so it also impedes disintegration; frequently, these are two sides of a coin. The more pronounced the reciprocity in one *milieu*, the less accessible or certain the alternatives—and the longer the time over which an association has existed, facilitating the emergence of sentiment and tradition—the less the individual is likely to abandon one market for another. *Ceteris paribus*, disintegration and re-association are not likely to take place unless and until dissatisfaction outweighs gratification consistently and decisively in one setting and *vice versa* in another. In spite of this, few attachments last a

lifetime; families break up and people also change their nationalities. There is yet a fifth alternative. Since, by definition, we speak of perceived values, this leaves the door wide open to indoctrination. It will be noted that all of the three foregoing options are likely to be attended by delay and are of uncertain outcome. Even when one of the contenders drops dead, a substitute has to be found for whatever resources constituted the basis of his involvement; for where there is no involvement, there is no conflict.

The question arises, which of all five alternatives is most likely to be invoked in a given set of circumstances? The size of the imbalance in power is obviously one variable. However, the salience of the issue (the extent to which resources directly affected are in demand) must also be considered. This in turn must be viewed relative to the reciprocity present—the cooperation aspect of the association as opposed to its conflict aspect: "When values conflict, the individual will move toward the group which has the most influence over him, that is, the most relevance for him" (Caplow, 1964). But supply may be concentrated, and reciprocity is a function of both compatibility and access; so it also depends on the extent to which the market is restricted. Thus, if the rules provide that, if a hundred senators are equally split, the deciding vote is cast by the vice-president, the disequilibrium in voting power is so scanty that in all probability it would not become manipulative in a less restricted market; the rules are the constraints which make it so. In short, there is a sufficiency of options and of contextual factors to facilitate a large number of combinations of circumstances and a corresponding variety of outcomes.

#### ROTARY COERCION

The emergence of pivotal power and any subsequent act of manipulation is a process. Thus coercion is a process, not a state, but the process may be iterative. In a restricted market the scales may be heavily weighed in favor of one side. A condition then arises where bias is continually in evidence and unilateral coercion reappears with quasi-regular monotony. A consistently unilateral imbalance of power in all things amounts to

control by *ego* and subjugation of *alter*, or *vice versa*. Any concentration of power leading to such a one-sided relationship will sooner or later run into opposition. It is reported to have taken a century to consolidate six different British government departments to which field commanders were responsible into one over their objections (Urwick, 1937). The tendency is to acquire or maintain a consistent imbalance of power by a policy of *divide et impera*. Social protest tends to be directed primarily at those who control the critical resource responsible for the prevailing pivotal power of the era. In the agrarian economy, these were the landowners. "When capital was the key to success, social conflict was between the rich and poor" (Galbraith, 1967). At the moment it is between the students and the information factories. A more or less stable imbalance comes to reflect status and can persist for generations. Social institutions, like the state, cannot exist without stability; hence, the state represents a highly restricted market and displays such bias. It is a condition of asymmetric power over the longer term that it be restricted in scope and *not* pertain to all things. It then amounts to an abridgement, not an abrogation, of the individual's sovereignty. In personal relations a disequilibrium of power which is continually one-sided is less likely to be accepted since such relations are less restricted. Hence the balance of power tends to undergo reversals. In an ongoing relationship, each successive problem, incident or issue which harbors a conflict of aspirations may lead to bargaining, renegotiation, and the emergence of an *ad hoc* imbalance, without prejudice to a typical configuration of power forming the background. Thus the imbalance in power, as it emerges, may or may not alternate according to case. A little girl who absconds with her father's ignition key when he is about to keep an urgent appointment is temporarily possessed of a critically scarce resource which turns the balance, for the occasion, in her favor; unless, of course, there is access to an alternative market, like a taxi. Subtly shifting balances of power are characteristic of voluntary relationships—and to a far lesser extent, even involuntary ones—so that rotary coercion is part and parcel of the everyday existence: everyone has his triumphs and his despairs. This is so taken

for granted that people, though they might find a permanent symmetry of power insupportable, develop a certain coercion tolerance. There is give and take, then, even in unilateral manipulation; but it is based on rotation while multilateral coercion, or compromise, is contemporaneous.

#### INTERFLUENCE

It has been stressed, but is worth repeating once again, that pivotal power makes itself felt only when there is conflict and a consequent test of multilateral power, and that this is the requisite for unilaterally coercive manipulation. It remains to be seen what happens when there is no conflict in being, for surely it does not follow that there is then a vacuum in social behavior. This alternative process has not been dignified by a suitable designation of its own. The liberty to coin a term is never to be taken lightly, but a neologism is ventured since the difference is one in kind, not in degree or in amount. Derived from the Latin *influere*, "influence" is not particularly suited to describe this process, the more so as it has come to be employed in common parlance as a synonym of power at large. Besides, it has been laid down by Parsons (1967) that "influence is a means of persuasion," while Bierstedt (1950) went so far as to assert that "influence is persuasive while power is coercive." But sociomotive power, as has been shown, is not necessarily coercive, and when it takes the form of *interfluence*, persuasion is redundant; it is associated with harmony, yet not necessarily with inactivity.

Picture a couple walking down a lane, their arms around each other. Their destination is not at issue, and no one is intentionally pushing this way or that. They typify an ongoing process of interfluence. Assume they come to a crossroad. One wishes to continue one way, the other has different ideas; it is understood that they also wish to remain together. They playfully engage in something like a tug o'war; there is bargaining, and multilateral power has become manifest on account of being discordant. If it comes to a friendly test of strength and a clear-cut disequilibrium in power emerges, there will be unilateral coercion under the velvet glove and they will continue the promenade to-



gether in one direction or the other. If not, one of the other options we have discussed will be invoked, according to circumstance.

When interfluence is founded on common values, it may be designated *normative*; when it proceeds from the simple accident of common wants, it may be termed *coincidental*. Unlike influence in Parson's terms, it does not necessitate "bringing about a decision on *alter's* part to act in a certain way because it is felt to be a 'good thing' for *him*. . . ." That is attempted manipulation and a magnificent illustration of vying multilateral power, albeit subtle rather than crass. One may be certain that *ego*, no matter how altruistically inspired, is satisfying some inner need. Interfluence is no cyclical power play leading to gradually changing balances, as successful persuasion is. It is based on a condition of being of one mind. Multilateral power is, as always, present but not manifest, since it is not at variance. Persuasion may, in time, lead to interfluence; but in its purest form the process is initiated quite spontaneously, so that operant and respondent behavior become two sides of a coin. In practically any social setting, manipulative power and interfluence are therefore processes which function intermittently. Manipulative power is characterized by conflict and asymmetry; interfluence by consensus. Interfluence is clearly a mode of sociomotive power since it is productive of behavior when two or more act in combination. The sagacious Follett, who noted a distinction between "power over" and "power with" spoke of "co-active power." Her terminology is not adopted in this instance since a consensus, whether the result of common values or the sheer accident of common aspirations, may also be a consensus to refrain from overt action.

Another contingency remains to be reckoned with: conflict and symmetry. In the event preliminary testing discloses the presence of conflict and subsequent bargaining fails to lead to an effective imbalance, there is discordant multilateral power but it is in equilibrium. According to the circumstances, anything but unilateral coercion is then possible.

"When everyone is equal, there is no politics," Gerth and Mills (1953) have stated. But interfluence presupposes more than an equality in multilateral power; it also presup-

poses absence of conflict. If it is more than an occasional phenomenon, then it demands a high degree of compatibility in breadth and depth, not excluding affect. It is then akin to love and calls for the "secondary personality" (Shepard, 1965). In this event "We may even say that the group consensus *becomes* the individual's perception, and he is no longer free to test reality" (Horrocks, 1967). Interfluence as a stable state would demand a total absence of conflicting needs and aspirations: it amounts to a state of entropy. No need to grant us then our daily bread.

#### THE LIMITS TO PERSONAL POWER

Resources may increase and decrease in magnitude and in variety, and their value changes according to context. Supply and demand tend to fluctuate. Collusion influences value. All this is calculated to enhance or diminish personal power. Yet there is one limitation. The individual's capacity to exercise it is ultimately restricted by his capacity to intervene personally in market places. The limits to interaction, to personal involvement, and hence to personal power, are therefore to be found in space-time. The literature is pervaded with allusions to this effect, but emphasis is on the spatial aspects of concentration and diffusion: "The smaller the group, the more cohesive it is likely to be" (Triandis, 1966). All this is generously buttressed by research findings, like those on the effect of propinquity on communication (Thibaut and Kelley, 1959) and the relation of size on motivation to participate (Indik, 1963). An edifice of awesome height is reduced to a speck on the horizon when viewed from afar; today's sensational event may appear jejune a year later. Since diffusion is inimical to involvement, its efforts can be counterbalanced only by salience of superlative proportions, like "superordinate goals" (Sherif, 1967). Personal intervention is necessitated not only by access to and control over resources but by the interaction implicit in the search for reciprocity. "Unless there is some 'connection' between *A* and *a*, then no power relation can be said to exist" (Dahl, 1957).

At any particular point in time, when the resources available to the individual and those he is dealing with must be considered

as given, whether or not he chooses to concentrate his power, its sum-total will be strictly the same. It all comes out of the same pot, and the thinner he spreads himself by increasing his contacts in breadth, the less pull he will exert in depth. The claim that the so-called "flat" organization is "democratic" has been recognized for what it is: the indication of a certain *naïveté* in matters organizational. On the contrary, it may be the "despotic leader" who refuses to delegate authority and overextends himself by assuming inordinately wide spans of communication (Caplow, 1964), whose antechamber resembles a dentist's waiting room, and whose managers tend to be glorified messenger boys. Hierarchy, whatever its drawbacks—and there are many—is, in the nature of things, the inevitable shape of progressive differentiation; in organization it represents the diffusion of authority among a managerial infra-structure, not its concentration. Whether this be "low" or "high" when charted in flat projection does not affect one iota the rank and file's access to the organization's chief. While many an autocrat keeps highly mobile in an endeavor to see and be seen, and establishes a host of two-way communication channels to counteract his isolation, the wider he spreads himself in the process, the less personal power he will tend to wield in depth.

#### SIMULATED INTERACTION

If it is to be stipulated, however, that, given sufficient demand, personal power is limited by the amount and scarcity value of resources to which it is possible to gain access and over which it is possible to gain control, and by the capacity to intervene in market places so as to be able to engage in trade with others, then it becomes necessary to add the following qualification: except in so far as personal intervention may be effectively simulated. The further the individual has ascended the ladder in his pursuit of dominance over others—i.e., the greater the number of people over whom he rides herd—the less he is likely to be faced with the first of these constraints—resources—and the more he is faced with the ultimate limitation: that which is imposed upon his person by time and space. Unless this handi-

cap could be surmounted, no monarch could have wielded more power than the lowliest of his barons. So long as capacity with regard to these limiting factors may be expanded, or with regard to the lesser if they are not co-terminous, the power potential cannot be regarded as fixed. This is so even when artifacts like the telephone are employed, for "All media are extensions of some human faculty—psychic or physical" (McLuhan and Fiore, 1967).

Personal intervention may be simulated in a number of ways: by indirect intervention, by personalization, by codification and, most recently, by recourse to media of mass communication. Each is effective up to a point and only up to a point as the term, simulation, would infer.

In indirect intervention there is a chain effect of ends and means, in that some intervening party is motivated in such a manner that he in turn will motivate a third to behave as desired. Since delegation involves rewards, this is the case in an administrative hierarchy, but indirect intervention does not imply authority.

Personalization is an equally ancient device. Kings have projected their own personalities beyond their immediate reach on the principle that *l'état c'est moi*, so that all official business, no matter how picayune, had to be dignified by virtue of being transacted in their names, and their images appeared on all coins, office walls, postage stamps, and whatever.

To contain a displacement of aims and to impose one's stamp on the behavior of others, one may codify one's values in the forms of rules, standard procedures, policies, standing orders, and even laws, and thus make one's power felt beyond the physical limitations placed upon the person.

In none of these cases is there reciprocity *in persona*, and the power derived from these methods is brittle. But enormous potential for stretching the dimensions of the market places in which an individual can intervene, as both Roosevelt and Hitler speedily came to realize, has been offered by radio and, later, television. Today a ruler of many millions can virtually establish contact in every household in the land. Nor is television necessarily such a one-sided affair as to preclude interaction of a kind. There are re-

porters and participation audiences who establish rapport with the performer and with whom the mute viewer may identify; and, if this is insufficient, the viewers may reciprocate by writing fan letters, or by lying in wait for the respondent in order to touch him, snatch one of his buttons, pelt him with rotten eggs, shoot him, or just plain squeal. Hence, the successful politician realizes that television viewers "want to be talked to, not orated to" (Nixon, 1968), and he knows when to stop. By shrewdly appealing to the aspirations of the majority, the individual may thus use television to simulate personal intervention so effectively that language becomes the only barrier to extending it almost indefinitely; and if he yodels, more power to him, since the symbolic acceptance range of music transcends that of language. Marx (1367) thought religion was the opium of the people, but that was in 78 B.T. (= before television, reckoned from 1945).

#### AUTHORITY

At least one taxonomy of power (French and Raven, 1959) ranks authority among its variants. Often, however, a distinction is made because it adheres to the position rather than to the person. This is true so far as it goes; not so, however, the implication that sociomotive power at large is derived solely from resources indigenous to persons or their property, and this detracts somewhat from the force of the argument. If sociomotive power is situationally determined, all such power is a matter of position. Inasmuch as the individual is an *entrepreneur* in the market places of human satisfactions out for himself and assuming roles of one kind or another with this single end in view—and "there can be no adequate sociological theory which boggles at the issue" (Gouldner, 1960)—all human intercourse, no matter how intimate or how lasting, is in the final analysis a matter of role tenure, pure and simple. Even the love he or she inspires is inspired on account of resources perceived to be scarce by someone else. Whether or not they are properly described as qualities is a matter of values; even whether or not they are present is at least in part a matter of perception. Love, no matter how closely it ap-

proaches the absolute, is indeed transitive. It is, after all, merely the improbability of establishing contact with several persons precisely attuned to a complexity of wants that primarily accounts for the misconception of the one true love finding corroboration, perhaps more often than not, in reality. There are, of course, contributing factors. A vested interest by way of experiences shared, a resource, as it were stored in the memory and tapped long after the respondent has departed, may be one; also, exchange with the environment progressively deteriorates until it terminates at death, leading to increasing social inertia and lessened entrepreneurial initiative in most cases.

"If we want precision, it may best be sought not by bastardizing certain members of the family (saying they 'are not really power'), but by trying to discover their idiosyncracies in relation to other terms with which they keep company in their several contexts" (Emmett, 1954). Authority is in fact a form of sociomotive power, and its idiosyncracies are threefold. First, it derives from one resource and one resource only: the sanction of another or of others. Whether it is formalized, or even in writing, is immaterial. "Authority, perhaps like income, can be conceived as a property right that may be concentrated or diffused" (Krupp, 1961). The supposition that authority stems exclusively from ownership is a widespread one and easily explained with reference to the enterprise. When ownership becomes diffused, it assumes the dimensional quality of membership. The two types of enterprise which represent the extremes in the ownership-membership spectrum are typified, respectively, by slavery and collectivism. In the case of slavery, the enterprise owns the workers. In the case of collectivism, the workers own the enterprise. In each, authority appears to stem from the vested interest in property: ownership-membership; whether it is superimposed ("directive") or self-imposed ("representative") varies accordingly. "In other words only the holder of the property rights is socially sanctioned to impart direction *to the system*" (Gross, 1967; *italics mine*). Does this follow? When the focus shifts to other settings, like associations, authority exists in the presence of little or no material property and the re-

sources contributed are in the main indigenous to the members, and on that account largely perceptual. The fact is that authority and property happen to have something in common: they both derive from the same source—cession or sanction; or, simply enough, authorization—but they are not on that account mutually implicit. It just so happens that they coincide when property is present. Nevertheless, authority stems from sanction, not property as such. Precision, here as elsewhere, is essential. For at least two different types of sanction, of which only one involves property, are seen to co-exist even in business organizations. One is the authority to dispose of its material resources which, although it may be a political football and although employees do bargain for greater rewards, is unquestioned within the organization. The other is authority over the employees themselves, which is not a property right sanctioned and guaranteed by society but ceded freely by the employees, individually and/or collectively, and which is questioned continually in the form of untold grievances, and therefore limited.

The doctrine that authority and power, if not mutually exclusive, are at least asymptotic, appears to be due to misextrapolation of Weber's (1922) thesis. He differentiated *Macht* (literally "might" and, by his own definition, coercive rule) and *Herrschaft* (literally "(over)lordship" and, by his definition, non-coercive rule). *Macht* has been rendered into "power," and *Herrschaft*, with justification in the circumstances but only in the circumstances, into "authority." The circumstances were that Weber was not concerned with sociomotive power in the broader sense but with "governing power" in institutions, particularly the state; his topic might not inconceivably be described as *régime*. It is in this context that he dismissed any sort of rule unbuttressed by authority as coercive; and he clearly stated that he did "not include every mode of exercising 'power' and 'influence' over persons." If it is to be claimed that "Weber's study of legitimization introduces a whole new dimension to the study of organizational discipline" (Etzioni, 1964), then one is entitled to ask whether such introduction into a totally different context is itself legitimate, for the modes of authorization rest on vastly different foundations.

"Authority is the right to give orders," claimed Fayol (1925) in this vein, "and to exact discipline." The ability to enforce that right is indeed enjoyed by the state, which can impose penalties few organizations can impose, but not all authority has the force of law. The sanction upon which it rests is then a resource of somewhat reduced value.

The key to the enigma of authority is rendered up by the question, *sanctioned by whom?* For the crux of the matter is that societal sanction does not imply individual acceptance and, unless it does, there is no reciprocity. This is authority's second idiosyncrasy—really a corollary of the first, its basic characteristic. Citizenship in a state is not altogether a matter of choice. It is not unreasonable to posit that when someone submits to an act of official bullying, (1) he may not be motivated by the prospect of reciprocal satisfaction in the form of law and order and personal approval of social norms in general, (2) he may then be motivated to comply by simple fear of retribution, (3) if so, he is being coerced and (4) he is then being coerced by no other form of power than authority. If it is to be contended that authority is inherently non-coercive—as is the fashion—just because it rests on *social* sanction, then it must first be demonstrated that, in every single case of submission to authority, it is *respect*, not *fear* that has motivated such submission. Since this is unlikely to be proven and social sanctions are extended by the majority, or even by a minority on behalf of the majority, it must be concluded that the exercise of authority, like that of sociomotive power in general, may be coercive and non-coercive. It is the same obtuseness which fails to recognize the fundamental difference between societal, social and personal sanction which also equates democracy with co-determination, blithely assuming that democracy is inherently, in Lincoln's (1863) imperishable but misguided words, "government of the people, by the people, for the people." Institutions and organizations have since so grown in headcount that only drastically reduced distances in space-time—as, for example, brought about by the twin tendencies toward devolution and participation—can broaden the scope of co-determination to include a ratio of the people hefty enough to meet changing

expectations; even so, the basic differences as between types of sanction will persist.

As a variant of sociomotive power, authority cannot be exercised without interaction. Yet it is delegated power, and if it is to function by remote control, personal interaction must be simulated. Hence, the aspirations and values of those in whom it comes to be vested will, subject to safeguards, govern its application, even if they consciously interpret their role as one of stewardship. In other words, as long as there are tangible resources which can be put to use, they will be owned; only those who own them will be socially authorized to direct the use to which they shall be put; but the power derived from these resources will nevertheless remain a matter of actual access and operational control. "There are always two mutually contradictory principles at work: (1) the tendency of men to retain their rights in productive property but to let others work it for them; (2) the tendency of those who work the property to acquire rights in it . . ." (Davis, 1949). There is no acquisition of ownership rights, nor is there a contradiction. There is the exercise of power based upon access to and control over resources owned by others. It is immaterial who owns the gun and is licensed to carry it; the question is who has his finger on the trigger.

The greater the diffusion by delegation, the lesser the probability of enforcement, though rights remain intact. The diffusion aspect, though not peculiar to authority, is nevertheless a concomitant of progressive delegation. For all this it would be precipitous to conclude that authority is a frail sort of power. For its third idiosyncrasy, again a function of its basic characteristic, lies in the fact that it exhibits complementarity. Individual and collective acceptance of authority may be purchased with resources, such as money, which do not increase the seller's standing in the immediate context. Gouldner (1960) has in fact stated that "complementarity connotes that one's rights are another's obligations." Says Homans (1961), basing his observations on Blau's (1955) illuminating research: "Men win esteem by providing for many others services that the others cannot return except in the form of esteem *and obedience*" (emphasis mine). Therefore, when

the bounds of reciprocity have been exhausted, a surplus of available resources may still be marketed in return for authority, and what makes its appearance then is the complementarity of rights and obligations. Authority is therefore not exclusive to institutions or officialdom, but it is vested sociomotive power at large, always characterized by the complementarity of rights and obligations. The criterion is not property, not formality, not institutionalized position, but sanction, cession, and investiture. The so-called "informal" leader, in so far as his leadership is recognized by those he leads, is possessed of authority. One reason why the little girl with the ignition key previously spoken of may forego her temporary advantage could be that she yields to the asymmetry of parental authority—recognized not only in the law (which to her is meaningless), but what is more to the point by *her*. Moreover, the submissive partner in a dyad, who habitually abstains from the bilateral bargaining which leads to a test of strength and unquestioningly concedes that "you know best, dear" furnishes ample indication that, here as elsewhere, there is a complementarity of rights and obligations mutually recognized which amounts to nothing if not to authority. And, it also goes to show that authority may be conferred by an individual, by any number of individuals in association, as well as by society at large. It is significant that of the five types of relationships with respect to which Confucius classifies *yen*, or rapport—sovereign and subject, parent and child, elder and younger sibling, husband and wife, friend and friend—all but one of these embody, at least traditionally, an element of complementarity, hence authority (Lin, 1943). Thus, by its very nature, authority makes for a restricted market and is conducive to the constant re-emergence of a unilateral imbalance in power. For organizational buyers, it helps to secure the mediative role which permits them to channel the flow of events in the conflict-cooperation interplay of forces. The metaphor is used advisedly since there is always the possibility of overflow. Yet, since delegated power ensures the right of access to, and at least the opportunity of remote control over, the resources which figure largely among organizational rewards, as well as to the informa-

tion without which the mediative role cannot be exercised advantageously, its potential is virtually unrivaled. If this capacity to respond to the critical need for the coordination of cooperative effort and the mediation of disputes is accompanied by expertise, the potential is immeasurably augmented. Moreover, those who enjoy authority may also gain access to all manner of reinforcements, like status and charisma. One thing literally leads to another. Hence, authority exhibits the greatest single potential for manipulation in the organizational context; were it not so, then organizations would not be viable. The inability to manipulate behavior when invested with authority commensurate with purpose is hence an indication of singular ineptitude.

To summarize: authority is vested power derived from personal, social and societal sanction, none of which are either mutually implicit or exclusive. It therefore operates voluntarily only when such sanction is extended or endorsed by the subordinate, failing which, if exercised, it is exercised coercively; it is asymmetric, being characterized by the complementarity of rights and obligations; and it thus facilitates manipulation.

#### BARTER AND EXCHANGE

Since sociomotive power is able to induce activity, it is not difficult to detect a parallel of sorts between mechanical energy—the capacity to do work—and latent sociomotive power on the one hand, and between mechanical power—applied energy—and extant sociomotive power on the other. It is, however, inconvenient to visualize power as a “medium of exchange” (Parsons, 1967) since it involves barter as well as exchange. Exchange indeed implies a medium. Given adequate access to markets and a miscellany of resources, the advantage of a medium is that a diversity of wants may be satisfied entirely at the recipient’s discretion. This is no small advantage, and it is idle to speak of financial rewards purely in terms of the satisfaction of material wants. A writer of scant recognition, an amateur sportsman or musician—in short, a chronic organizational “indifferent” (Presthus, 1962)—is not likely to view favorably other rewards, such as are intended to involve him further in a pursuit

not of his choosing. He is more prone to respond to monetary incentives which will assist him to satisfy his own aspirations.

Barter in social interaction at large is not necessitated by the lack of an acceptable medium of exchange, as was the barter of economic goods in times gone by, but by the nature of the resources themselves. Satisfaction from resources indigenous to persons may be obtained unilaterally against payment in coin, but such satisfactions cannot be traded bilaterally other than by barter. In any case, such resources cannot be exchanged or bartered themselves; they must be hired or rented, so that it is the satisfactions emanating from them that are traded. When intercourse is of a purely social character, barter predominates. Of interest here is a telling description of the ceremonial barter of exogenous resources to symbolize a desire for barter of satisfactions obtainable from indigenous resources, that is for sociability, in a French café: “The two bottles” (proffered to each other by strangers at table) “are identical in size, their contents similar in quality. Each participant in this revealing scene, when the final count has been made, has not received more than if he had consumed his own wine. . . . But there is much more in the exchange itself than in the things exchanged”—or rather, bartered (Lévy-Strauss, 1949). Equally the “unofficial exchange systems” in organizations perceived by Blau and Scott (1962) are largely engaged in barter.

The disadvantage of exchange as opposed to barter is plainly implicit in the qualification, “given adequate access to resources,” and, once again, it is posed by space-time. Unless an individual is in contact with a sufficiency of extra-organizational resources of satisfaction, payment in coin constitutes no immediate reward but merely raises the prospect of securing one: it still has to be found. Nor is consistent satisfaction guaranteed by random visits to diverse market places: the individual must occupy a stall more or less permanently in at least one market in order to become sufficiently involved to experience all of the gratifications which he seeks. Thus, whenever access is restricted for one reason or another, rewards which correspond to pressing or continual needs which may be bartered locally are more

acceptable than tokens. If a mutuality of needs is present and it may be satisfied by direct barter, barter will tend to drive out exchange. When an organization constitutes the whole of an individual's environment, if only by virtue of the fact that it monopolizes his time, it effectively contains the totality of the resources which are available for his satisfaction. Hence, its power over him is absolute (Ziller, 1965). It may be postulated that, even if alternatives are available, the greater the demand made by an organization on an individual's time in magnitude and continuity and the larger it looms as an ambient factor, the greater his expectation of barter, and his commitment if satisfied. The shorter the work week, the less this is the case. It is therefore unwise to ignore the stark fact of plural involvement, to fret about endemic indifference, to express horror when commitment does not attain the heights of religious fervor, and to turn the process of alienation into a dogma. Alienation never is where involvement never was. Opines Riesman, "For the long run, I think it makes more sense to work with rather than against the grain of impersonality in work—but for the sake of pleasure of consumption and not for the sake of the work itself" (1961). This is as may be; for there are, after all, personality differences, and automation has been seen to go hand in hand with a change in the character of the work, and in expectations. What is certain is that the continuing practice of referring to all those who are active in the affairs of organizations of all kinds, including institutionalized bystanders, as "members" must lead to many a *cul-de-sac* in the pursuit of knowledge about organizational behavior. There is need to differentiate more rigorously than is the custom between organizations of citizens and organizations of mercenaries—equally between total organizations and those to which, quite properly, one owes no more than a divided loyalty.

#### SOCIAL SYNERGY

The time-worn *cliché* that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, intellectually repugnant as it is, invites suspicion that its popularity is a measure of its inspirational utility rather than of its validity. Smuts (1926) dismissed it as a myth: "It is, how-

ever, important to realize that the whole is not some *tertium quid* over and above the parts which compose it; it *is* the parts in their ultimate union . . . the whole is not something additional to the parts. . . ." In making good his *Gestalt*, he provides a key: "Holism is not only creative, but self-creative. . . ." His topic is, of course, abiogenesis and life in spontaneous evolution. As every cost accountant knows, the cost of an assembly is the cost of the component parts, plus the cost of putting them together. Whatever is synthetic requires synthesis, the intervention of an agent. Spontaneous coalition is confined to units in relatively small numbers: of individuals, of groups, of organizations, of institutions, and of nations. Organizations are not coalitions of groups, although a micro-face-to-face group may proselytize and become the nucleus of an organization; or else remain external to it. In either case organizations, unlike spontaneous coalitions, are made, not born. The parts of an artifact must be put together in a certain manner if the assembly is to function. Organizations proper, as instrumentalities, are unique assemblies of resources in consonance with specific missions. Such synthesis is an investment and, once accomplished, is itself a scarce resource. In sum, if the system is artificial,  $n$  represents not only the investment in each of the constituent parts but also in the assembly as a concrete achievement in its own right:  $n$  is therefore the number of unreconstructed components plus one, the assembly. If, on the other hand, the system is organic, it evolves as a whole, and  $n$  is the number of components plus zero. In either case the whole is equal to the sum of the intakes or inputs, and our faith in the consistency of the universe remains unshaken.

#### THE POWER INFLATION HYPOTHESIS

This small diversion was not without a purpose. In a similar vein, it has been suggested that power equalization equals power inflation. Thus, "a network of social relations transforms an aggregate of individuals into a group (or an aggregate of groups into a large social structure), and the group is more than the sum of the individuals comprising it, since the structure of social rela-

tions is an emergent element which *influences the conduct* of individuals" (Blau and Scott, 1962; my italics). This is exemplified by specific references to sentiments, shared values, norms, expectations and the like. A mere "structure of social relations," if it arises spontaneously, cannot be likened to the purposive synthesis of functional resources geared to a mission. An organization exists to produce payoffs, over and above the give and take of internal reciprocity, in exchange with the environment; excepting certain cases, it is a producer, not just a market place. This *exposé* is concerned with sociomotive power, which is contingent on resources, and not with how resources are developed. But developed they must be. Like any other social context, an organization functions as a market place, but its *raison d'être* is generally to allow resources to be developed cooperatively. The "structure," the cement, is indeed an *emergent* element, but, if it comes into being spontaneously, it is not *additional* to the bricks, because it issues from the bricks themselves. Whenever norms emerge, other values are submerged. While there is an expansion of the self to include others, there is a corresponding expansion of others to include the self. What the individual gains on the roundabouts, he loses on the swings. The power he gains is communal power. The power he loses is personal power. One is a measure of his interdependence; the other a measure of his independence. It is unlikely that either the concept of social synergy or the power inflation hypothesis can be maintained on the strength of spontaneous processes, similar in character to evolution.

Is it, then, impossible that "The total amount of control exercised in a group or organization can increase and the various participants can acquire a share of this augmented power . . ." and that "Increasing the influence of one group (e.g., the workers) in an organization does not necessarily imply decreasing that of others (e.g., supervisors and managers)" (Tannenbaum, 1962)? The involvement of individuals whose attachments are so few or superficial that their social efficacy is considerably below par can indeed be boosted; but reference here is to entire groups, in fact to organizations. This assertion can be vindicated, but only if the

boundaries are extended so that the perspective broadens beyond the organization in question; and it has certain implications. As an acquisitive open system, an organization may certainly engage in acts of piracy. If the majority of "the various participants" are adequately adjusted and involved to near capacity, what goes into one pot has to come out of another. If the subject organization succeeds in gaining further involvement from them all, it will have to come out of the pots represented by their multifarious competing attachments, which will suffer on that account. Their spouses, as not infrequently happens, may declaim that they are wedded to the corporation—to say nothing of the fact that the prevailing balance of power changes so that supervisors and managers have less occasion to exert *manipulative* power. Indeed, Tannenbaum (1962) remarks that "Members in the effective union pay for the increased control which they exercise (and for the effectiveness of their organization) not only in terms of greater effort that they put into union activities, but also by their greater sensitivity and accession to controls within the union." Because of the limitations imposed upon mortals by space-time, the zero-sum concept stands, except in so far as they may successfully simulate. When people are fully stretched, there is no possibility of increasing their total involvement, and the power inflation hypothesis in the broader societal, as opposed to the organizational, context seems doomed—for what is evidently proposed here is the extensive application of the process of integration.

#### PURPOSIVE POWER CONFIGURATIONS

There have been numerous studies of power configurations in triads (for instance, those of Simmel, 1950; Mills, 1954; Strodtbeck, 1954; Torrance, 1955; Bales et al., 1955; Caplow, 1956; Vinacke and Arkoff, 1957); in committees, like that of Shapley and Shubik, 1954; and of groups in general, notably that of Harsanyi, 1962; not to mention the contributions of game theory, beginning with von Neumann and Morgenstern, 1947. What is often inconvenient is that, when the focus is on closed groups, the all-important effect of access to other markets cannot be estimated. The literature is also



rife with research contributions in which leadership is the independent variable and at which the sociodynamicist is bound to look askance. Since need satisfaction and social intercourse are purposive, it is perplexing that the basic function of a group in terms of its *raison d'être*, the relevance of which Fiedler (1965) demonstrated, has not received the attention it would seem to merit. Even a superficial glance at two types of group, *coterie* and task force suggests fundamental differences. The mission of a *coterie* implies internal reciprocity; it is purely a market place. Birds of a feather flock together, and it will tend to be relatively homogeneous, display shifting alliances, and favor interfluence. The mission of a task group, contrarywise, implies integration. It will tend to be symbiotic in constitution, and, therefore, display a definite configuration, require coordination, and be conducive to asymmetric power. Since face-to-face groups are numerically circumscribed and effective, pivotal power is more likely to emerge continually when they are odd-numbered; a symbiotic group, limited in size and odd in numbers, should facilitate task leadership. Similarly, it is possible that *coteries* may, for that very reason, be inclined to produce isolates if there are odd numbers. Inevitably, of course, one thing leads to another, and groups may come to serve multiple purposes, thus posing a leadership dilemma. "The real leader is strategic. He is full of contradictions since he acts and reacts in the light of all the circumstances . . . he must be capable of being many things to many people in many situations" (Hardwick and Landuyt, 1966). Inconsistency carried that far is unlikely to be more rewarding than the adoption of the one best style. The leader may fare better if he suits his approach to the context but keeps inconsistency within limits. If we extend the discussion to include one more variant, the pressure group, in which, irrespective of personality and *modus operandi*, the ultimate leadership requirement is aspirational congruence, and conceive of all the three basic variants existing in combination, we are face to face with the restrictive, normative task group of industrial infamy. Leadership ambivalence is then *ipso facto* so pronounced that it may

become impractical to be all things to all men, and a duality of leadership may be inevitable. The military have long realized this. Officers and non-commissioned officers can be found to complement one another so that one acts as the disciplinarian and relieves the other from the necessity of assuming the role of the martinet. It has been pointed out that a similar relationship exists between naval captains and their executive officers (Rice, 1963). Taylor (1911) was misled by the monocratic appearance of the apparatus but, if he appeared to go overboard in his advocacy of multiple leadership, it was for unrelated reasons.

#### DEFINITIONS

Some definitions are now presented in retrospect.

1. Sociomotive power is the capacity, latent or applied, to affect the behavior of others, or of the self in the presence of such power exerted by others.
2. Latent sociomotive power is the social potential of one or more in any context and is a curvilinear function, respectively direct and inverse, of the demand for, and supply of, scarce resources unlimited in kind perceived by others as assets or liabilities in algebraic sum, as amplified or attenuated by their complementarity.
3. Compatibility is the degree in which the aspirations of two or more are potentially capable of reciprocal satisfaction in both breadth and depth.
4. Reciprocity is the ongoing process of exchange or barter of resources, or satisfactions derived from resources, on a voluntary basis.
5. Social efficacy is the ratio of the individual's involvement to his latent sociomotive power in the total social context accessible to him.
6. Social involvement is the sum-total of individual involvements in any context.
7. Extant sociomotive power is that portion of latent sociomotive power as is accessible in the here and now, plus any in the beyond which is perceived and recognized to be relevant by those involved in the here and now.
8. Pivotal power is an eventuality contingent on extant multilateral powers being both in conflict and in disequilibrium.
9. Manipulation is a process of coercion and, when unilateral, is contingent on pivotal power.
10. Compromise is the process of multilateral coercion.

11. Integration is a process of collusion aimed at satisfying conflicting aspirations from resources exogenous to those involved.
12. Interfluence is (a) an interaction process contingent on multilateral power being in accord, (b) normative when behavior is governed by common norms, and (c) coincidental when behavior is governed by common wants.
13. Authority is ceded sociomotive power and is thus derived from personal, social or societal sanction and no other resource.

#### CONCLUSION: THE ARITHMETIC OF POWER

Undeniably, "scientists have not yet formulated a statement of the concept of power that is rigorous enough to be of use in the systematic study of this important social phenomenon" (Dahl, 1957). It has been proposed here that social power stems from the ability to supply satisfactions derived from scarce resources which are in demand by others; that it is a measure of the reciprocity and complementarity of these and the extent to which they are concentrated and diffused; that it calls for personal intervention with respect to both resources and to others; and that it is thus limited in space-time. The relationships have been expressed verbally although they are readily reduced to equations; for, to the extent the existence and value of resources are subjectively determined, these resources are not measurable quantities. Past attempts at measurement have therefore concentrated on effect rather than cause and were bereft of comparability. Sociometry is a quantitative technique of this sort and, valuable as it is, it tends to suffer from additional shortcomings. Interaction is of many kinds and cannot be measured by a single mode of communication. There may be a greater content in the tacit intimacy of a mutual awareness impervious even to the skilled observer, the pregnant glance which is not intercepted, than there may be in ceaseless chatter. Above all, what determines power is situational value in the aggregate, not just affective value; so that in any setting other than the unadulterated *coterie*, if not every setting, it is respect, not popularity, that marks the potent sociodynamo. A diametrically opposite tack is followed in psychological value tests, which may be regarded as indices of an individual's predilection for a variety of specific resources. The difficulty which is ex-

perienced by subjects in choosing between the alternatives presented in such tests, the reaction that "it all depends," is inevitable since the evaluation of resources is divorced from the context.

Only when an objective yardstick is available and competing resources are considered in their context is the arithmetic of power readily applied. Tomes have been devoted, for example, to the intricacies of plant location. It is suggested, in humility, that the essentials may well be capable of embodiment in a simple formula. If there are legal constraints, or an essential intake or output resource whose location is geographically fixed, there is a totally restricted market as between organizational resources, and there will be an exercise of *force majeure*. A mine and a lease on a location suitable for a supermarket are respective examples. If there is more than one critical intake or output resource, mediation is in order and marginal value will prove decisive. Thus, the meat packing industry in the United States moved farther west as refrigerated transport rendered proximity to eastern consumer markets less valuable than proximity to western points of supply of livestock on the hoof. When there are no critical intake and output resources in the offing, enterprises will tend to congregate in order to generate them for one another—as do individuals. Thus the growth of urban centers to the point of near-suffocation.

The discussion has ranged far afield. Searching analysis of sociomotive power makes for the obloquy of brevity, may yet bring forth, in time, a veritable cataract of serendipity. Why is this so? Thirty years before this writing, Bertrand Russell (1938) stated unequivocally that "the fundamental concept in social science is Power, in the same sense in which Energy is the fundamental concept in physics." The *Leitmotiv* of this exposition echoes those words. Wherever there is social behavior, there is also sociomotive power, and such behavior is regulated by its fundamentals, which remain immutable.

If this be the First Law of Sociodynamics, then the Second surely is that sociomotive power is a dynamic function of resources in supply and in demand as concentrated and diffused in space-time.

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## REVIEW SYMPOSIUM

### INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS AND THE MODERNIZATION OF SOCIETIES: THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL GOALS AND ATTITUDES, by J. P. Nettl and Roland Robertson. New York: Basic Books, 1968. 216 pp. \$5.95.

This thoughtful little volume contains three separate, although related, essays on the modernization of nations and their interaction in an international system. The essay on "Modernization, Industrialization, or Development?" sets out to give separate and distinct meanings to these familiar terms. The essay on "The Inheritance Situation" develops an analogy between the inheritance of private property and the process of decolonialization, with the former colony as beneficiary and the former colonial power as benefactor. The final essay discusses contemporary international relations, and considers whether they constitute an integrated social system whose actors are nations.

I think it is fair to say that the principal purpose of the authors was to impose a sociological perspective on a branch of social science which is still dominated by economic concepts, despite the important work of Bendix, Coleman, Davison, Eisenstadt, Etzioni, Goode, Horowitz, Lerner, Levy, Lipset, Roth, Singer, Smelser, and other sociologists. Throughout this work, the frame-of-reference takes precedence over substantive problems. "There is no doubt," the authors remark, "that a sociological or system approach to international phenomena is in itself desirable regardless of any particular or precise set of empirical problems" (p. 137).

No sociologist is likely to quarrel with the sentiment that modernization is too important a topic to be left to economists, and one cannot but admire the way Nettl and Robertson demonstrate the relevance of a great many sociological concepts, drawn primarily but not exclusively from Parsons' theory of action, to the analysis of international phenomena.

A prospectus of this kind is always useful, if only because it provides ready-made theoretical models for investigators who start with empirical problems and need to formulate them in more general terms. The usefulness of such a model may be impossible to determine before it has been tried out on an empirical problem. The analogy of decolonialization and legal inheritance is a case in point. Like most analogies, it does not fit perfectly. The labels attached to the two primary roles, benefactor and beneficiary, ring a little false in a situation

whose major theme is the denial by the beneficiaries that any benefaction has occurred. On the other hand, the application of this model to post-colonial situations elicits many interesting observations and suppositions, such as the proposition that a single dominant party may be necessary in new nations to enable national leaders to escape the constraints of the laws they themselves have enacted to negate the benefactor's laws. The test of such a pudding is in the eating. Until the model has been tested in connection with empirical research one can do little with it but wish the authors well.

The case is different when a theoretical model includes statements of empirical fact among its basic postulates. This is true, I believe, of the model of modernization presented in the first of these essays, and because the facts stated—or misstated—are of such capital importance, the remainder of this review will be devoted to the first essay, and to its assertion that "The ability to acquire and possess technological objects is no longer tied to any capacity to produce them" (p. 53).

This statement is not a careless *obiter dictum*, but the heart of the authors' argument. They distinguish modernization, industrialization, and development as separate processes on the grounds that they are not necessarily interdependent. Industrialization—described as the changeover from either agricultural or domestic activities to factory production on a growing scale—is characterized as only one of several optional strategies for reaching modernity. The authors also remark in passing that there may be no necessary connection between industrialization and urbanization: "The Chinese case may well turn out to be a crucial test of the extent to which a non-urban form of industrialization, based on the countryside, can or cannot succeed" (p. 40).

Modernization they define as the process whereby a national elite attempts to improve the status of its nation relative to others. This effort, say Nettl and Robertson, may take many different forms. They spurn the concept of progress as crudely ideological and, believing modernity to be a subjective condition, do not think it can be measured by objective indicators.

Development is then redefined as the capacity of a society to respond positively to changes in its environment. This redefinition breaks the link between development and industrialization entirely. Indonesia would thus rate higher than India with respect to development because its recent conflicts have concerned development policies. Another interesting consequence is that the concept of development becomes applicable to entirely non-modern societies. In a long footnote the authors assess the relative development of Athens and Sparta in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. The denial that modernization has any connection with the European intellectual tradition is carried right back to the origins of that tradition. We learn that, contrary to the prejudice of historians, Sparta was more developed than Athens because its social system was appropriate to its goals, while Athens tried to combine imperialism abroad with democracy at home (fnt., p. 58).

It is not easy to isolate the empirical components of these arguments, but when Nettl and Robertson's frequent references to "multiple modernities" are juxtaposed with their claim that the acquisition and possession of technological objects no longer depends on the capacity to produce such objects, I think they are saying (a) that there is no pattern of modernization or sequence of developmental stages that all nations must follow, and (b) that neither a nation's status in the international system nor its ability to adapt to its environment depend upon its technological level.

The concept of a single pattern of modernization which all developing countries must follow has seldom been so flatly challenged since Marx wrote in the introduction to *Capital*: "The country that is more developed industrially only shows to the less developed the image of its own future." A century after those words were written, the wave of modernization had widened to encompass the entire globe. So far as can be determined by such statistical measures as energy consumption and volume of manufactured products, there is no sizeable country in the world that has not had a significant increase in industrialization since 1950, as shown by large increases in per capita manufactures and in the per capita supply of mechanical energy. The justification for considering this as a single process and for supposing that industrialization, urbanization, modernization, and development are different aspects of that process is that the intercorrelations of all the objective indicators we can find for these phenomena are remarkably high. Taking the latest figures available, as of 1964, for 66 of the 68 countries of the world with populations over five million, the per capita supply of mechanical

energy (the simplest index of industrialization) correlates over 0.8 with the proportion of the population urbanized, the proportion of adults literate, the proportion of the school-age population in school, the per capita volume of communications, the average life expectancy, the per capita availability of medical care and many similar indicators (*A Matrix of Modernization*, Columbia University, Bureau of Applied Social Research, 1964). The per capita availability of such amenities as hospital beds, library books, telephones, and high-protein diets is closely correlated with all the available measures of either industrialization or urbanization. If the increasing availability of such benefits in a developing nation does not represent a positive response to the environment, then the new definition of development proposed by Nettl and Robertson has little to do with the welfare of individuals.

Perhaps they have military and diplomatic power in mind when they speak of national status and positive responses to the environment. Here the problems of measurement become a little more complicated, but the factual outlines are reasonably clear. If we measure the military power of a nation by its gross military expenditures, or its diplomatic influence by the number of representatives and agencies it maintains abroad, we find that national power is largely determined by the joint effects of national size and level of development (in the conventional sense). In a recent study by Henry Barbera these two factors alone accounted for 75% of the variance in national power. On the other hand, there is no appreciable correlation between national size (measured by population, area, or both) and level of development (measured by any of the conventional indicators).

The absence of correlation between national size and level of development is, of course, the fundamental source of rank-disequilibrium in the contemporary international system. The most powerful nations are large and highly developed. The weakest nations are small and underdeveloped. In the range between there is no coherent relationship between a nation's military and diplomatic power and its "status" on the development ladder.

The rank order of national development is not readily susceptible to change. The worldwide complaint that the rich countries are getting richer and the poor countries poorer is not supported, as far as I can tell, by a shred of objective evidence. All the world's countries are getting richer, and rather rapidly, too. But a poor country has very little hope of catching up with a rich country. The rank order of development is astonishingly stable; just how

stable is only now becoming apparent as reasonably long-term time-series begin to be available for various development indicators, which have been recorded annually in many countries only since World War II.

The sole development indicator that can be carried back beyond World War I for a considerable number of countries is the number of telephones per capita. Its correlation with the per capita supply of energy is over 0.9, and because of inherent factors in the operation of a telephone network, national statistics are likely to be fairly trustworthy as far back as they go. It is interesting to compare the rank order of countries by their number of telephones per capita at two dates nearly half a century apart. The leading countries of 1967 were the same as those of 1911 and their rank

there is no real prospect of international equalization. Once a pound of refined metal enters the economy of a developed country it circulates there indefinitely, with negligible loss, with a mean cycle of only about 22 years between fabrications (R. B. Fuller's *Inventory of World Resources*, Southern Illinois University, Document 1, 1963). New metal is meanwhile being added to the circulating supply every day. To catch up, the developing country must add metal—and everything else—to its system at a faster per capita rate, although its productive capacity is lower. The same reasoning applies to the intangible resources of a national system, like education and industrial skill.

There are shortcuts, of course. It has often been pointed out that a developing country can

| January 1, 1911 | Telephones<br>per 100<br>population | January 1, 1967     | Telephones<br>per 100<br>population |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| U.S.            | 8.7                                 | U.S.                | 49.9                                |
| Canada          | 3.7                                 | Sweden              | 47.9                                |
| Sweden          | 3.4                                 | Switzerland         | 39.2                                |
| Switzerland     | 2.1                                 | Canada              | 38.9                                |
| German Empire   | 1.6                                 | Great Britain       | 20.7                                |
| Great Britain   | 1.4                                 | Netherlands         | 20.1                                |
| Netherlands     | 1.1                                 | Belgium             | 17.4                                |
| Belgium         | 0.6                                 | Japan               | 16.1                                |
| France          | 0.6                                 | Germany (Fed. Rep.) | 15.9                                |
| Austria         | 0.4                                 | Austria             | 14.9                                |
| Japan           | 0.3                                 | France              | 13.2                                |

(American Telephone and Telegraph Company, *Telephone Statistics of the World*, May 1912, and *The World's Telephones*, December 1967. Nations of less than five million at either date are excluded.)

order changed very little, despite all the diverse historical experience that intervened between those two dates.

It is relatively easy to mount the ladder of development; no sizeable country in the world is failing to do so. But it is very difficult to pass one's neighbor on the next higher rung, if only because he must be overtaken on twenty fronts at once. The abolition of illiteracy in Ruritania is a long step forward in modernization and it raises the educational level of Ruritania, let us say, to that of Switzerland in 1870. By the time the Ruritani-ans cover the remaining distance, the Swiss, barring a cessation of their development, will have moved far ahead again. The point is too obvious to belabor, but it is often overlooked and Nettl and Robertson seem never to have confronted it. To make the achievement of *equality* with more advanced nations the test of modernization, as they want to do, is to perpetrate a kind of practical joke on the underdeveloped countries. Although there is every prospect of universal development,

borrow a finished technology instead of having to invent it all over again. A few technologies—malaria control and civil aviation, for example—can be introduced anywhere without much regard to local conditions, but these are exceptional cases, in that the facilities they require are relatively inexpensive and only a handful of technicians need to be trained.

It is doubtful whether the problem of international equalization can be solved at all within the present system of nation-states, but that system was not made in heaven and is not eternal. As Nettl and Robertson remind us, it was invented in Europe and exported to the rest of the world during the colonial era. Recent history forbids us to regard it as an adequate structure for the maintenance of global order and the further progress of mankind.

The worldwide process of modernization (or development or industrialization) is proceeding at such a pace that it cannot easily be visualized. According to the United Nations there were 29

cities or urban agglomerations with populations of over 1 million in 1950; the number grew to 126 by 1967 (*Demographic Yearbook of the United Nations*, 1957 and 1967)! To bring this enormous phenomenon within the reach of sociological analysis calls less for subtle and abstract theories than for simple theories that tell us how to select and arrange enough factual data to make the emerging world-pattern intelligible.

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For the past two and one half decades, the social sciences have been increasingly concerned with the changes that are either taking place or are being attempted in the mixed bag of societies called the third world. During this period, too many of our concepts have proved quite irrelevant, too many of our predictions have proved quite wrong. The problem for the social sciences is: wherein lies the sources of irrelevance and error?

This book addresses these issues and presents some reconceptualizations as the beginnings of a solution to the problems of error and irrelevance. The suggested conceptual schemes emphasize two themes. First, Nettl and Robertson attempt to employ and rely on what they term sociological variables, by which they mean variables that are either valuational or orientational or both—e.g., reference group, aspirations, role-taking, and national values. Second, the unit of analysis is the nation-state as actor within an international social system, which they argue is an increasingly important field of action and determinant of national behavior.

Unfortunately the sociology involved here is hardly new. Rather, their scheme is derived from a modification (which consists of asserting the primacy of the goal-attainment subsystem) of structural-functional analysis, especially the theory of differentiation as developed by Parsons and his associates. When applied to the international scene, this approach generates an analytic framework that is almost totally concerned with the presumed orientations and valuations of internationally visible political elites, treated as more or less accurate indices of the valuations and orientations of the populations of nations.

I fail to see how either their concepts or their unit of analysis increases relevance or reduces error. This is especially crucial since nowhere in the three essays that constitute this book is there any effort to generate systematic and pertinent evidence. Indeed, the book consists in my

judgment of 70% rhetoric (some of which is quite turgidly presented), 20% testimonials from the extant literature or from descriptive accounts of current events, and 10% naked speculation.

Their first essay is a reconceptualization of "modernization" in order to differentiate the term from the related concepts of economic development and industrialization. The essay begins by rejecting what they assert to be the economic error of the past: the primacy of economists and economic doctrine in influencing policy towards and within third world societies. This section also includes a critique of structural-functional theory for being not only too abstract and too vague (p. 33), but also for being too economic (pp. 34-35) and too ethnocentric (pp. 32 & 39). Nevertheless, Nettl and Robertson use a derived version of the same scheme, both in this essay (p. 39) and quite extensively in the second and third essays.

Their own conception of modernization is related to goals that national elites learn and presumably adopt through interaction within the international system. Thus, modernization is the "process whereby national elites seek successfully to reduce their *atimic* status and move towards equivalence with other 'well-placed' nations" (pp. 56-57). Their quite relativistic concept has to do with the socialization of elites into the "international culture" (p. 52).

The great problem with the utility of this conception is that it focuses primarily on what the elites learn to desire on the international scene, rather than on what the relevant populations are likely to do or are even capable of doing. Nettl and Robertson do pay obeisance to the latter point in qualifying phrases and footnotes, but they provide no analysis of this source of change. Even the elites involved are those who are visible on the international scene. The ability of this segment of political elites to wield effective power within their societies is surely problematic.

The second essay, "The Inheritance Situation," attends to the interaction between the colonial power and incoming national elites during the transfer (inheritance) of power from the former to the latter. The mode of inheritance (e.g., whether graceful or grudging) and the attitude of the inheritors (e.g., whether reformist or revolutionary) begin a dynamic which, it is asserted, greatly influences national goals and aspirations. The model quite closely follows the analogue of legal inheritance, and presumably represents a concrete kind of international interaction.

This essay is easily the most valuable. The inheritance analogy generates a number of interesting *aperçus*. A good example is the discussion of the dynamics of dissociation between



benefactor and inheritor on pp. 110-111. The essay also introduces and attempts to employ a number of distinctive sociological concepts, including reference group, relative deprivation, role-taking, the hierarchy of norms, and goals and values *à la* Parsons. These concepts are used in an attempt to analyze how inheriting elites will behave. Unfortunately, this kind of sociological analysis too often generates both disguised guesses and pretentious description. The former is illustrated by a statement that follows a description of the change in Nkrumah from an apparent reformist to a more revolutionary perspective: "This may in turn have influenced Sekou Touré to move in a more revolutionary direction at the later moment of his inheritance" (p. 104). Now this is pure speculation presented as support for the utility of a conceptual scheme. It is a guess disguised as possible evidence.

The problem of pretentious discription—*i.e.*, current events presented as findings—is most notable in verb forms. The writing is full of such statements as "we suggest this means," "there appears to be," "this may have led . . .," etc. What this amounts to is an attempt to connect an event with a conceptual scheme; to transform description into analysis.

The third essay outlines a model of international affairs as a social system, with nation-states as actors. The model is the Parsonian scheme "rotated 45 degrees" (whatever that means) so as to give primacy to the goal-attainment subsystem. Perhaps because of redundancy, the final essay seemed to me vacuous.

There is an especially noteworthy assertion on page 167 that the United States has been relatively successful in sponsoring a division of roles by nations within the Latin American Hemisphere, for which Nettl and Robertson provide neither evidence nor citation. I could go on, in this highly critical vein, but perhaps the above is enough.

In conclusion, we have here a type of sociological writing that is becoming all too popular. It amounts to the liberation of sociological analysis from data. Theoretically it shows up in books like this, wherein analogies are invented, schemes are designed, agendas drawn up, all of which are related to human experience by coincidence at best! Empirically it shows up in the increasingly popular analysis based upon artifacts such as world data banks, wherein numbers known to be errorful and even mythical are given spurious labels and then subject to complicated analysis. The common theme is the faith that conceptual complexity and statistical manipulation can transform no data into findings or bad data into good. I know of no way to introduce facts into data unless they are already contained in the original observations. Nor do I

know of any way in which conceptual schemes by themselves can create findings. I trust we will eventually admit to these methodological principles, rather than treating them as a scandal to be discreetly hidden from view.

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Every field has its own jargon. This is as true in political science as it is in sociology. As long as one stays within the field, jargon can be an aid in communication. The difficulty comes when one field attempts to communicate with another. Frequently the concepts are so embedded in one's way of thinking that they are not even recognized as jargon. Consequently, no attempt is made to define terms. This is the problem with Nettl and Robertson's book. Although one writer is an historian, the intellectual roots of the three essays that compose the volume are firmly in the sociological structural-functional literature. Thus it is an unfortunate fact that this book cannot be meaningfully read without some familiarity with that literature. I consider this a critical flaw, for the ideas being presented here are undoubtedly more germane to a wide audience of political scientists than they probably will be to the general sociologist. How is a political scientist with little or no training in sociology and, I might add, a limited amount of time and patience, to comprehend the following:

The central point is the extent to which strata qua strata can genuinely be conceived of as having generalized system roles. Since strata could only manifest such characteristics to the extent to which they were rigidly multibonded and equidistant from each other on all rank dimensions, it would seem that class or status groupings cannot possess any meaningfully specific, yet generalized, position in any system which is highly differentiated with respect to the possible bonds (e.g. political, economic). Moreover, such a 'theorem' implies that structural (i.e. horizontal) differentiation frequently possesses primacy with respect to class stratification. (p. 169)

Or consider:

One major aspect of structural differentiation involves the specification and separation of social activities relative to the four functional imperatives. [Note: these are never explicitly identified.] In this sense structural differentiation refers primarily to differentiation at the level of institutional sectors, which involves a situational recognition of—and/or the making of appropriate provision for—the relatively separate and specialized fulfillment of imperatives in the system in question. (p. 168)

When one is forced to work so hard to translate jargon into English it is reasonable to ask

whether the ideas are of sufficient merit to make the exercise profitable. This is obviously a question best left to the reader after he assesses, from his vantage point, the value of the ideas as summarized below. I would simply caution my political science colleagues to read Parsons first.

The first essay devotes its attention to three concepts: modernization, industrialization, and development. The authors feel that all three terms have been used too carelessly and so they suggest new, somewhat more restricted definitions. *Industrialization* is "... the process which involves a changeover from either agricultural or domestic activity to factory production on a growing scale" (p. 40); *modernization*, or "the drive towards modernity, implies the motivation to reach equivalence in rank by any participant . . . (in the international system) vis-a-vis other participants" (p. 52); and *development* should be invoked "... to refer to the capacity of a society to respond positively to changes in its material and sociocultural environment" (p. 57). In addition to the construction of definitions in this essay, a second and more important concern also emerges: modernization, or the drive towards modernity, is taken as the principal focus of interest. If the drive towards modernity means that a state is attempting to reach a position of equivalence with some other state in the system, then the concept of modernization carries an implicit but quite significant theory about the growth of an international system. The desire of state X to emulate state Y makes it necessary to explain why X chose Y as its model. The explanation of the choice, suggest the authors, lies in the internalization by all the states in the system of the same basic goals. From this it follows that perhaps for the first time in history, an international system has a common value structure generally recognized by all its members. Two questions thus become relevant: First, why has this phenomenon occurred? What has happened in the contemporary world to make states want to structure their internal goals to correspond with the goals of certain other states? And second, what does this development portend for the future of the system? Does a common value structure provide a basis for the development of an international society? Unfortunately, these questions are not considered in the first essay. They do play a role in the third essay, but that analysis has other problems to be discussed below.

The second essay describes what is called the "inheritance situation." This is a discussion of the transition between Colonialism and the emergence of the independent Third World. The authors cast the transitional process in the legal terminology of an inheritance situation: an in-

dividual dies (the Colonial power must physically leave), a will has been left designating the distribution of the properties of the deceased (some form of constitution), and the beneficiary then takes over his newly acquired holdings (the emergence of a new state). The essay shows how this analogy, or model, not only fits but seems to make sense out of the behavior of the various concerned parties. Thus, for example, rival internal groups, like the quarreling nieces and nephews of the deceased, all attempt to grab the inheritance for themselves.

The theme of the third essay came as a surprise. I suppose when writers indicate in a preface that the volume is a series of essays, one ought not to expect any continuity from one chapter to the next. Nevertheless, the switch that took place between the first and third essay caught me off guard and it was necessary to read the chapter several times over to determine its main thesis. Following the thread of the first essay one might have thought that a discussion of "Modernization and International Systems" would develop the theory sketched in the first chapter of how modernization—the parallel formation of national goals—affects the structure of the international system. The thesis of the third essay, however, is actually the inverse of the first. As the authors express it, their purpose is an investigation of the "... malleability of societal goals in respect of international constraints . . ." (p. 132), *i.e.*, a discussion of *how the international system limits the formation of national goals*. This focus, of course, carries with it certain logical problems. Since the authors have already maintained that the international system has developed as a function of the adoption of similar goals by the states, *i.e.*, is a product of the goals of the states, then unless "international system" can be more broadly defined, a discussion of how the system influences state goals is circular and meaningless. So the authors contemplate the term "international system." Four models or definitions of an international system are reviewed, but each is found wanting on one or more basic points. Consequently, the authors turn to their own formulation. This, of course, is the critical juncture of the essay, but the confusion that has been building throughout the essay as a result of its heavy use of Parsonian jargon completely obscured—at least for this political scientist—the remainder of the essay. How is one to interpret: "The proposition has been advanced that system formation is at its smoothest and most successful when the structural provisions in respect of the four principal functional imperatives are met in the order L, I, G, A, or A, G, I, L." What are L, I, G, and A, structural provisions, functional imperatives? Later on in the paragraph

the authors make the following statement which might be interpreted as a definition of the above symbols but is certainly never explicitly so identified: "From being embedded in pattern-maintenance and tension-management structures (L), other more specialized structural forms become separated out relative to integrative functions (I) then political functions (G) and finally adaptive (principally economic) functions (A) as the social system 'develops'." Since these terms are the backbone of the new model, the subsequent discussion along with its intriguing but equally mysterious figures (I thought only political scientists loved black boxes) was meaningless.

While the communication problem is far and away the most serious problem of the book, another issue also troubled me. It is clear that these writers have read in the literature of international politics. Even more commendable, and actually somewhat surprising considering that these are British writers, they are familiar with some of the recent quantitative and behavioral research in the field. What is puzzling, however, is their perception of how this literature fits into their discussion. Let me cite two examples.

Throughout all three essays there is but one reference to Morton Kaplan's *System and Process in International Politics*. Although the reference occurs in the third essay it is only used to show that Kaplan believes that the international system has no political structure. The authors apparently failed to see that most of Kaplan's analysis complements the very theme stated in that third essay, *i.e.*, the constraints that international systems place on the actions of the state members. Kaplan is analyzing how the decision making process of states is affected by the international setting; Nettl and Robertson are interested in the effects of the system on goal formulation. The parallel seems striking and it would have been instructive if Nettl and Robertson had commented on Kaplan's analysis in this regard.

In a latter portion of the third essay Rudolph Rummel's field theory is discussed.<sup>1</sup> The authors

perceive that one difference between their formulations and Rummel's is that Rummel concentrates on the *attributes* of states (*e.g.*, economic status) while they believe that the focus should be on the *perceptions* of states (how one state views another). This interpretation of Rummel is not altogether correct. As I have understood Rummel's field theory it is completely general. It proposes that "distances" between two states on various attribute dimensions (*i.e.*, how similar or dissimilar two states are on a given attribute) will allow one to predict how the two states will behave towards each other. An "attribute" can be anything, including the perceptions that states have of the international system. While some of the tests of the field theory published to date have emphasized the non-perceptual factors, this should not be construed as a limitation of the theory. But the more surprising feature of this reference to Rummel is that the authors do not seem to recognize that Rummel's interests are the reverse of their own. Rummel's concern is with how the states affect the system, if we define system as the interactions between the states. Nettl and Robertson indicate as the main concern of the third essay the investigation of how the system affects the states. The reference to Rummel's work, therefore, seems more appropriate to the first essay.

What contribution, then, have these writers made to the international politics literature? There appear to be principally three. The first is their analysis of the concepts of modernization, industrialization, development and inheritance. The second is the theory implicit in their new definition of modernization which implies, though it is never fully developed, that the process of modernization creates a more unified and structurally coherent international system. The third contribution is a redirection of emphasis. Most of the literature in international politics has analyzed the relationship of *states to the system*, in that order. With the exception of Kaplan, there is almost no consideration of the reverse relationship—how the system influences the states. Clearly this is a significant gap in the literature, and Nettl's and Robertson's attempt to fill it is noteworthy. It is all the more unfortunate, therefore, that their discussion is clouded by such severe terminological difficulties.

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<sup>1</sup> Rudolph J. Rummel, "A Social Field Theory of Foreign Conflict Behavior," *Peace Research Society: Papers*, IV Cracow Conference, 1965; and "A Field Theory of Social Action with Application to Conflict within Nations," *General Systems: Year Book of the Society of General Systems*, Vol. 10, 1965.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Sociological Task*, by HAROLD FALDING.  
Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968.  
141 pp. \$5.25.

As the amount of sociological data increases, so does the demand for a body of explanatory theory to give it meaning and coherence. The central argument of this book is that contemporary general theory in sociology is chiefly an exercise in the formation and assemblage of conceptual schemes and, to the extent that it makes no propositions concerning relationships among variables, is largely sterile. Professor Falding does not suggest, however, that grand theory is therefore useless. It continues to be necessary as long as it plays an exploratory role in sociological research and provides a perspective for viewing the whole range of disparate special theories. Instead, he proposes to translate the concepts of analytical theory into those of explanatory theory by refining them and tracing their interrelatedness.

The task of sociology is to explain, and explanation basically refers to a relationship in which variation in the first factor is said to be a cause of variation in the second. Although more complex, multivariate techniques complicate the picture, all explanations are essentially conjunctions of this simple case. As all explanations involve measurement, however crude, of variable relationships, the sociologist must know what to measure as well as how to measure it. Falding's goal is to identify the dimensions inherent in society as a dynamic process.

The assumption underlying his model of the social system is that "in generating social organization and a culture to protect it, societies and their component subgroups are always striving, consciously or unconsciously, for specifiable qualities of corporate life that may or may not be attained. To measure the degree of attainment is to make objective scientific measurement of the dimensions intrinsic in human association . . ." (p. 76). This commitment to functionalism is based on the conviction that all measurement involves prior evaluation through classification and that objective evaluation in sociology must be in functionalist terms, that is, judgments concerning the extent to which social practices have effect which are valuable in terms of the needs of man in society.

"To evaluate systems is to have appropriated the dimensions for measuring them" (p. 83).

In this view, the criticism that functionalism introduces spurious value judgements is quite correctly seen as redundant. It is recognized that functionalist statements are meaningless unless they specify for whom—the society, a group, or an individual—any given social practices are said to be functional and what individual need or state of the whole is involved. This particular problem is overcome by the notion of functional imperatives developed by Parsons and applied with little modification by Falding to the social system and, employing a new set of categories, to the cultural system.

Culture is defined narrowly as "an assemblage of symbols whereby men represent their action in the world to themselves . . ." (p. 89). Culture, as a symbol system, has four functional imperatives or "states that have to be realized for them to be effective" (p. 80): (a) norm sufficiency—the extent to which there are enough norms to regulate social life; (b) norm attraction—the extent to which norms cohere and are integrated in a meaningful way; (c) norm consistency—the extent to which there is normative consensus; and (d) norm appositeness to needs—the extent to which norms and values orient action in directions that satisfies men's needs.

The functional imperatives of the social system represent a reclassification of the problems outlined by Parsons: (a) adaptation—the extent to which the system adapts to change; (b) stability—the extent to which lasting support for the system is motivated; (c) integration—the extent to which the elements of society are compatible and co-ordinated; and (d) satisfaction—the extent to which man's basic needs are satisfied. No claim is made that either cultural or social systems ever satisfy their requirements along any of these dimensions or that social systems are inherently static. Indeed, both frustration of functional requirements and the need for change are built into the model.

By virtue of his inclusion of the cultural system, Falding, with greater justification than Parsons, claims comprehensiveness for his model of the functional dimensions of society. And yet, by extending the scheme to embrace symbol systems, he takes with him problems already raised in this type of analysis at the social level. He gives no criteria for selecting these imperatives and not others. He suggests no test to demonstrate that they are exhaustive. Nor does he, as Parsons would, extend the

scheme to consider the extent to which appropriate norms and values cluster around these imperatives—as when, at the societal level, interdependent roles emerge that are specialized in the performance of one or more of the imperative functions.

At the social level, although Fallding's model takes greater cognizance of the dialectical nature of society, it does not demonstrate its superiority to Parsons' model in hypothesis formation. Such questions as "Is improved adaptation associated with either loss or gain in stability?" or "Is secularization associated with either adaptation or maladaptation?" have surely already been raised in terms of the Parsons scheme.

Whatever its shortcomings (and these will only become really apparent when some attempt is made to apply the model rather than selected illustrative examples), the issues raised by the model are important. It points to greater unity of the social sciences through the use of a social system approach and yet emphasizes the autonomy of sociology in dealing with distinct properties; it underlines the significance of model construction in theory formation; and it goes a long way toward rehabilitating functionalism as a legitimate perspective in sociology. Each of these topics is dealt with clearly and instructively, making the book useful and stimulating even for those who cannot accept the implications of the proposed model.

JOHN WILSON

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*Ideology and the Development of Sociological Theory*, by IRVING M. ZEITLIN. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968. 326 pp. \$6.95.

The history of sociological theory is a tricky thing, and is apparently getting trickier all the time. For Irving Zeitlin, Karl Marx is the great pivot around which the whole creation moves. Indeed, all pre-Marxian sociology leads up to Marx and all post-Marxian sociology is a "debate with Marx's ghost." In both his Preface and Epilogue the author throws down the gauntlet: Try to find an equal number of sociologists who have not participated in this debate, and then ask whether their sociology is of better, equal, or worse quality. Zeitlin's answer is clear: "Without the debate between Marx and his critics, sociological thinking would be so greatly impoverished as to be reduced to an ineffectual state."

One may make a number of responses to this challenge. Before doing so, however, it is appropriate to indicate the thinkers to whom Zeitlin gives major attention. They are (1) pre-

Marx: Montesquieu, Rousseau, Hegel, de Bonald, de Maistre, Saint-Simon, and Comte, and (2) post-Marx: Weber, Pareto, Mosca, Michels, Durkheim, and Mannheim. There is, in addition, an extensive treatment of Marx himself. The method is largely expository—much of it, it must be said, being exposition for its own sake with no particular reference to Marx. This is especially the case in the discussion of Durkheim.

The claim that without the debate with Marx sociological thinking would be poverty-stricken can only be regarded as extravagant. For much of current sociological theory, Marx is irrelevant. Neither the exchange theorists, the symbolic interactionists, nor the functionalists have much to say about Marx, and any claim that they are engaged in a dialogue with him would be dubious indeed. Merton's essays contain references to Marx, but they are rather fewer than the references to Lazarsfeld and Parsons. Parsons can appreciate the importance of Marx as well as anyone, but in *The Structure of Social Action* he receives far less attention than Alfred Marshall. Nisbet, who also regards Marx as a "towering figure," nevertheless believes that "In the long run the influence of Tocqueville on the sociological tradition has been greater." In another move in time we meet names like Znaniecki, MacIver, and Sorokin, and again we detect no echoes of a debate. (Sorokin's confrontation with Marx in *Contemporary Sociological Theories* is a demolition project, not a debate.) Timasheff grants almost three full pages to Marx. And although Harry Elmer Barnes' *Introduction to the History of Sociology* contains separate chapters on some 44 sociologists (including Benjamin Kidd) in Germany, France, Italy, Spain, England, and the United States, poor Karl is left out in the cold.

May we ask the author about Simmel and Tönnies? And what of the earlier Americans: Sumner, Ward, Cooley, and Giddings? They were talking to Spencer rather than to Marx, and if it is now inappropriate to write the history of sociology without mentioning Marx, it is an error of a more serious kind to ignore the social Darwinists. And where are the Marxians, pro or con, in the Chicago school? Finally, the claim that Weber, Pareto, and Durkheim in particular carried on a "debate with Marx's ghost" is again extravagant if it implies that none of these three, in the absence of a Marxian stimulus, would have produced their now classic treatises. All three were independent men, interested in issues of their own, and not merely responsive to a Marxian doctrine. For that matter, there are some 43 references to Spencer in Durkheim's *Division of Labor* and only one to Marx.

Let us therefore do as the author asks and find an equal number (6) of sociologists who have not participated in the Marxian debate. The task is easy: Sumner, Tönnies, Simmel, Cooley, Znaniecki, and Sorokin (I omit those still living)—and Durkheim really belongs in this list rather than in Zeitlin's. Has the work of these men "impoverished" sociology and reduced it to "an ineffectual state"?

Fortunately, the book has merits that are independent of its thesis. The author exhibits an impressive control of the literature, and provides an excellent exposition and a superior interpretation of the texts. Nor need he worry about Marx, since any good new treatise on the history of sociological theory will include a chapter on Marx. The author of that chapter, if he is wise, will rely heavily upon Zeitlin's earlier book entitled *Marxism: A Re-Examination*.

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*The Development of Lester Ward's World View*, by ALVIN F. NELSON. Fort Worth, Tex.: Branch-Smith, 1968. 67 pp. Paperbound. No price indicated.

In a compressed format, this book considers Ward as a philosopher of evolution. Professor Nelson traces the major shifts in Ward's philosophy, beginning with his basically Spencerian evolutionary formulation in the first volume of *Dynamic Sociology* (1876-1883). Under the influence of Kant's first *Critique*, Ward modified Spencer by emphasizing matter rather than force. Nelson notes that one odd result was that Ward anticipated some formulations of subatomic physics (p. 18, fn. 23), and also shows that Ward, despite the similarity of his evolutionary theory to Spencer's, consistently rejected the Spencerian idea of the eventual termination of evolution (p. 28).

Nelson then examines the period 1884-1892, when Ward's *Psychic Factors* presented radically new theories of substance and telism. "In place of the theory of evolution based upon a cosmic *nisus* and material moving particles, Ward held the theory that evolution was based upon a universal force . . .," i.e., the *Wille* of Schopenhauer. Thus Ward arrived at the theory of voluntarism that he elaborated in his later work (1893-1900).

Nelson next describes the development of Ward's voluntaristic positions during his last years, the period between *Outlines of Sociology* (1897) and *Pure Sociology* (2nd ed. 1913). Ward's philosophical position is characterized by Nelson as Neo-Hegelian, in which his earlier

materialistic thesis is opposed by the antithesis of the forces of moving bodies. In organic development, hereditary and variation are the antithetical forces. Nelson concludes that the discussion of love and spirituality in *Pure Sociology* is neither Marxian nor Hegelian, but an example of a philosophy of emergent evolutionism in which the emergents are in principle unpredictable.

In this brief work, Professor Nelson has surveyed a most complicated and difficult aspect of sociological theory—its epistemological assumptions and metaphysical postulates, and has made a solid contribution to the history of ideas. He has also filled in some of the more abstruse and abstract aspects of the history of sociology, for which this reviewer is grateful.

ISRAEL GERVER

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*Why Man Takes Chances: Studies in Stress-seeking*, edited by SAMUEL Z. KLAUSNER. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1968. 267 pp. Paperbound. \$1.45.

Where in contemporary social system theory is there room for the notion of man as a voluntary stress-seeker?

Nowhere. That is the answer and complaint of Samuel Klausner, who has put together a diverse and provocative collection of essays on stress-seeking. In essence, the complaint Klausner voices (echoed in various degrees by the other contributors) is that contemporary sociology has overlooked the true nature of man and has constructed a puppet that is isomorphic with the social system.

From Plato to modern times, every theory of society has been built upon a conception of man. Recent theorists, however, have reversed the process: they have constructed a theory of man based on their conception of society. If society moves toward equilibrium, it is assumed that man too moves toward equilibrium. Not only have contemporary theorists tailor-fitted their conception of man to meet social-system requirements, but in the process they have transformed man into an anemic, "milktoastish" creature.

Contemporary theorists conceive of "stress-seekers" as persons caught in the grip of a morbid, psycho-dynamic perversion. Trace the delinquency theories from Thrasher to Cohen to see the steady decline of the thrill-oriented motives for delinquency. In short, the normal man in sociological theory is not a stress-seeker. He is anemic—except when he is anomic.

Man, Klausner argues, is made of sterner

stuff. So, once again, we find the over-socialized conception of man under attack.

If the essays by Klausner and Jessie Bernard are reliable indicators, critique of the over-socialized conception of man is entering a new phase, emphasizing the biological. An important stimulus for this new wave of thinking is the recent emergence of ethnology; the sociologists in this symposium quote Lorenz enthusiastically. Thus stress-seeking, as in Lorenz's conception of aggression, is conceptualized as a "kind of voluntary tropistic behavior"—what Freud would call an "instinct," something lying between a biological drive and a psychological motive.

Despite the vagueness of stress-seeking imagery, Klausner, Bernard, and others argue that the concept of stress-seeking provides us with a rich, heuristic tool. By assuming the existence of an "instinctual" drive towards stress-seeking, sociologists can now direct their observations toward the social arrangements that constrain it.

This heuristic value, however, may be limited in an important way. If one begins—even hypothetically—with the notion that man's actions are irrational (that is, "instinctual"), one can easily overlook the irrational-producing elements anchored to specific structural arrangements. Perhaps the most characteristic feature of stress-seeking is its episodic nature. Thus the crucial analytic element involves the temporal arrangements of stress. These arrangements have been detailed by Simmel in his study of "adventure" and Goffman in his work on "action." Investigations into stress-seeking might fruitfully begin with these sources, rather than with a notion of man's "instinctual" endowments.

But what remains undeniable is the conceptual importance of stress. Bernard notes, for instance, that stress-seeking serves as a legitimizing test for aristocratic status. The display of stress-seeking is the typical way of demonstrating strong character (*i.e.*, courage, dignity, gallantry). Note, for example, the delinquent's emphasis on stress-seeking as a means of building "rep."

Ever since Calvinism imposed its puritanical doctrine on work and self, stress-seeking has been simultaneously democratized and "delegitimized." For the most part, stress-seeking is carried on secretly and achieved only vicariously. When it occurs, it is accepted as an unexpected premium in an otherwise humdrum life, as an unusual opportunity for self-expression.

Sensitized to the concept of stress-seeking, sociologists are likely to find its manifestation in the most mundane of social encounters.

Stress-seeking might well turn out to be the major interactional strategy employed by social actors in their efforts to exhibit role distance. And so far as marginal identity differentiation becomes an important concern in a society where "conformity" brings its own brand of stigma, we would expect to find stress-seeking a prevalent feature of ordinary life.

The most important theoretical consequence of the notion of stress-seeking is that it forces us to re-evaluate and perhaps abandon the taken-for-granted dichotomy of pain and pleasure. As the Marquis de Sade long ago argued, both pain and pleasure are aspects of the underlying search for excitement or arousal. Klausner's empirical studies of sporting parachutists support this Sadean insight when he notes that the level of emotional arousal remains the same throughout the jumping episode; what is crucial is "the jumper's appraisal of the situation and of the task remaining before him that changes from point to point." Balance theory in psychology (which is based on a simplistic pain-pleasure dichotomy) and equilibrium theory in sociology might well be re-evaluated in the light of such findings.

Although little agreement exists among the contributors as to the nature of stress-seeking, each essay is rich with direction-giving research problems. The reader will find here rewarding essays by Charles S. Houston, Samuel L. A. Marshall, Kenneth Burke, David Brion Davis, Elton B. McNeil, E. Paul Torrance, and Richard A. Falk. The essays by Bernard and Klausner, however, are the most significant for current theoretical thought.

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*The Temporary Society*, by WARREN G. BENNIS and PHILIP E. SLATER. New York: Harper and Row, 1968. 147 pp. \$4.95.

"This book is an attempt to relate a few dimensions of modern society—democratic systems of social organization, chronic change, socialization, and interpersonal behaviour—to place them in some temporal perspective and to try to envision future combinations. The theses advanced are both explanatory and circumscribed" (p. ix).

The authors conclude their prefatory statement: "We write this book with one main goal, and that is to force into view certain changes affecting vital aspects of our key institutions: organizational life, family life interpersonal relationships, and authority. The theme that is common to this interweaving is a serious concern with the nature and future

of our society and a desire to free ourselves from the restraints of traditional preconceptions and stereotypes about social institutions" (p. x).

Those familiar with the authors' earlier works will not find anything very unusual in these five essays, but their clear, simple, and direct style makes for rewarding reading. Warren Bennis' account of his search for alternative organizational patterns to the bureaucratic model is concise and persuasive. This temporary system is designed to facilitate change, to organize optimally necessary resources, and to provide patterns of relationships conducive to creative and satisfying interaction. Philip E. Slater clearly explains the relatedness of a child-centered orientation, a future-oriented society, and the democratic family. He hypothesizes that the intervention between parent and child of any non-kin-based collectivity attempting to modify the parent-child relationship will have a democratizing impact on that relationship regardless of its intent. The Puritan intervention in the parent-child relationship is cited as a contribution to the development of the democratic family. "The Puritan divines saw themselves as representing the authority of God, and saw this authority as competitive with parental authority in the final analysis." An element of choice was introduced: "... love of parents, if too strong, constituted idolatry ... [and] must always be subordinated to love of God." This emphasis on the internal development of the child is not often associated with Puritan family life.

The temporary society without enduring relationships will require development of interpersonal competencies to facilitate the task of adaptation. Bennis summarizes what needs to be learned: (1) how to develop intense and deep human relationships quickly, and how to "let go"; (2) how to enter groups and to leave them; (3) how to identify roles that are satisfying and how to attain them; (4) how to widen the repertory of available feelings and roles; (5) how to cope more readily with ambiguity; (6) how to develop a strategic comprehensibility of a new "culture" or system and know what distinguishes it from other cultures or existing systems; (7) how to develop a sense of one's uniqueness.

This reviewer is persuaded that the temporary society model presented here will be one of the organizational models of the future. For task-oriented people it provides the organization best suited for change, since it is adaptable and rational in its use of resources. One might, however, raise questions about

the rationality that will determine resource use. Who in the temporary system determines goals? Who exercises control? Who benefits? These questions are not answered by a choice of organizational form, although it is true that in our present society the form of an organization influences (but doesn't completely determine) everything the organization does. In discussing some of the problems career oriented professionals have in adjusting to bureaucratically organized firms, Bennis suggests that university social systems are poor models to emulate, "partly because of a misplaced ethic of individualism and partly because of its correlate, . . . [the lack of any] sense of community or supraindividual goals" (p. 102).

Bennis and Slater stress the need to develop some kind of permanent or abiding commitment because of the mobility, chronic churning, and unconnectedness envisaged in the temporary system. However, it does not necessarily follow that a commitment to be more human will result in a consciousness that what is needed is a social tissue of interconnected persons. Is the present younger generation, as it struggles through "unrest," revolts, and confrontation tactics, learning about temporary systems? If their social world does become a temporary society, its assumptions and presuppositions may vary considerably from those discussed so eloquently in this book.

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*Human Adaptation and Its Failures*, by LESLIE PHILLIPS. New York: Academic Press, 1968. 271 pp. \$10.50.

To develop a frame of reference with which to explain human adaptation and its failures, the author posits the central hypothesis that adaptation depends upon the interaction between a person's achieved psychological development and his available environmental support. Thus, persons of higher developmental levels supported by a stable social environment adapt effectively, while persons of lower developmental levels maladapt because they lack this supportive social environment. To raise his general theory to a "predictive science," he measures and analyzes the relationships among pertinent variables in his conceptual scheme. Included in the monograph, are (1) a critique of current approaches to adaptation; (2) a descriptive analysis of psychological development; and (3) a descriptive analysis of social competence involving intellectual performance, social development, and moral development. Phillips has formulated scales to measure social competence, has



evaluated other approaches and techniques which calibrate this behavioral capacity, and has described adaptation in this society and elsewhere.

Psychological development and adaptation center upon social competence. Even on a collective level, the less the social competence of a group or community, the greater the incidence of adaptive failure. In an illustrative study of 30 census tracts in Worcester, Massachusetts, Phillips classified as socially incompetent those persons who had less than eight years of education, held an unskilled occupation, and had experienced divorce or other marital failure. The average score on this combined index for each census tract was related to number of mental hospital admissions, number of clients seeking treatment for alcoholism, and number of public disturbances recorded by the police department. The index of incompetence correlated positively with rates for all three types of social pathology. Although it may be argued that his relationship reflects a class bias with reference to education and occupation, the author is aware of class differences and would claim that the stresses and the limitations of lower-class life contribute to the individual's lesser social competence.

"Pathological behavior styles" produced by incompetence consist of the following categorized symptom patterns: (1) hostility against the self, such as suicide or depression; (2) hostility against others, such as assault or rape; and (3) self-indulgence and avoidance of others, such as drinking or drug-taking. These behavior styles also characterize role-orientations for which the author designed empirical scales. Relationships between pathological behavioral styles and routine life styles demonstrate, Phillips argues, continuity between pathological and normal expressions.

The work evidences sustained theoretical consistency, although a social psychological emphasis predominates. The limits of an objective sociological position are made explicit, although cultural and cross-cultural facets of social competence and degrees of adaptation are presented: "The sociological framework cannot contribute to our understanding of why under given environmental conditions, some persons (and usually only a small proportion) respond in a deviant manner while others continue to behave appropriately. . . . Nevertheless, a sociological approach to normal adaptation and pathology has much to commend it" (pp. 204, 205). The author accounts for the social context, but sometimes veers toward individual formalism, as demonstrated by the dynamics of individual competence. The

scales measure individual competence within the norms of a general social order, although these contextual variations are overlooked.

In brief, this book, although clinical and social-psychological in orientation, departs in a relevant way from a medical-psychiatric approach and a formal psychological position. On the whole it is carefully and clearly written, but there is some redundancy and repetition of truisms. It does, however, maintain a consistent theoretical position bolstered by scales and other research tools, and thus makes a definite contribution to clinical and social psychology.

S. KIRSON WEINBERG

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*The Study of Personality: An Interdisciplinary Appraisal*, edited by EDWARD NORBECK, DOUGLASS PRICE-WILLIAMS and WILLIAM M. MCCORD. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968. 400 pp. \$7.95.

Personality, culture, and society may be viewed as phenomenal realms, interlinked systems, or constructs that prove ever more difficult to specify with any precision. The symposium reported in this book illustrates the extent of variation and even perplexity characterizing efforts to deal with personality, especially in relation to social structure and social situations. The two-day symposium was held at Rice University late in 1966. Into those two days were crammed 21 presentations by anthropologists, psychologists, and sociologists—enough to make the heads of any audience spin. The original presentations must have been extremely brief, but most have been fleshed out in this volume—though a number remain terse.

The objectives of the symposium were "to review and appraise knowledge and theories concerning personality . . . in a manner comprehensible to educated persons who are not specialists in the subjects concerned." Fortunately, most of the authors do take for granted a general familiarity with the behavioral sciences.

Part 1, titled "Theoretical Standpoints," shows a more striking diversity among foci of attention than among theoretical perspectives. Gardner Murphy opens with an overview of psychological theories and approaches to the study of personality, in which he nicely combines erudition, wit, and wisdom. He sounds a note that is echoed many times in the succeeding papers: "the conception of personality as a self-contained entity, an encapsulated whole, . . . goes badly with the world of reality." Anthony Wallace follows by direct-

ing attention to the nature of human nature as revealed in cross-cultural research. Anselm Strauss confesses to having little interest in personality as such but illustrates the relevance of sociological studies of occupations, careers, and social contexts for studying what others call personality. Weston La Barre neatly summarizes psychoanalytic theory, which otherwise receives little attention in this collection. Douglass Price-Williams examines assumptions and theses recurring throughout the literature on culture and personality; he alone touches, albeit briefly, on the critical issue of the functions to be served by concepts of personality. Daniel Bell revisits the concept of national character, noting the nebulousness of the definition of character and the frequent inappropriateness of *nation* as a basis for circumscribing character. Beyond this, he suggests that too often national creeds, images, style, and consciousness—none of which are personality attributes—are confused with modal personality. Finally, Bert Kaplan discusses the methodological implications of suspending belief in the empirical ego. Instead of using test responses to reconstruct an image of the self that underlies and produces them, he would examine each response in its own right as a situated human action.

Part 2 is entitled "The Formation of Personality," though a minority of the authors address themselves to this topic. There are sharp divergencies of opinion here. Mary Ellen Goodman thinks there is "overwhelming evidence that by the age of six or thereabout, the child's personality will have assumed enduring contours," while Howard Becker and William Henry are impressed instead with the amount of change that takes place even in the adult years. The issue as to what, if any, contours endure is never adequately considered, although Thompson's paper on genetics and personality presents some potentially relevant data.

Part 3, "Personality under Stress and Change," is a *mélange* of reviews, research reports and theoretical analyses. Mental illness, rather than personality, is the topic of two papers. My favorites in this section are two papers that perhaps best exemplify the desideratum of having interdisciplinary skills brought together in a single mind. William McCord, reviewing some of the findings of his follow-up of the subjects of the Cambridge-Sommerville youth study, documents the importance of personality orientations as predictors of particular kinds of deviance in a specified population. And in an impressive contribution to comparative method, George De Vos examines the different sources and mean-

ings of achievement motivation and innovation in different cultural contexts.

As Margaret Mead notes in the commentary that closed the symposium, several major trends in personality study were not followed up in this set of papers. Learning theory, psychoanalysis, ethology, and neurophysiological developments received only minor attention. *The centrality of self*, or *identity*, emerged as the dominant theme of many of the papers. If there was no attempt to formalize a role theory of personality, there was an apparent backing away from theories that ignore the influence of social roles and situations on the person. Certainly the emphases here are sharply different from those of the much more systematic review of theories of personality by Hall and Lindzey a decade earlier.

A symposium, like a factor analysis, cannot reflect more than is put into it. In the present instance, invitations were extended to 19 persons who, for one reason or another, were unable to attend. Roughly half of the absentees were sociologists (does this high ratio reflect busyness or ambivalence?), and among them were several who have devoted much thought and research toward conceptualizing personality in terms that will serve sociological investigations. If we voice some regret that their perspectives were not represented, it can hardly be considered a criticism of the Rice symposium.

Despite the expressed disinterest in personality on the part of some sociologists who have contributed substantially to our understanding of the behaving person, the symposium as a whole suggests that sociologists have an important part to play in conceptualizing more adequately the behavioral tendencies manifest in those roles and situations that affect individuals' careers and that confirm or modify their identities. Only as we improve our conceptual tools for dealing with the organized behavioral tendencies of individuals can we make progress toward studying the interactions of biological givens with social demands, as well as the social conditions that make for stability or change in the person. These are, I submit, sociologically relevant problems.

JOHN A. CLAUSEN

*University of California, Berkeley*

*Objective Personality and Motivation Tests: A Theoretical Introduction and Practical Compendium*, by RAYMOND B. CATTELL and FRANK W. WARBURTON. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1967. 687 pp. \$20.00.

Since the 1930's Raymond B. Cattell has

been engaged in multivariate research aimed at isolating the components of personality. His program of research has cumulated in a body of information about personality and character of unparalleled depth and empirical anchorage. More than 400 tests have been constructed and administered, 2,000 physiological and behavioral variables have been measured, and a variety of subjects—children and adults, normals and deviants—have been studied. Substantive results of this research are reported in John D. Hundleby, Kurt Pawlik, and R. B. Cattell, *Personality Factors in Objective Test Devices* (San Diego: Robert R. Knapp, 1965).

*Objective Personality and Motivation Tests* is concerned not with substantive results but rather with problems of technology. The first eight chapters deal with classificatory and methodological problems in personality tests; chapters 9 and 10 deal with issues in the multivariate study of motivations and attitudes; and a compendium of tests and variables is presented as Part II, comprising about seven-tenths of the book. The sections on measurement, reliability, and validity are highly creative and sophisticated, and these essays are recommended as being of general interest to methodologists in sociology. The catalog of information on specific tests is of interest to social psychologists making personality assessments; brief descriptions define the properties of almost every conceivable test and indicate how it relates to measurements on general personality dimensions.

DAVID R. HEISE

*University of Wisconsin*

*The New Urbanization*, edited by SCOTT GREER, DENNIS L. McELRATH, DAVID W. MINAR and PETER ORLEANS. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968. 384 pp. \$10.00.

The articles comprising *The New Urbanization* are concerned for the most part with developing or empirically evaluating theories to explain various aspects of the nature and quality of urban life. Indeed, the title understates the book's scope. Most of the patterns of urbanization analyzed have been observable since the late 1940's, and some appeared much earlier. Moreover, much of the content has little connection with the process of urbanization itself, if urbanization is taken in the usual sense of referring to the processes by which a society becomes more urban both demographically and culturally.

Overall, this is an interesting and provocative collection. There are twenty articles in

the book (not counting a brief introductory essay), thirteen of which have not been published previously.

The preface describes the papers which follow as "the result of ten years of collaboration and mutual education among a group of scholars at Northwestern University." While many of the articles reflect some common concerns and frames of reference, such as the consequences of increasing social scale and varying patterns of social differentiation, the book is apparently not the result of a coordinated and consciously interrelated research program. As with most anthologies, it is difficult to find a central theme or approach to the study of urban affairs which ties the book together. This is not to say that *The New Urbanization* is without structure or that its components lack any interconnection. Several of the articles are more or less related to one another, although these linkages are not made explicit. Furthermore, the editors preface each selection with two or three paragraphs that raise questions, identify key ideas, and point to continuities or discontinuities with other articles. These introductions are helpful, and one wishes they were more extensive.

There is much in this book to praise and not a little to argue with. However, space limitations dictate that an evaluation of the individual articles must be foregone. Rather, let me briefly describe the substance of the four sections into which the book is organized.

Most of the first section focuses on urbanization in so-called "developing countries" and its impact on social and political life in these areas. Five case studies deal with Niger, Ghana, Korea, Barbados, and the West Indies. The authors of the articles dealing with Ghana and Korea relate their findings to data from other societies, and such cross-cultural analysis is most welcome. The remainder of the book deals exclusively with the United States, however.

The first two articles in the second section are concerned with the economic and normative causes of the internal differentiation of various types of subareas in metropolitan regions. A third article describes the extent of residential segregation in Honolulu. The remaining two articles deal with neighborliness and anomia as contrary dimensions of social life in densely populated urban areas.

The third section deals primarily, but not exclusively, with the political aspects of various types of social structures. Theoretical analyses are made of such substantive topics as linkages between social life and political

participation, "community power," the politics of educational decision making (a much neglected subject that is well treated here), and nonpartisan elections.

The final section, dealing with "the struggle to govern the metropolis," differs from the others in that four of its articles represent a kind of confrontation between opposing views on the need for and the ways of achieving greater political integration in metropolitan areas. The fifth article in the section examines events in a major metropolis and formulates a theory of why regional reorganization efforts so often fail.

One can only applaud the editors' decision to encompass so many issues and disciplines within the scope of their book. However, precisely because of the book's breadth many readers may feel more emphasis should have been given to particular matters. For example, those seeking for immediate solutions to urban problems will probably wish that more of the authors had drawn explicit policy implications from their conclusions. Of course, one cannot reasonably expect a single book to cover all topics, and a number of articles in this volume do grapple with interesting and challenging questions of theory and methodology. These deserve a wide and critical reading.

The time seems not far off (if it has not already arrived) when every publisher will have its collection of readings on urban affairs. In *The New Urbanization*, St. Martin's Press has a worthy entry in these sweepstakes.

WILLIS D. HAWLEY

*University of California, Berkeley*

*The Urban Neighborhood: A Sociological Perspective*, by SUZANNE KELLER. New York: Random House, 1968. 201 pp. Paperbound. \$2.45.

I have pondered my reactions to this book for several months. I enjoyed reading it, but for a long time found myself unable to write even a short review. More of this later.

Dr. Keller's subject belongs to a field of sociology that is highly productive of continuing research. She begins by asking two questions: "What . . . is the sociological evidence for or against the survival of neighboring and neighborhoods in the urban world? And how can physical planners achieve their objectives of (1) an equitable distribution of facilities and services geared to meaningful local subunits and (2) stimulating local cooperation among the residents?" (p. 6).

We are told that we don't know the answers.

Why not? It is not that data are lacking (over 150 studies have been completed in nearly half as many cities), but rather that the sociological concepts used vary widely, even in something as seemingly simple as neighboring. Another difficulty is that some sociologists begin their research by defining three-quarters of the population out of existence, only to complain later about the "neighboring 'gap'" in the big city. Still other difficulties are operational inadequacies, differences in definitions of neighborhood boundaries, sampling variations, and design differentials. To deal with these problems, the author proposes a review of studies made to date.

Dr. Keller's examination is detailed and thorough (my being a junior author of one of the studies examined adds weight to this judgment), and by and large eminently successful. Her style of writing in this ambitious project is gracious and frequently lively. Neighborhoods, we learn, are known more by the single street that a neighbor lives on than by large or small subareas of the city. "In sum, neither subjectively identified boundaries, nor concentrated use of area facilities, nor neighborly relations, nor sentiments, permit us to locate and classify distinctive urban neighborhoods. Today, neighborhoods so identified are either so poor or so wealthy as to be relatively isolated from the mainstream of urban life" (pp. 115-116). "Neighboring . . . is simply one more segmentalized activity" (p. 119). Neighborhoods, as they exist on those single streets, are neither uniform nor exclusively service oriented, being based only occasionally on collective responsibility and never returning to the presumed solidarity of the rural community. In planning for such diversity, including even the absence of same-block neighboring when that is what some urbanites prefer, the role of "physical and spatial design may contribute to but not determine social interaction" (p. 146). Planners must therefore "be sensitive to the social and personal characteristics of their clients" (p. 149), characteristics which include, as pointed out by the research reviewed, differentials in time scheduling, social class and status, definitions of a "good" neighbor, autonomy, and previous mobility.

Professor Keller's summary is superb. Planners and urban sociologists in particular will profit from reading this book.

Why, then, was there any difficulty in reviewing it? Because this painstaking and intelligent review of previous research succeeds so well in making problematic the conclusions of

numerous large-scale, methodologically sophisticated, and better-than-average survey prospects—at least for me. The book thus leaves us with the disturbing question: Has it really taken us twenty-five years and perhaps six times that many studies to produce the conclusions of Suzanne Keller's book?

SAMUEL E. WALLACE

Brandeis University

*Social Science and the City: A Survey of Urban Research*, edited by LEO F. SCHNORE. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968. 335 pp. Paperbound. \$3.95.

A recent movie was advertised as capturing "the moment of conception"; it dealt, I'm told, with test-tube babies. In a similar vein, we now have a "new" book with the suggestive title, *Social Science and the City: A Review of Urban Research*. The contents, however, carry no thrills of revelation, since all ten essays were published a year earlier as Part I of *Urban Research and Policy Planning*, edited by Leo F. Schnore and Henry Fagin. The public, thirsting for material on urban problems, will no doubt plunk down their money without examining the small print.

Perhaps there is good justification for reprinting a section of a larger work in this way. Among other things, it greatly reduces the cost of a collection of potentially good essays. The crucial question is whether the new volume's identity crisis carries over into its contents.

For the larger "parent" book Schnore assembled ten original essays by distinguished authors, representing a variety of social scientific approaches to urban affairs. In his newly written preface to the current book Schnore states that it "attempts a survey of the various social science disciplines directly engaged in urban studies, and enumerates research accomplishments as well as pointing up research needs" (p. 10). Although he points to some variety of focus among the papers, he goes on to claim "close and sustained attention to *methodological* matters," but not so much as to make this a research cookbook (p. 11). These goals give the impression that the book will be similar to Robert E. Park's 1916 essay, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment," but with the addition of abundant richly bibliographic and methodological material.

Unfortunately, the contributions are so diverse as to cast serious doubt on the logic of the collection. Let me cite some of the major sources of variation:

The disciplinary scope of the essays ranges from extremely wide to quite narrow. For example, Lyle and Magdaline Shannon take a broad structural approach in their article entitled "The Assimilation of Migrants to Cities: Anthropological and Sociological Contributions." Charles N. Glaab, on the other hand, writes exclusively about city promotion in his essay on "Historical Perspective on Urban Development Schemes."

Some of the essays read like elementary texts, while others are advanced and sophisticated. Harold M. Mayer very clearly discusses the nature of geography and its relevance to cities, while Wilbur Thompson writes an advanced discussion of unresolved issues in urban economics.

Some of the articles are almost exclusively reviews of the literature, while others explore work that still remains undone. John Kain, for example, exhaustively reviews post-World War II "Urban Travel Behavior," while Anselm Strauss devotes his chapter to strategies for further research in social psychology.

Some of the writing, like Norton Long's "Political Science and the City," is witty, urbane, and personal. Other selections, like Robert R. Alford's "The Comparative Study of Urban Politics," is neutral and oriented to disciplinary conceptualization.

The organization of the book gives evidence of forced marriages between diverse concerns. Each of the five sections contain two essays, paired together in such unlikely partnerships as these: (a) "Social Science and the City: A Survey of Research Needs" (Schnore and Eric E. Lampard) and "The Assimilation of Migrants . . ."; (b) "Strategies for Discovering Urban Theory" (Strauss) and "Class and Race in the Changing City . . ." (Eleanor P. Wolf and Charles N. Lebeaux); (c) "Historical Perspective . . ." and "Urban Geography . . .".

Another cause for complaint is that the extensive bibliography is highly arbitrary and unbalanced in its content (Kain's topic is paramount) and lacks any organization beyond alphabetization to aid the novice.

All this is a pity, since most of the essays are individually excellent. However, they differ so greatly from one another that I doubt that more than a few will be of interest to any single reader or category of readers, though I would also think that any potential reader would find one or two extremely valuable. In short, this may be a book worth *less* than the sum of its parts.

WILLIAM MICHELSON

University of Toronto

*Relocation in Urban Planning: From Obstacle to Opportunity*, by PAUL L. NIEBANCK and MARK R. YESSIAN. Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968. 123 pp. \$4.95.

This book is more prescriptive than informative. As the title indicates, its theme is the changing meaning of relocation for urban planners. The authors provide a brief history of federal policies and local practices, but then go on to note the increasing concern among urban planners with the problems confronting those who are relocated, and to urge even greater concern. They take the position that the needs of the urban poor should be the primary goal of relocation.

Unfortunately, the title is somewhat misleading, since the book is limited to the relocation of the aged and does not treat other forms of relocation. Suggested solutions to the problems of elderly "relocatees" are based mainly on demonstration programs conducted in San Antonio, San Francisco, New York, and Providence, R.I., but none of these are adequately reported. The discussions of the programs are confined largely to the problems they faced and their successes in meeting these problems. Apart from information on the income and rent of the relocatees, no data are offered; the interested reader is simply referred to the original study reports.

The policy proposed by Niebanck and Yessian—that relocation be used as a tool for welfare reform—is not new. A recent report by the National Commission on Urban Problems has in fact made a similar proposal, and the suggestion is worth serious consideration. Many of the reforms suggested duplicate those made by Gans in *The Urban Villagers*, but Niebanck and Yessian go beyond Gans in being willing to use relocation as a major means of rehousing the urban poor. They suggest, for example, that relocation services should be available to all "disadvantaged households," whether the household is located in a renewal area or not.

The principal weakness of this book is its narrow focus solely on relocation of the urban aged, in contrast to its broad policy position concerning all of the urban poor. Relocation in age-segregated congregate housing, probably the most effective program for the relocation of the aged, has not been particularly useful with younger age groups, for obvious reasons. Consequently, the knowledge gained from demonstration studies involving only the elderly has but limited relevance for the authors' broad-scope policy statements. A thorough examination of either (1) the four

demonstration studies and their implications or (2) the particulars involved in using relocation to remedy urban ills would have constituted a contribution. Instead, neither topic receives the attention it deserves.

MICHAEL W. GILLESPIE

*University of Missouri*

*The Rich and the Super-Rich: A Study in the Power of Money Today*, by FERDINAND LUNDBERG. New York: Lyle Stuart, 1968. 812 pp. \$10.00.

This book is both fascinating and exasperating. It has everything, and something for everybody: plot; fact; fiction; overstatement; understatement; statistics; epithets; pronouncements of conspiracy, crime, and wealth; and a whole new jargon, including "finpol," "pubpol," and "churchpol." The main plot tells how great families of large inherited fortunes rule modern America, a supposedly free and democratic society which, in Lundberg's considered and judicious opinion, has become the "Banana Republic *par excellence*," where "mindless conformity" is the rule in a "Garrison State" in which "Jefferson could not be elected dog catcher. . . ."

In the course of trying to analyze my feelings about this curious book, I have come to the conclusion that its great appeal is to be found in its *methodology*, which is not unlike my own methodology when playing the role of character-analyst or palm-reader at charity bazaars or church fairs. On those occasions, my methodological rule is to cover everything from as many sides as possible; thus the customer will be sure to be satisfied with my scientific accuracy, because he will remember what appears to be true and flattering to him and forget the rest.

After wading through the 801 pages of this heavy book the careful and attentive reader will surely be convinced of several things: (1) that there is a sizeable group of American families possessing great inherited wealth; (2) that new wealth and new fortunes are harder to come by today than before 1929 or the First World War; (3) that, contrary to the famous Berle and Means thesis, the separation of ownership and control of the American corporate octopus is not as wide as those more gullible than Lundberg have supposed; and (4) that consequently our great democracy is *really* an oligarchical plutocracy by default (this in spite of the fact that Lundberg, who loves conspiratorial theories of evil of all shades, devotes several pages to Senator Joseph Clark's analysis of the "Senatorial Establishment," which the senator and other

multimillionaires have been unable to overcome).

The reader will put this big book down with the feeling that he has taken in so many facts that he cannot digest them. If he hoped for understanding, he is disappointed. What does it all mean?

The lack of meaning is due, I suspect, to the author's purpose and point of view; when the chips are down and the facade of statistical tables and endless documentation is seen through, one comes to realize that Lundberg is far more interested in debunking than in understanding modern American society, especially the rich. This book, then, is valuable primarily because it is another excellent and fascinating example of the alienated tone of modern American intellectual life. The book, in other words, will sell well and have a wide appeal among a variety of men and women who tend to hate America, the rich in general, and themselves in particular.

Antiestablishmentarians, who will agree with Lundberg that "religion is part of the political process of keeping the common man in chains," will be delighted by the following diagnosis of the modern temper: "If one, for example, can believe without any difficulty in the Virgin Birth of Jesus and that Jesus walked on the waters, changed water into wine, and performed other unnatural acts, then one will experience little difficulty in accepting Everett M. Dirksen and Lyndon B. Johnson, to name no others, as great statesmen, and little difficulty in believing that some fifty-nine-cent cosmetic will make one irresistible to the opposite sex." Of course Mr. Lundberg does not seem to have noticed that it is just in our age when fewer and fewer people *do* believe that "Jesus walked on water" that more and more people have placed their faith in fifty-nine-cent cosmetics; nor has he asked himself whether "enlightened" ages such as our own are more likely to produce or elect greater statesmen than in earlier and darker ages when religious faith was more widespread. But he is more interested in being entertaining by debunking conspiracies than in making a reasoned analysis.

Antiestablishmentarians will smile when they read that "the United States does not have anything like a ruling class, according to an extensive assortment of fully housebroken professors. . . ." For of course most professors, and especially sociologists, are merely apologists for the hidden members of the American ruling class or oligarchy.

To take another carefully reasoned causal connection from among the many strewn throughout this book: "The country now

possesses," Lundberg writes quite correctly, "a large section of disoriented young, neither at school or at work and getting into a variety of headline-making mischief from congregating in unseemly hordes to sedulous extra-curricular copulation and drug addiction." This statement of possible fact is then followed by this explanation: "No elected representative ever passed on the decisions that produced these results. The decisions were made quietly by quiet men in quiet corporate boardrooms." How? Because, of course, the rich are naturally responsible both for "housebroken professors" and for decisions made by their hired executives in boardrooms to encourage "copulation and drug addiction."

But what else would one expect in a book in which a diverting chapter on "Crime and Wealth" ends on the following note: "We must confess, then, to failure in the attempt to find members or agents of any Mafia, Cosa Nostra, or underworld syndicate of any kind high in the business world, although the established entrepreneurs, securely installed, give a lusty account of themselves in the matter of lawbreaking. Comparatively, they make the Mafias and Crime Syndicates look like push-cart operations."

Lest this review be thought to be part of a larger conspiracy against the antiestablishment science of Ferdinand Lundberg, I hasten to suggest that the infectious style of a very popular author sometimes rubs off on an admiring and envious reviewer. For example, after all these 801 pages, I am not at all sure that some clever members of the oligarchy of established wealth in America are not, by this time, quite high up in the Mafia hierarchy. Anything is possible for those infected with the conspiracy theory of history.

E. DIGBY BALTZELL

*University of Pennsylvania*

*Middle Class Radicalism: The Social Bases of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament*, by FRANK PARKIN. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968. 207 pp. \$6.50.

Perhaps no branch of political sociology today stands in such theoretical disarray as the theory of social movements, which is certainly embarrassing for sociology in present times. This situation can be attributed at least in part to the dominance until very recent years of functionalist theory, with its insistence on integrated systems. As a result, we are left with essentially two types of theory for explaining social movements, both of which were invented in the 19th and early 20th century. Marxist and neo-Marxist theories hold that

social movements arise from the growth of class consciousness based on relatively clearly defined differences relating to the productive system and the political domination of the state. Such movements arise from exploited lower strata. A variety of neo-Marxist theories abound today, both within and outside of social science, one example of which is the application of originally Marxist ideas to the economic conditions of underdeveloped societies in terms of "relative deprivation" theory.

In radical opposition to Marxist theories is the Durkheim-Eric Hoffer-Kornhauser understanding of social movements, which might irreverently be termed the "kooks and crackpots theory." In this view, supporters and joiners of social movements are drawn from the alienated fringe, typically live private and isolated lives, and (by implication, at least) are entirely misguided in their radicalism. As students of the subject are aware, the evidence for these pronouncements is rather spotty and has been drawn almost entirely from lower social strata. It is obvious that while the Marxist view exhibits a radical bias, the Durkheim-Hoffer-Kornhauser school is equally biased on the conservative side.

Frank Parkin's book does not aspire to much in the way of new theoretical departures, but it does present some evidence that for at least one social movement both theories are wide of the mark. The author shows that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), waged in Britain in recent years, is almost entirely inexplicable in terms of either theory, being (1) predominantly middle-class, as are a number of other important movements in industrially developed countries, and (2) composed mainly of rather well-integrated, habitually participating individuals. The social bases proposed by both the Marxist and the Durkheim-Hoffer-Kornhauser theories are wholly absent.

Parkin obtained the address of 550 participants in the Easter Day Aldermaston march in 1965 by participating in the march himself. Questionnaires were later mailed to this sample, with a return of 81 percent. This procedure yielded mainly youthful DND'ers. CND headquarters furnished him with an additional 505 names, only 61 percent of whom returned questionnaires. These data, plus numerous political events and impressions, comprise the working material of Parkin's book.

His analysis proceeds by considering the most important social elements participating in and supporting the movement. Dealt with in successive chapters, these are: (1) ideologies, composed mainly of radical Christians

whose opposition derives from their inherent antagonism toward established religion, but also including CP members who joined the movement *late* in hopes of unseating Gaitskill and thus gaining a foothold in the left wing of the Labor Party, as well as Trotskyites who thought that the Bomb issue might enable them to attract more workers to their revolutionary program; (2) intellectuals, drawn mainly from the new theater; (3) the left wing of the Labour Party, which thought that the Bomb issue could bring down Gaitskill; and (4) youth.

Parkin's thesis—in my view reasonably well-substantiated—is that the Bomb as such was merely the symbolic focus of a variety of discontents and intentions, ranging from the partisan interests of Labour MP's to the broad dissent from societal values held by many other elements, particularly youth, intellectuals, and radical clergy. He stresses that movements whose basic style is expressive must be explained quite differently from those whose goals are instrumental. Expressive politics are defined as "less concerned with specific achievements than with the benefits and satisfactions which the activity itself affords. The rewards are as much in the action itself as in the ends it is directed to" (p. 34). It seems likely that the majority of those actively supporting the CND movement were of this type, although the description appears to be quite inappropriate for the large number of supporters whose goal was the political downfall of Gaitskill. Perhaps on this point the author might have given us his thoughts about the balance or proportion of expressive versus instrumental interests in social movements. But this is not meant as a serious criticism of the book, which on the whole might well be taken as a model for the analysis of other social movements.

In the final chapter the author turns to general considerations regarding social movements based in the middle class. Essentially, he argues that radicals will most often be drawn from institutional spheres remote from industry, government, and other activities central to capitalism, because in these areas the dominant value system is less fully institutionalized, and in his view less functionally necessary. Early in the book he demonstrates that although the participants were not socially alienated or isolated in a general sense, they were nevertheless somewhat alienated from dominant cultural values, and thus may be considered deviants of a type. Such persons are likely to experience considerable status discrepancy, having high educational and occupational status but low incomes (although the author does not demonstrate



this directly for his sample of participants). This situation is consistent with the finding of Lenski and others regarding the relationship between status and radicalism. Finally, unlike manual workers, whose integration into the industrial system Parkin believes to require only a calculative orientation, the higher status occupations of the educated involve a commitment to ideals and principles, thus preparing the ground for experienced discrepancies.

All in all, Parkin's study is a most welcome addition to what is hoped will soon become a library of studies of social movements.

DAVID L. WESTBY

*Pennsylvania State University*

*The Wobblies: The Story of Syndicalism in the United States*, by PATRICK RENSHAW. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday (Anchor Books), 1968. 258 pp. Paperbound. \$1.45.

The American labor movement has always contained its dissident radicals, a minority never content with bread and butter trade unionism and racist traditionalism. The International Workers of the World (the Wobblies) belong in this revolutionary category, and Patrick Renshaw has done a sensitive job of breathing life into those gritty partisans.

The Wobblies rejected the craft model of organization, and instead sought to organize everyone in a given workplace within a single industrial labor union. The I.W.W. began its efforts at the same time the Russian sailors seized the Russian battleship *Potemkin*, when global revolution seemed probable. Between 1905 and 1914 the I.W.W. and other brands of syndicalism around the world filled the air with demands for a general strike, to be followed by appropriation and operation of workplaces by the workers. At every work site, workers were to set up industrial departments which would correspond with the various parts of the capitalist division of labor. Following the freezing of capitalism through general strikes, workers' departments and councils would assume command of plants, mines, and docks, and operate them without their obsolescent bosses.

Renshaw describes how the I.W.W. fought—but failed—to overcome an obstinate employer class backed by the state. The I.W.W. never had more than 100,000 members at one time, although over one million people passed through it during its two-decade history. With some exceptions in textiles, shipping, mining, logging, and agriculture, the I.W.W. did little to improve the material well-being of American wage earners. The total failure of the I.W.W.

in mass industries such as auto and rubber stemmed not only from the armed obstinance of corporation and state, but also from ethnic divisions within a variegated working class that resembled an industrial tower of Babel, some levels of which were considerably more adopted than others to the vicissitudes of early industrial capitalism. The author perceives clearly the relative conservatism and militance of various proletarian ethnic groups, especially those involved in the Lawrence and Patterson strikes of 1912–13. Internal ethnic division and factional fights between anarchists and syndicalists weighed heavily against Wobbly labor before and during World War I. At the end of the war, a combination of governmental arrests, deportations, and employer firings and beatings tumbled the I.W.W. The Wobblies all but disappeared during the mid-1920's as the movement split into pro- and anti-Communist factions.

One can hardly do justice to this carefully researched study by briefly summarizing the two decades of Wobbly participation in industrial and agricultural struggle, however. The beauty of the book is its idiographic detail (replete with photographs), most notably the chapter on Goldfield, McKees Rocks, Fresno, and San Diego. From the Nevada mine fields to the Pennsylvania steel towns and the early California free speech fights, the I.W.W. used direct action with the kind of obstinance, commitment, and guts so obviously missing in most craft union efforts. Covering a somewhat later period, the author's chapter on the Lawrence and Patterson strikes adds substance to Ruth Kornbluh's pathfinding treatment of the same events, and his analysis of the smashing of the Washington Wobblies at the end of World War I complements Paul Phillips' and Dorothy Steeves' recent portraits of state-corporate suppression of militant British Columbia labor during that same period.

The book should put to rest a number of myths based on the assumption that craft union policy and behavior speak for all sections of labor. The I.W.W. integrated its members racially, with its largest successes occurring in Louisiana and east Texas, of all places. In its struggles for free speech, the I.W.W. used the soap box to discuss the conditions of farm workers and miners, as a result of which they encountered armed and abusive opposition from a large portion of the middle-class community, especially those persons located in business organizations, governmental bureaus, and judicial chambers. Massive middle-class disrespect for law and order, justice, and fairness was also evident when employers came up against the I.W.W.

In 1909, the champions of libertarian ideals were not in the Chambers of Commerce or in the courts of law but on the road hiking from Grants Pass to Fresno, there to jam the jails in a successful fight to speak freely and publicly on court injunctions, bull-pens, and state militia killings.

By bringing to light the I.W.W.'s flamboyant aggressiveness, the author could not help but observe the similarities between these "old lefties" and the new left. Like its successor, the I.W.W. doubted the boundless flexibility of parliamentary capitalism. Consequently the Wobblies used direct action with little regard for law, as a means of fighting issues that were in part created by their own efforts to abolish inequality. Again, like its current counterpart, the I.W.W. rank-and-file distrusted all forms of leadership, particularly their own, although the I.W.W. was divided between those who demanded adherence to the anarchist ethic and those who called for a modicum of democratic centralization.

The book does contain a number of irritants, especially the author's references to Joe Hill as "less authentic" than other leading Wobblies. Also much of the discussion on Bakunin misses the major point of his dispute with Marx: *with* the state and when? Still, this is a fine book, and is recommended to all of our historical students and colleagues.

JOHN C. LEGGETT

*Simon Fraser University*

*State and Society: A Reader in Comparative Political Sociology*, edited by REINHARD BENDIX. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Co., 1968. 648 pp. \$7.95.

This book was compiled by Reinhard Bendix in collaboration with eight graduate students at the University of California at Berkeley. As Bendix points out in the introduction: "The articles have been selected with a particular 'comparative political sociology' in mind." The analytical focus is international rather than intranational. Hence, subjects such as community decision-making in America are not considered. The general approach is in keeping with the Weberian tradition (i.e., interdisciplinary and historical) and with the traditional political sociological frame of reference emphasizing the relation between formal political structure and "informal" interests.

To Bendix, the distinguishing characteristic of a comparative frame of reference is that it provides the social scientist with a semblance of an experimental design appropriate for study-

ing cause and effect. Bendix finds an example in Tocqueville, who was able to identify "the true causes" of the French Revolution by contrasting the feudal backgrounds of France and Germany.

The comparative frame of reference may also (1) facilitate the identification of types of governments that realize certain values, (2) permit the development of an adequate conceptual language to deal with the problem of identifying similar processes that have different names in different societies, and in other ways promote a less ethnocentric and therefore broader interpretation of political behavior.

While Bendix is careful to point out that political behavior occurs in stateless societies, it is his view that "In the modern world the state is the dominant political institution, and it is with this state—its forging, its use, its maintenance, and its problems—that these articles deal." Essential topics include: political behavior in non-state organized societies, factors involved in shifting from the pre-modern to the modern state, the operational problems of modern states, the growth of "politically relevant" groups, leadership and authority, and problems of political legitimacy.

The sociological approach utilized in the volume combines three points of emphasis: (1) a group perspective, in that "the unit most useful for the analysis of social life is not society-as-a-system but rather the existing social group or organization"; (2) an institutional perspective, i.e., "that view which comprehends formal institutions as important structural bases to which patterns of interaction should be related"; and (3) a historical perspective, which means three things to the editors: "social structures change; their backgrounds differ in important respects; and . . . *the way things* are today is in part explained by how they have to be."

The editors observe that comparative political sociology requires greater concentration on dynamic processes than has been the case with the "historical sociology" approach. In the main position paper of the volume, Randall Collins points out that "We have virtually nothing in the way of general explanations of what kinds of political movements and parties will develop under what conditions; the communist and Fascist movements of the 20th century caught political theorists off guard, and while theorists have been engaged in after-the-fact explanations of these past movements, they have put forward no general theory that offers some insight into the present and future." Structural-functionalism, the theoretical perspective relied upon most frequently, has not been capable of dealing adequately with such problems. In

Collins' concise phrase, "structural-functionalism is not a good theory of politics."

The Collins essay sets a pattern found in several other selections. Taking a critical view of some aspect of structural-functional theory provides a convenient springboard for an analysis of key problems. Wolfram Eberhard, for example, argues that ancient China cannot be analyzed from a systems approach because the essential political groupings were not tightly integrated units. He suggests that some societies might be better analyzed in terms of quite autonomous "social layers." Again, in his comparison of British and American political structures, Richard Neustadt warns that one must be careful to distinguish the form of a political institution from its function.

Basically, the book can be viewed as an extended discussion of the weaknesses of existing political theory for comparative analysis. Granting the importance of this point, one nevertheless wishes that the editors had included at the end of the book a summary of the benefits they themselves received from reading these selections. They do not suggest any possible theoretical pursuits developing out of the material, nor are they particularly explicit about the methodology of their brand of comparative political sociology. One does not come away from the book with a feeling that he knows what to do next and how to do it. One does come away with an appreciation of the variety of ways in which certain preceptive people have been able to uncover patterns and inconsistencies in social structures not previously sufficiently analyzed. Finally, although the editors wish to get away from after-the-fact theorizing, many of their selections are based on this technique.

CALVIN J. LARSON

*Purdue University*

*Desegregation Research: An Appraisal*, by MEYER WEINBERG. Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa, 1968. 314 pp. Paperbound. \$2.50.

This is a well-organized and clearly written summary of a large quantity of research dealing primarily with the educational effects of school desegregation. It was prepared (with a foreword by James H. Bash) for Phi Delta Kappa's Commission on Education, Human Rights, and Responsibilities. In the author's view, it represents "an attempt to see what 'science says' about the educational consequences of school desegregation" (p. 1). Science, he concludes, says that desegregation is good.

The major portion of this work deals with

"Desegregation and Academic Achievement," "Aspirations and Self-Concept," and "The Student in School and in the Family." The principal conclusion of the report is that "desegregation [meaning, minimally, the simultaneous presence of black and white children in learning situations] benefits the academic achievement of Negro children . . . while white children *fail to suffer* [our emphasis] any learning disadvantage . . ." (pp. 52-53).

This report also includes a consideration of the educational situation of Indian-Americans and Mexican-Americans; a discussion of *Equality of Educational Opportunity* and *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*; a profile of the Negro community in terms of the issues about desegregation; a critique of the pre-1965 arguments against desegregation; and a short final chapter that ends with a brief identification of probable research trends.

The book does not, however, deal with issues that have become paramount since 1965, such as community control of schools or the thesis that "black children do not need the presence of white people either to give them worth or to learn."

Persons engaged in studying domestic race relations and education will find this a useful reference book, although its value in this regard is marred by a number of stylistic features and minor errors. The footnotes are listed at the end of each chapter, separately for each page; the bibliography is not topically classified; the author index omits authors mentioned in the footnotes and bibliography; and there is no subject index. Even more troublesome are the minor errors of omission. Page references are not given for some quotations and many bibliographic citations do not include full publication data.

This book will aid the teaching of race relations, social problems, social stratification, and the sociology of education. It should be required reading for educators and those whites who are still unconvinced that desegregation is right and segregation wrong.

JOHN PEASE and RICHARD A. MATHERS  
*University of Maryland*

*Our Children's Burden: Studies of Desegregation in Nine American Communities*, edited by RAYMOND W. MACK. New York: Random House, 1968. 473 pp. Clothbound, \$8.95. Paperbound, \$2.45.

This book is a report of racial desegregation in nine communities, ranging in size from small Mississippi towns to six cities with populations

between 11,000 and 150,000 to Los Angeles and Chicago. Integration of Negro Americans into the public schools is examined in each community except Los Angeles, where the condition of Mexican Americans is examined. These community studies provide the empirical basis for five propositions discussed by Mack in his concluding chapter. These propositions indicate that variations in school desegregation are a function of community size rather than regional location, that Negroes view education as crucial to the attainment of equality and respect, that organization is crucial to the attainment of desegregation, and that the methods being used to implement desegregation are imposing heavy burdens on the children.

Few details regarding methodology are provided. The editor states that he "wrote a set of field research instructions and drafted an outline of what should be reported," to provide comparability without stifling collection and analysis of unique, locally relevant data. The result is a rather diverse set of chapters that range from Aiken and Demarath's comparative analysis of tokenism in two Mississippi Delta communities to the Remsbergs' presentation of taped comments on the Chicago school system as perceived by twenty-seven teachers and one parent. Curiously, these two chapters are probably the most profitable ones in the book, albeit in different ways.

Aiken and Demerath contrast a Delta city's relatively ready compliance with federal requirements and guidelines for desegregation with the greater resistance and conflict in the small-town seat of an adjoining Delta county. While coercion has been necessary to achieve even token desegregation under freedom-of-choice registration plans in both settings, the authors explain the greater success of desegregation efforts in this city in terms of three structural variables: (1) aspects of the political structure (e.g., an appointed versus an elected school board), (2) the degree of bureaucratization (which affects planning and the availability of a supportive professional reference group), and (3) the interaction of the civil rights movement and the Negro middle class. The white community perceives middle class Negroes as becoming more reasonable even as they are made more militant by the presence of civil rights activists. The authors also discuss the performance of Negro students in the desegregated schools and the factors conditioning community acceptance of their presence.

If there are some heartening aspects to the Mississippi situation, the Remsbergs' analysis portrays the Chicago school situation as an appalling, unrelieved tragedy. Their description

of Chicago reality is well represented by a quotation from one teacher:

This is a system based on fear. . . . (T)he unwritten rule here is that you may flunk only 3 percent in any school. . . . (Y)ou have (high school) children doing third and fourth grade arithmetic in physics class. They call it physics and pass them on. . . . When these children are unleashed on society and try to get jobs they suddenly realize they are not qualified and that all their grades didn't mean a thing. The teachers have deceived them. The system has deceived them. A breed of principals has arisen who use fear as a weapon. They live in fear themselves and are constantly worried about what "downtown" is going to think. They've become administration-oriented instead of education-oriented. . . . Teachers too are terrorized. And once you live in fear you can no longer teach, because you'll sacrifice every good program if you're asked to. And you'll be asked to, because good programs sometimes have their rocky moments and often go a little bit outside the rule book. You sell out.

The remainder of the chapter substantiates this indictment. The emphasis on playing it safe permeates the system, rewarding ritualism and punishing innovation. Bureaucracy may facilitate desegregation in small cities, but it is strangling and destroying education in the Chicago public schools.

The other chapters are largely descriptive but not without merit. Particularly noteworthy are Rosalind Dworkin's prescriptions for effectively eliminating educational discrimination in small cities. Anthony Dworkin's analysis of the Mexicans in Los Angeles points up some basic differences from the situation of Negroes and notes the presence of considerable hostility among Mexicans toward the efforts of blacks to overcome segregation. The value of the book would have been enhanced by including a corresponding chapter on Los Angeles Negroes with a detailed analysis of the interaction between the two groups.

A number of weaknesses prevent the book from rising above the descriptive plane. Methodology must be largely inferred throughout. In addition, the researchers are faced more with the consequences of non-sampling than with the problems of sampling. This is particularly noticeable in the Remsbergs' data. There is a general failure to provide sufficient information regarding school boards (e.g., composition, cohesion, and mode of selection) and their presumably crucial role in the decision to desegregate. Indeed, the decision-making process is rarely described adequately, so that rigorous comparisons between communities are not possible. In short, the book provides numerous interesting observations but it does not sig-

nificantly advance our understanding of the process of desegregation.

DONALD L. NOEL

*The Ohio State University*

*Social Class, Race, and Psychological Development*, edited by MARTIN DEUTSCH, IRWIN KATZ, and ARTHUR R. JENSEN. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968. 423 pp. \$7.00.

This volume, sponsored by the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, attempts to bring together the psychological literature relevant to factors affecting the academic achievement of children from disadvantaged backgrounds. The selections are arranged in four parts, each of which is preceded by an introduction written by one of the editors.

Part One consists of a single chapter by L. A. Gottesman on the biogenetics of race and class. Viewing races and social classes as Mendelian populations, Gottesman concludes that while differences in general intelligence between Negroes and whites appear to result primarily from differences in environmental advantages, class differences in a stratified but open-class society can be expected to have an increasing genetic component.

Part Two is broadly concerned with the effects of the social environment on perception and learning. Two of the chapters examine the literature for relevant clues as to the effects of deprivation and enrichment on these basic processes, and the third reports the findings of a survey that attempted to specify those background variables that mediate the gross relations observed between class, race, and the development of linguistic and cognitive skills. In this section, Arthur Jensen's chapter on "Class and Verbal Learning" should have a salutary effect on many educators, as well as some sociologists, who have written-off learning theory and research as being of little relevance for understanding human learning in the classroom.

The contents of Part Three come closest to the traditional interests of the sociologist. Included here are a review of the literature on Negro self identity by Harold Proshansky and Peggy Newton, a chapter by Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson describing their recent work on the self-fulfilling effects of teacher expectations, and a review by Irwin Katz of factors affecting Negro performance in the racially mixed classroom. While most readers

will be familiar with Rosenthal's studies of the biasing effects of experimenter expectations on human and animal subjects, many may not be aware of his more recent work in an educational setting. An experiment was set up in which teachers were told that they could expect, on the basis of test results, that certain of their pupils would bloom intellectually. This was deliberately false information, since the pupils so identified had been chosen at random, without reference to any test scores. Over an eight month period, their total I.Q. scores generally, and their reasoning subscores in particular, increased significantly over those of the remaining children. The self-fulfilling effects of teacher expectation may help to explain deterioration over time in the academic achievement of many children in ghetto schools and in the lower track in schools where ability grouping is practiced. The concept of expectations is also central in Katz's analysis of Negro performance in the integrated classroom. The model he presents, based in part on Atkinson's motivational analysis of risk-taking behavior, suggests that failure will be more devastating and success more rewarding in the integrated classroom than in the racially segregated one. Crucial to the outcome is the child's expectation of success or failure.

Part Four is devoted to programs of compensatory education for the disadvantaged. It begins with an excellent chapter by McVicker Hunt in which he traces the rise and decline of a number of recently abandoned ideas about cognitive development and functioning, including the belief in fixed intelligence, the idea of predetermined development, the switchboard conception of the brain, the unimportance of preverbal experience, and the homeostatic model of motivation. He then outlines the new views on these topics which his own writings and research have been so instrumental in creating. The remaining chapters on compensatory education will be somewhat disquieting to those who have hoped for a fruitful union of theory and practice in this area. The fit between theory and various programs is often gross. Some elements in these programs appear to be based more on tradition and vested interest than on research evidence, and much of what is known is yet to be applied. Finally, the multifaceted character of most programs makes it impossible to assess the effectiveness of specific innovations. Sociologists will find this a useful source for the latest psychological thinking in this area of joint concern.

CARL W. BACKMAN

*University of Nevada*

*Adult Education In Transition: A Study of Institutional Insecurity*, by BURTON R. CLARK. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1968. 202 pp. \$6.75.

Environmental influence on institutional change is probably one of the least understood aspects of the sociology of organizations. More specifically, few studies have dealt with the impact of environmental pressures upon educational practices, despite the marked vulnerability of educational institutions to their clientele and to the public at large. Instead, educational research has focused largely on narrow technical problems related to classroom management and efficient plant utilization.

Dr. Clark has used the adult school in California as the focus for his case study of institutional change in education. In general, adult education programs in California are "other directed." They have gradually taken on a service character by continually adapting to the expressed interests of students and community groups. This adaptation has a profound effect on every aspect of adult education. The author has accounted for the emergence of this service character by examining three persistent characteristics of adult education programs.

The first basic source of insecurity for adult education identified by Clark is organizational marginality, stemming in part from the fact that these programs depend on acceptance by those with power in public education. Consequently there is an incessant need to sell the programs to the public and to other educators.

The close relationship of income, cost, and attendance determines the second factor operating on adult education programs: enrollment pressures. Attendance must be maintained because of its effect on school income. Since no tuition is charged for courses and attendance is voluntary, adult schools must attract and hold a clientele if they are to survive. Combined with the marginal status of these programs, enrollment pressures create institutional insecurity. Attendance is so critical that the policy regarding minimum acceptable class size is set by the board of education and continuation of any class with less than fourteen students must be explained.

The effect of these policies on the administration of adult schools is decisive. Professionals do not develop programs based on educational principles. Instead, the content of the program is entirely determined by student enrollment. Moreover, the policy of immediately discontinuing classes that cannot maintain an adequate attendance level insures a student dominated

selection system. Criteria for selection of staff have shifted largely from professional training to student acceptance, with the result that teachers as a professional group exert little or no influence.

The adaptation of adult schools to these external demands results in a weak form of "formal cooptation"—a process in which outside groups are brought into the organization as co-sponsors of adult education programs, as a means of legitimizing these programs and gaining access to potential students.

Clark's analysis of co-sponsorship is one of the few weak points in an otherwise excellent study. He fails to recognize the counterdemand for professional legitimation inherent in co-sponsorship of technical courses by adult schools. Co-sponsored courses for real estate appraisers and insurance salesmen, for example, enjoy a modicum of professional respectability not otherwise accorded them. Consequently, adult schools are beleaguered by occupational groups seeking such professional recognition. However, this "other directed" nature of adult programs leads to courses that are embarrassing to administrators (e.g., dog training) and difficult to defend on educational grounds even to other school administrators. Consequently, sizable portions of adult programs are considered inappropriate by educators despite the service rationale cited in their defense.

A third source of continuing institutional insecurity is competition from junior colleges. The expansion of junior college programs to include adult education has resulted from much the same environmental pressures that previously influenced the development of adult education: the need to fill enrollment quotas to assure state financial aid and the need to build community support. Like the adult schools, many junior colleges are quite sensitive to consumer demands and pressure from specific community groups. As a result, these schools largely absorb adult education programs. The position of the junior college in this competition is enhanced by their permanent day programs that are coordinated with high school and college programs. The adult schools, meanwhile, are vulnerable to encroachment because of their diffuse purposes. While open-endedness helps an organization adapt to environmental demands, it makes it vulnerable to invasion by competing organizations. A consequence of competition from junior colleges is increased student dominance over adult education programs.

On the whole, Clark's study is a perceptive analysis of organizational dynamics. As such it provides a significant contribution to the under-

standing of institutional adaptability in response to changes in the organization's environment. Similar sociological analyses of the dynamics of change in other types of organizations are needed if we are to fully understand the determinants of institutional growth and adaptation in our organizational society.

JAMES G. ANDERSON

*New Mexico State University*

*Science in Modern Society*, by J. G. CROWTHER.  
New York: Schocken Books, 1968. 404 pp.  
\$8.00.

This book is typical of the writing on the social aspects of science that was done prior to the recent emergence of the sociology of science as a systematic and empirical discipline. It presents no new data, but rather is a collection of the author's opinions on topics as widely divergent as military "operational research" and middle range sociological theory. Practically all 59 chapters of the book are summaries of some report, speech, book or article, interspersed with the author's comments.

*Science in Modern Society* could have been a valuable summary of a wide range of literature on the social aspects of science, particularly relations between science and government. Unfortunately, Crowther's overly simplified neo-Marxist ideology limits the usefulness of the book, even for lay readers. For example, after summarizing several reports on the "retardation" of British science, he concludes that British science did not advance as rapidly as it might have because British capitalists were more concerned with exploiting an empire than in supporting scientific research. This may be true, but no evidence is presented to support this conclusion. In his attempt to explain why recent writings on science have focused developmental trends within these fields rather than on external influences affecting them, Crowther resorts to a conspiracy theory. The focus on internal development "is the result of a long-range national protective action, by dominant interest that do not wish to have the social and political implications of their scientific policy comprehensively investigated" (p. 290). Such statements, unsupported by evidence, tell us nothing but the author's ideology.

Sociologists may find particularly distasteful Crowther's trite comments that American sociology is an elaborate justification of the status-quo and that quantitative research is inferior to qualitative research. A typical example is his conclusion that middle range theory has "been

established by the features and needs of American capitalism" (p. 229). We might ask what such a statement really tells us. After summarizing the work of Derek Price, Crowther asks whether "there is not a fundamental difficulty in the application of statistics to the growth of science, and other sociological problems. It tends to divert attention from qualitative to quantitative questions" (p. 305). A few pages later he speculates on whether "big science" has produced any work comparable to that done in the past. We might suggest that rates of advance are more a matter for systematic quantitative study than a subject for speculation.

If we ignore the ideological dicta and examine the substantive points made, we are forced to conclude that Crowther has added little to our understanding of modern science. Throughout the book he confuses science with technology. Derek Price, among others, has recently presented data that lead us to question the assumption that technological development is closely dependent on research done in "pure" science. Crowther not only assumes an intimate connection between the two, but often argues that the conditions necessary for technological and scientific advance are the same. He believes that Britain should devote greater resources to science because science is necessary for economic growth. However, since pure science is public knowledge, whether science done in Britain could be just as easily used by other countries and whether the British might make use of pure science done elsewhere are empirical questions. It would seem possible for a country to have a highly developed technology and yet devote little energy to pure science. The basic question is why the British have fallen behind in technological application of new ideas, no matter what their source. The author's answer to this question again suffers from over-simplification. He believes that British statesmen have been trained in the classics and therefore do not understand or appreciate the importance of science and technology. His solution to Britain's economic and scientific problems is to increase the role of government in the support and administration of science.

In conclusion, I believe that this book belongs to an era of writing on science that happily is drawing to a close. Those readers who are interested in modern science would do better to look at James Watson's *Double Helix* or Nuel Plarr Davis' brilliant *Lawrence and Oppenheimer* or the empirical work of Hagstrom, Merton, and Price.

STEPHEN COLE

*State University of New York, Stony Brook*

*Society, Personality, and Deviant Behavior: A Study of a Tri-Ethnic Community*, by RICHARD JESSOR, THEODORE D. GRAVES, ROBERT C. HANSON and SHIRLEY L. JESSOR. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968. 500 pp. \$9.95.

This book reports an extensive inter-disciplinary field research project conducted in a small tri-ethnic (Anglo, Spanish, Indian) community in southwestern Colorado. The investigation focused on drinking problems and other patterns of deviant behavior. The authors (two psychologists, an anthropologist, and a sociologist) present and analyze findings from three "converging" studies—a community survey, in which a stratified sample of adult residents was interviewed at some length; a high school study, in which all sophomores, juniors, and seniors in the local high school responded to lengthy questionnaires; and a "socialization study," in which interviews with mothers of high school students explored socialization variables believed to bear on the personality and behavior of teen-agers.

Of the three studies, the community survey appeared to provide the most reliable findings. Its results were generally consistent with data uncovered in the other two inquiries. While it is not possible in this brief review to discuss all of the behavioral, sociocultural, and personality variables utilized in the research, the major findings may be summarized as follows: Several measures revealed that the Indians drank the most heavily and had the most drinking-related problems, the Anglos drank the least, and the Spanish were in between but closer to the Anglos. Other indices of deviance based on self-reports and official records showed the same ethnic ordering. On the assumption that deviance is best explained in terms of "multiple variables operating simultaneously," the researchers analyzed several "predictor" variables, including subcultural and community anomie, exposure to deviant role modes and opportunities for deviance, differentials between achievement goals and legitimate means, attitudes toward deviance, and willingness to delay gratifications. On all these measures Anglos were by-and-large the least deviance-prone, Indians were the most deviance-prone, with the Spanish again being in an intermediate position.

The authors seek to explain the interrelationships among their predictor variables through a rather complicated "field pattern analysis" of levels of deviance among blocs of respondents displaying various "patterns" or combinations of sociocultural and personality variables. These combinations are hypothesized to vary in terms

of deviance-proneness. The authors conclude that, when sociocultural variables are controlled, personality variables are significantly related to deviance, and vice versa; beyond that they can show only that the closer individuals come to displaying high deviance-proneness "patterns" (a combination of sociocultural and personality factors), the greater the likelihood of deviant behavior.

The authors themselves acknowledge that their procedure does not really get at "the unique or differential combination of the individual variables in their different interactions," but they assume "that the important variation lies in the *number* of deviance-prone scores a person has . . . rather than in which *particular* scores he has." Recognizing this significant limitation, the authors state that they "had no *a priori* basis for assuming that any given variable in a structure was more or less important than any other." Results in the socialization study (which focused on such matters as patterns of affection and control, parental beliefs, and presence or absence of deviant role models) generally upheld the analysis described above; ethnic variations in socialization practice set the stage for the other sociocultural and personality variations associated with degrees of deviance-proneness.

Given the limitations of the "pattern analysis" used (which the authors themselves recognize), the small sample size (in the high school study there were only 11 Indian respondents), and the difficulty of generalizing from data obtained from one community, the book might have devoted less space to statistical data and instead have made a greater effort to convey the cultural context of life in the community. This ambitious attempt to present a general theory of deviance does not, in this reviewer's opinion, take us beyond the earlier formulations of men such as Merton, Cloward, and Ohlin, whose work is discussed with approval.

The sheer length of the book may also be questioned. Between a short description of the community and a discussion of their actual research, the authors insert a hundred-page review of theories of deviance and of personality development that is intended to highlight the theoretical formulations on which the research was built—such as Rotter's learning theory in the area of personality and the above works on deviance. If the book is meant to be merely a scholarly study, this section could have been greatly condensed, since it covers at unnecessary length many points well known to professional readers. Perhaps, however, the authors also hoped that the book would be used in methods courses as an example of survey techniques in community research—in which case the inclusion



of such material is more comprehensible. In short, while many of the findings of this study will be of interest to specialists in deviance and community analysis, a less ambitious presentation would have sufficed to convey the key data and points of interpretation.

EDWIN M. SCHUR

Tufts University

*Comparative Perspectives on Marriage and the Family*, edited by H. KENT GEIGER. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Co., 1968. 222 pp. Paperbound. \$2.95.

In this paperback, Geiger has provided a new tool for courses on the sociology of the family: a comparative reader on various facets of family life. He has made available fourteen research articles and reviews of the literature which would otherwise have been relatively inaccessible to the average teacher, to say nothing of the average student. They were drawn from such elusive sources as *Pacific Affairs*, the *Harvard Educational Review*, and the *British Journal of Sociology* (there are none from the *American Sociological Review* or the *American Journal of Sociology*). Geiger obviously read widely to assemble a distinctive collection of materials.

The cultures dealt with are almost exclusively foreign (in contrast to the heavily American emphasis in most sociology courses offered at U.S. institutions). Few are primitive societies, but there is multiple representation of agrarian societies of Asia, lower-class segments of industrializing societies, and the Israeli kibbutz. Some of these categories overlap with systematic treatments in Queen, Habenstein, and Adams' *The Family in Various Cultures* or Nimkoff's *Comparative Family Systems*.

Unfortunately, Geiger's treatment is not systematic. He collected journal articles originally written by many different people for a wide variety of purposes—and therein lies the problem. He attempted to give his book a comparative framework by pairing articles that supposedly dealt with the same topic. At first glance this format seems to offer genuine comparisons, but careful reading suggests that only one or two pairings are compatible. In some cases, the editor might have improved comparability if he had been willing to edit articles to delete irrelevant sections. He might also have offered a comparative introduction to each pair of articles, setting forth the similarities or contrasts as he saw them. Unfortunately he confined himself to a single rambling introduction to the whole book, in which he treats a large number of themes comparatively but does not directly discuss the later comparisons.

In general, Geiger's pairing strategy must be deemed a failure. This was not inevitable. Bradburn's "Achievement and Father Dominance in Turkey" might have been paired with the Rosen and d'Andrade article it replicated. Marris's "Slum Clearance and Family Life in Lagos" might have been matched with Young and Willmott's treatment of the consequences of migration from East London instead of with Oscar Lewis' *La Vida* (irrelevant not only to Marris but to the whole topic of marriage and the family). Geiger's difficulty came from the use of rubrics such as "Sources of Impersonality Components" and "Current Social Problems," which are so vague that they fail to bring articles into direct confrontation.

Pairing is a difficult strategy. An easier and more promising approach might be to choose articles that employ cross-national data to test a common hypothesis. Actually Geiger included a few of these but he subordinated their comparative value to his over-riding pairing framework. For example, he failed to emphasize the fact that Vogel's article used data from the U.S. as well as from Japan, and he even stripped Rainwater of his original comparative title ("... Four Cultures of Poverty"). Fortunately, the sociological literature abounds today with comparative articles employing either data from the Human Relations Area Files or fresh data from systematic field studies. Suggestive examples might be Brown on deviation from sexual mores, Nimkoff and Middleton on economy and family, Pearlin and Kohn on parental values, or Buric and Zecevic on marital power structure.

One final comment: Geiger notes in a footnote that one of his authors (a) has subsequently written more on his subject, but fails to give references, and (b) has modified his views on the subject, but fails to report how. Shouldn't an editor give his readers access to the latest developments, either directly or indirectly?

In conclusion, Geiger has undertaken a worthy task and made an admirable effort, but only a few of his selections fulfill his purpose. I look forward eagerly to a revised and improved edition in the future.

ROBERT O. BLOOD, JR.

Pendle Hill

*Comparative Kinship Systems: A Method of Analysis*, by BERNARD FARBER. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1968. 147 pp. \$5.95.

This book indicates that a correlation exists between intimate-kin group categories (sets of relatives with whom marriage is proscribed) and kinds of social structure. Important data are given in the form of fourteen diagrams desig-

nating kinship identity as derived from the intimate-kin group and personal identity as derived from a particular relative, such as a grandfather.

The final chapter suggests that "each element in the symbolic representation of kinship identity has consequences for the operation of the kinship system as it extends over generations." It also includes, on the basis of data presented in six short preceding chapters, a convincing discussion of the following relationships: "(1) The accrual of kinship identities of affines on marriage is related to the extent of control by the lineage (or the intimate-kin group) over nuclear family members. (2) The extent to which an individual inherits the kinship identities of both sets of grandparents is related to the permissibility of first-cousin marriages and subsequently to inheritance patterns appropriate to the kinship system. (3) The extent of differentiation between males and females in kinship identity is related to sex differences in authority patterns in the family. (4) The existence of multiple kinship and personal identities is related to rules governing residence after marriage" (p. 123).

Analysis leading to the above speculations was based on ten kinship systems chosen for their diverse characteristics. Four are modern industrial systems: the western American system, which prohibits first-cousin marriages but permits marriages between any affines; the Biblical system, an American type permitting first-cousin marriages but prohibiting marriages between certain affines; the Ecclesiastical system implicit in Roman Catholic Church law, which has more extensive proscriptions on marriages between affines; and the Soviet system implicit in USSR marriage laws, which proscribes marriage between full and half siblings and between relatives in a direct ascending or descending line but does not extend to uncles, aunts, or cousins. The six nonindustrial systems include two patrilineal ones (the Nyakyusa in southern Tanzania and the Marri Baluch in West Pakistan), two matrilineal ones (the Ashanti of the Gold Coast of Africa and the Guadalcanal Islanders in the Solomon Islands), and two systems in which marriage with a mother's brother's daughter is prescribed or highly preferred (the Chin of western Burma and the Mapuche Indians in central Chile).

Farber warns the reader of the primary deficiency of his book: it is difficult to read. And its method of analysis seems questionable for other sociologists. Inferring relationships from hypothetical genealogical charts, which appear somewhat less efficient and more complex than necessary, is sometimes tedious to the

point of becoming discouraging. But such concentration may have value beyond the structural insights that reward the enduring reader, provided that sociologists who read the book will ask themselves if their own diagrams and styles of writing and speaking are as simple and clear as possible. Also, as a matter of form, the book should have a bibliography, and should have been more carefully proofed for minor grammatical and typographical errors.

ELMORA M. MATTHEWS

*The University of Texas*

*Sociological Aspects of the Literary System*, by KARL ERIK ROSENGREN. Stockholm, Sweden: Natur och Kultur, 1968. 216 pp. Paperbound. No price indicated.

The literary system, as conceived by Rosengren, refers to relationships between authors, books, reviewers, and audiences. He adopts the concept of process, as suggested by Barnett in *Sociology Today*, but restricts his study to meaningful relationships between books, reviewers, and "mentions." The latter are names of Swedish and foreign writers of fiction that appear in reviews of newly published books by other authors. His method is thus a type of content analysis derived from American theorists and similar to empirical studies in popular culture by Martell and McCall, Berelson and Salter, Lowenthal, and others. The procedure for "mentions" follows that of statistical linguistics, with mentions being analogous to words in a text; its theoretical justification rests on the frame of reference presented by Sherif for socio-psychological processes. To include the time dimension, books and reviews produced in Sweden were selected from two periods: the "past," represented by production in the 1880's, and the "present," represented by production in the 1950's and early 60's.

Within this relatively narrow framework, Rosengren proceeds to present data on the interrelationships of book and review production and the mentions for both periods. He compares the periods mainly for size and complexity, for language distributions, for relative frequency of mentions of individual writers and their persistence over time, and for the structure of co-mentions. Each of these comparisons is detailed and is analyzed in a variety of ways that are ingenious and often enlightening. For example, the modern period is found to be between 30 and 40 percent larger than the 1880's, but the difference seems due more to greater variety than to literary innovation. Furthermore, the modern period shows a slower rate of literary change than the 80's, and there is less interna-

tionalism. Again, the data show that as writers multiply, the classics are referred to less and less, and some are dropped entirely, being relegated to the realm of literary history. Finally, the commentaries reveal the closeness or distance of writers from one another: Ibsen and Björnson are closely associated in the earlier period, Joyce and Kafka in the modern period; others are more remote. The relationships form constellations that resemble the configurations of sociograms.

Like Robert Escarpit in France, Rosengren has produced objective data and systematically exploited it without recourse to preconceived sociological theory. His work stands opposed to impressionistic efforts and to those of sociological critics, still so prevalent today, whose interest remains centered on the explanation of particular works rather than on the literary system. Admittedly, Rosengren deals only with a small part of that system. He recognizes the role of the reviewer as a professional intermediary or as a "taste-maker," without presenting evidence of audience reaction. He is aware of the Katz-Lazarsfeld concept of two-step flow of communication, but fails to apply it. His contention that associations of writers with reviewers constitute "cognitive structures of the literary system" is challenging, but lacks the qualities of the collective "mental structures" postulated and defined by Lucian Goldmann. Despite these and other limitations, the book deserves careful study as a possible means of achieving more precise knowledge about the literary system.

MILTON C. ALBRECHT

State University of New York at Buffalo

*Politics and Television*, by KURT LANG and GLADYS ENGEL LANG. Chicago, Ill.: Quadrangle Books, 1968. 315 pp. \$6.95.

Most of the research essays reproduced in this book were previously published in scholarly journals. The essay on the events of MacArthur Day in Chicago won the Edward L. Bernays television award of the American Sociological Association and appeared in the February 1953 issue of the *American Sociological Review*. Essays dealing with the Chicago Republican and Democratic national conventions of 1952 were from Gladys Lang's Ph.D. dissertation and were published in the *Public Opinion Quarterly* and *Journal of Broadcasting* during 1956 and 1957. The data on the Kennedy-Nixon debates were published in the *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Summer 1961. In contrast, the chapter dealing with late voters and early returns appears in print for the first time in this volume and will be

published in an expanded version under the title *Voting and Nonvoting: Implications of Broadcasting Returns Before Polls Are Closed*.

The chronological arrangement of the essays enables one to gain some appreciation of the increasing precision of research techniques attempting to measure the impact of television on selected publics. In several ways, the earlier essays are masterpieces in instant research design and successful recruitment of voluntary research aids. In addition, there is a feeling of spontaneity in the earlier essays that is somewhat lacking in the concluding research, a research program funded by a major network.

The chapter on the MacArthur Day parade brings into sharp contrast the mild excitement experienced by "live viewers" as the General passed by and the contrived excitement generated by television coverage over a period of forty minutes. Television reporters purported that the MacArthur parade had brought the city to a standstill, an impression totally at variance with reality. In their account of the way television announcers reported the parade, the Langs suggest that the audio portion of the message is most important, but they do not give sufficient attention to the subtle power of listening to a description of something we think we are seeing.

The analysis of the 1952 nominating conventions in Chicago centers on the common practice in television of concentrating on the king-makers in both parties. Again, the audio aspect became significant, particularly in view of the fact that the three networks pooled camera coverage but presented different versions of the proceedings. The Langs document here the power of "style of coverage" to influence a viewer's perception of what he is seeing.

The Kennedy-Nixon debates of the fall of 1960 were analyzed by interviewing a panel of 97 New Yorkers, many of whom were college students. The data support the general observation that John Kennedy gained valuable exposure by being matched against a better known opponent. The panel observers interviewed by the Langs became more oriented toward Kennedy as the debates proceeded, largely because undecided Democrats finally chose to support the party's candidate.

Television personalities are described in terms of performance, political role, and personal image. Actors seem to be able to slip into the role of politician without much difficulty. The authors point out that "the impact of a personal image is greatest when public discussion is relatively lacking in 'class' or 'interest' type of issues." Perhaps the ultimate transposition of roles will occur when Ronald Reagan retires

from politics and plays the role of "Governor" in an MGM colossal on California politics.

The authors claim that broadcasting voting trends on election day before the polls close in California results in minimal changes in the remaining vote. They argue that in a close election the networks are very cautious about making any definite prediction concerning the probable winner, although the prediction that an election will be close may be the information an aggressive political machine needs most to get late voters to the polls. Dr. Frank Stanton has suggested that a uniform polling day with balloting all over the country ending at the same hour would avoid undue influence from "early returns." It is difficult to understand how the Stanton reform would control the practice of interviewing samples of voters during an election day.

The Langs remove the mask of neutrality from the television medium. Television commentary ranges from objectivity to the practice of presenting both sides of a controversial issue from one side. In a variety of ways the camera is selective in what it presents to the viewer. Researchers who hope to develop testable hypotheses concerning television as communication will welcome the publication of this collection of empirical essays by the Langs.

EDWARD C. McDONAGH

*University of Southern California*

*World Population: An Analysis of Vital Data*, by NATHAN KEYFITZ and WILHELM FLIEGER. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1968. 672 pp. \$16.50.

*Introduction to the Mathematics of Population*, by NATHAN KEYFITZ. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1968. 450 pp. \$13.50.

*Introduction to the Mathematics of Population* brings together in one convenient place a large body of the mathematical methods now available for demographic analysis. Numerous workers in many countries have developed methods for extracting meaning from the masses of demographic data collected through censuses, registrations of vital events, actuarial records, and sample surveys. Considerable attention is given to the fact that many of the available data may be erroneous or incomplete. Techniques are presented for detecting and measuring errors in the data and for dealing with imperfect data.

The analysis begins with the familiar life table and the stationary population model. It goes on to discuss projections and to take into

account the continuous renewal of a population. It details the more complex methods needed for situations created by the interaction of differential rates of fertility, mortality, and nuptiality. Methods are given for assessing the probable future effects of varying rates of decline in fertility and mortality. Probability models are presented. The discussion is enlivened with many illustrations. The range of topics considered extends to the probability of a family having a surviving son despite child and young-adult mortality and the probability that any person will have no descendants after  $x$  generations.

Keyfitz states that the book is designed for the lone reader, and that in the classroom he requires about one hour of exposition per page. Regardless of the way in which the book is used, it provides convenient access to methods which heretofore have been available only in a wide variety of sources. It also contains substantial original contributions by the senior author and his colleagues.

The companion volume, *World Population*, gives the results of the application of some of the methods to an analysis of population data for each country of the world for which even elementary data are available. It is a dramatic illustration of the new dimensions in the social sciences opened up by electronic computers guided by competence and imagination. The report undertakes to: (1) present official data on births, deaths, and population—all by age and sex—for as many periods of time and countries as possible; (2) calculate life tables that conform to these data; (3) facilitate comparisons of mortality and fertility among countries and moments in time; (4) establish as a bench mark for work on future population a projection based on fixed mortality and fertility fixed and zero migration; (5) analyze age distributions; (6) infer birth rates from age distributions as a means of checking the birth rates given in vital statistics; and (7) work out such measures of the combined action of mortality and fertility as (a) intrinsic rates of birth, death, and natural increase, and (b) gross and net reproduction rates. This is accomplished in a set of 261 standard tables, given for 4 countries in Africa, 16 in North and Central America and the Caribbean, 6 in South America, 7 in East Asia, and 27 in Europe.

As source material these compact tables provide new insights into the meaning of demographic data and new tools for the analysis of current and prospective trends. Research workers will find in this volume the means for developing new insights and new approaches to old problems, many of which have previously

been avoided because the means for dealing with them were too burdensome.

CONRAD TAEUBER

*Bureau of the Census*

*Medical Sociology: A Selective View*, by DAVID MECHANIC. New York: The Free Press, 1968. 504 pp. \$9.95.

Medical sociology is a relative newcomer to the substantive areas of sociology; interest in health and illness among sociologists has developed, in large part, during the last twenty years. Although many research studies focused on one or another aspect of health or illness have been published, few books have attempted to formulate a behavioral science perspective on interrelations among health, illness, and society. David Mechanic has made such an attempt in this volume.

Mechanic explores the interrelations of fifteen dimensions of the field: distribution and etiology of disease; cultural and social responses to illness; sociocultural aspects of medical care; mortality; social epidemiology; organization of medical practice; sociology of the healing occupations; sociology of the hospital; community health organization; social change and health care; medical education; public health; stress and disease; social and community psychiatry; and health policy and politics. Each of these areas is discussed with care, understanding, and insight into both medicine and sociology.

These dimensions are examined developmentally in the three parts of the book. Part One presents a frame of reference for studying medical sociology. The five chapters included here take the reader successively from the consideration of health and illness as facets of deviant behavior to the relevance of the concept of deviance to medical sociology, the doctor's perspective of disease and the patient, and the patient's perspective of the physician and his own illness. Finally, in Chapter 5, the physician and the patient are brought together in the conference room.

The four chapters in Part Two are primarily methodological in orientation. Different ways of studying the disease process—clinical investigation, controlled clinical trials, epidemiology, and demography—are discussed in terms simple enough that undergraduates can grasp the meaning of the materials. The examination of the literature on morbidity, mortality, and demography is straightforward and to the point. The complicated interplay between social stress and the clinical appearance of disease is particularly well developed.

Part Three is concerned with organizational factors in medical care. The development of medical care in the United States and Great Britain is the focus of Chapter 10. This is an analysis of the ways in which historical factors have influenced the development of medical care organizations in the two countries. The final chapter is concerned with the manner in which organizational forces, particularly in the hospital, shape the environment of the patient as he is subjected to medical care.

*Medical Sociology* requires careful reading. Mechanic has drawn upon an extensive literature (the bibliography cites 468 specific references, mainly books and articles published in the last twenty years). In every chapter there are closely reasoned, insightful statements relevant to the question of interdependencies between health and disease. An important distinction, for example, is drawn between social causes of disease and social influences affecting the course of disease. The book has much to recommend it, but there are passages that are ideological and polemical. A particular weakness is the lack of empirical evidence to support sweeping statements. As Mechanic points out, his is a selective view, but a view that is nevertheless comprehensive and pertinent to the development of the field at this time. The volume belongs on the shelf of every medical sociologist.

AUGUST B. HOLLINGSHEAD

*Yale University*

*Sickness and Society*, by RAYMOND S. DUFF and AUGUST B. HOLLINGSHEAD. New York: Harper and Row, 1968. 390 pp. \$12.50.

This is an intensive study of 161 families, with special emphasis on their illnesses and hospitalizations. The authors, a medical doctor and a sociologist, spent seven years studying the quality of hospital care these families received and the impact of illness and hospitalization upon them. The reader is shown the degree to which the study of hospitalization is (1) a study of society in the large, and more particularly (2) a study of various aspects of the social psychology of illness: the nature of family relationships, the interplay of a wide range of specialized occupations, the complex structure of modern hospitals as social institutions, and the embedding of all these in the class and cultural components of the community. The reader becomes uncomfortably aware of how frequently ignorance (often terror-ridden) becomes involved in the drama of illness, and of the extent to which evasions, conspiratorial si-

lences, misrepresentations, and half-truths characterize hospital talk about illness.

There is something of value in this book for many different kinds of sociologists. Students of class will be interested in the comparison of ward patients with private patients. Students of the family will find data on the functioning of the family under stress. Methodologists can assess the effort to devise a research plan suitable for a very complex body of data. Action-oriented sociologists will find a brutally frank documentation of the shortcomings of medical care even in top-ranking hospitals.

The volume makes a substantial contribution to the study of specialized occupations, particularly those involving personal service on a face-to-face basis. The basic theme of the relation of the professional person to his client is vividly documented. Variations on this theme are presented in memorable detail: the vexed upper-class surgeon ridding himself of the unwanted patient from a lower class; the pitying physician protecting a patient from the horrors of still another rigorous operation; the anxious intern bullying the family into permitting a post mortem examination; the "special" nurse in the hospital reducing her services to a bare minimum; regular nurses following a doctor's order without knowing how it is related to the patient's illness; idealistic teen-age nurses coming face to face with dire poverty and serious disease in an advanced stage; physicians unable to tell a ward patient or his family that the illness is terminal; residents admitting patients to wards too readily (thereby being dubbed "sieves") or guarding the hospital gate too closely (thereby becoming known as "rocks"); head nurses facing the Monday morning rush in surgery with exemplary competence. For the sociologist interested in the nuances of the interplay of the professional and his client, the book is a mine of revealing information.

The authors also contribute a detailed analysis of the relationship of professionals and paraprofessionals to each other. The spectrum of observation is both wide and deep. Colleague relationships between doctors are carefully explored. The easy adjustment of teaching colleagues contrasts with the peripheral relations between "university" and "town" doctors. Relationships among "house" physicians differ markedly from the way in which they relate to private practitioners. The relations of private practitioners to each other in the hospital setting are different still. The authors use their sense of the nature of these relationships to illuminate some of the major differences in hospi-

tal experiences of patients. From their observations they have devised a very useful classification of types of admissions to hospitals.

Duff and Hollingshead have also performed a noteworthy service in describing the structure of the hospital. In the literature of medical sociology there are few adequate descriptions of modern hospitals. It is commonly recognized that dual lines of authority give hospitals a distinctive character. It is also recognized that the hospital performs a variety of different functions, including treatment, research, and teaching. These authors have skillfully traced out the ways in which these activities come into conflict, and the consequences of such conflict for the welfare of the patient. In the bargain they have illuminated the relation of the hospital and the medical school to each other and to the community in which both are set.

As noted earlier, this book is the result of a long and fruitful collaboration between a doctor and a sociologist. The colleagues of both have ample reason to be grateful for the results of their labors.

OSWALD HALL

*University of Toronto*

*The Silent Dialogue*, by VIRGINIA OLESEN and ELVI WHITTAKER. San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass, 1968. 312 pp. \$10.00.

*The Silent Dialogue* attempts to describe the socialization of a class of student nurses at the University of California. Socialization is viewed as the sum of "existential encounters in which the students defined, chose, and acted on their choices." The book is thus a description of the actions and feelings of students striving to maintain a viable self while obtaining a nursing education. Participant observation of students in classes, clinics, and related activities over a three-year period was the main method of data collection. Questionnaires based partly on these observations and given to a subsequent class were used to test the reliability of the data from the observations and also to yield additional data.

Socialization is conceptualized as processes of interaction viewed from the perspectives of students, occurring as the students cared for patients in the clinics, took examinations, and had conferences to review their clinical and other experiences. This sequence of faculty-planned experiences is thus seen as providing opportunities for self-testing by students. Students were sometimes uncertain as to faculty expectations, either because the faculty failed to clarify adequately the objectives of the experiences, or because they deliberately left the ex-

periences vague as a means of testing the decision-making abilities of the students. Students reacted to the demands generated by these predicaments by devising a culture to "psych out" expectations of the faculty and then "front" to the faculty in terms of what they perceived these expectations to be.

The fronting students tested their ability to meet expectations by observing the faculty's evaluations of their performances. Frontings for reality testing were also presented to others, including fellow students, patients, physicians, and parents. (We are not told systematically what expectations the students perceived these significant others to hold.) Students either had or developed—it is not clear which—"claims on the identity of nurse," a concept not clearly defined by the authors. When the reactions of others appeared to support these claims, students were pleased. When the reactions of others did not provide the desired legitimation of the fronting behavior, students' responses seemed to vary according to the significance and power of the interactant. Discrepancies between a student's claims on identity and the reactions of significant others posed threats to the self. Student culture helped to lessen this threat by controlling overt competition among students and by supporting invidious evaluations of those who failed to legitimate claims, especially faculty members. Through this process, we are told, the student integrated the role of the nurse with the inner self. How the integration took place and the kinds of shifts involved in the orientations toward self as nurse and as person are not systematically studied.

As a study of cultural adaptation to predicaments, this book is insightful but repetitious. As a study of socialization it is, I feel, severely handicapped by its almost exclusive focus on the techniques used by students to cope with trying situations. The authors explicitly disavow any intention to examine systematically the goals and orientations of the faculty, the skills taught, or the ways in which these factors structured students' educational experiences as a cumulative process producing socialized nurses. As a result, their approach leaves out the substantive content of socialization. It is also incomplete as an abstract analysis of a process, for the unending series of "existential encounters" that is describes appears to lead nowhere and to change nothing. After three years the student is still fronting, still seeking legitimation, and no clear picture emerges of the ways in which she has learned the skills of nursing, modified her values, or acquired orientations toward a nursing role and significant others associated with it. We do not learn what it is to

become a nurse, but only how one confronts immediate situations which arise in the process of nursing education.

IDA HARPER SIMPSON

Duke University

*The Uneasy Equilibrium: Private and Public Financing of Health Services in the U.S., 1875-1965*, by ODIN W. ANDERSON. New Haven, Conn.: College and University Press, 1968. 240 pp. \$5.00.

This book describes the evolution of systems of public and private health insurance in America from the founding of the Marine Hospital Service through the enactment of Medicare. In the author's words, it is intended as a "synthesis, with an emphasis on ideas and policies rather than on discrete events and people" (p. 15). For the most part this "synthesis" consists of the reduction of complex social and political events to a sketchy description of aborted bills, enacted laws, commission reports, and AMA editorials. In a few places there are attempts to integrate descriptions of policy changes with explanations inferred from a cursory examination of the social context. Unfortunately these excursions into "analysis" are about at the level of a review book in American history.

Since the book appears to be written for health administrators rather than sociologists, there is no point in dwelling on its lack of sociological relevance. But those readers who are curious about how things happen in history as well as what happened (not to mention why it happened) are likely to feel frustrated by the author's failure to develop ideas beyond the scope of one-paragraph declarations.

One illustration will suffice. In 1916 government-sponsored health insurance received an initially favorable response from organizations representing business interests, whereas organized labor adopted a position very similar to that of the AMA. The author summarizes the initial positions taken by both business and labor and points to the evident fact that these positions were subsequently reversed. But no effort is made to examine the process of change. The section on the role of labor ends abruptly with the following sentence: "It was not for another 15 years or so that organized labor developed a policy diametrically opposed to that of the AMA" (p. 79). Isn't this the point where a sociologist, historian, or journalist might start his analysis? Similarly, the brief description of the changing position of business concludes on the following note and is never discussed again: "In May, 1916, the National Association of

Manufacturers reported favorably on government-sponsored health insurance, but a year later its Committee on Industrial Betterment reported a preference for the voluntary form. And in time its opposition increased in intensity" (p. 81).

While this book may be satisfactory for readers interested in which groups took what positions on particular policies, and when this occurred, it does not offer any insights into the process of social change. A far better examination of the social forces which have retarded the development of an adequate system of health insurance in America is still to be found in Chapter 14 of Richard Shryock's *The Development of Modern Medicine*, even though this historical work ends with the mid-thirties.

ROBERT LEJEUNE

City University of New York

*Social Gerontology*, by MARVIN R. KOLLER.  
New York: Random House, 1968. 176 pp.  
\$5.95.

At this stage in the development of social gerontology, two kinds of books are needed. One kind would do for this specialized field what Peter Berger's *Invitation to Sociology* does for sociology as a whole: excite and sensitize undergraduates to key issues, thereby inviting them to the scholarly enterprise of dealing with these issues. A second kind would be similar to Berelson and Steiner's *Human Behavior*, which combines an extensive bibliography with a concise codification of research findings and empirically supported hypotheses.

Passages in the preface and throughout the text suggest that Professor Koller intends *Social Gerontology* to meet both these requirements. Unfortunately, the volume falls considerably short of the mark in both areas.

It seems fair to expect that "an invitation to social gerontology" would present lengthily and provocative discussion of such essential questions as facing one's own death, the subjective meaning of time, redefinition of self throughout the life cycle, historical location, and the interrelationship of adolescence, obsolescence, and senescence. When Koller discusses such problems at all, however, he does so only in passing. After a section on the problems of "facing life," for instance, in which the author concedes that "obesity, smoking, marital status, and suicide are among the factors that alter a life span," four paragraphs are devoted to the problem of "facing death." Here we are told that the "inability of the self to comprehend its own end slowly dawns upon one's conscious-

ness, because where death exists, the self has vanished" (p. 108).

A more serious flaw is the failure of *Social Gerontology* to make good its claim to present "a distillation of much of the past and present productivity" in the field (p. vii). From among the hundreds of sociological studies on aging reported in the last several decades, only three are summarized by Koller in anything approaching an adequate manner: Simmons on the aged in primitive societies, Lehman on age and achievement, and Cummings on disengagement. Nothing like a compendium of research findings or hypotheses is to be found anywhere in the volume.

The best portions of the book deal with topics peripheral to the field. For instance, there is a rather sound treatment of the demographic foundations of aging (all but one of the sixteen tables in the book are from *The Statistical and Demographic Yearbooks or Current Population Reports*). Koller's discussion of social welfare services for the aged in England, France, and Sweden is also quite good, although by his own criteria this is a *geriatric topic*, not a gerontological one.

There is hardly a subject which lends itself more completely to some of the central concerns of sociological analysis than the study of old age. What other ascriptive minority, for instance, becomes the achievement of the majority? *Social Gerontology*, alas, neither furthers the efforts of those already working in this fertile field nor seems likely to serve as the much needed stimulus for fresh help.

MARK MESSER

University of California at Santa Cruz

*The Mental Patient: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*, by STEPHAN P. SPITZER and NORMAN K. DENZIN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1968. 486 pp. Paperbound. \$4.50.

Sociology is the most recent discipline to investigate the field of mental illness. If any need still exists to demonstrate the significant contributions of the discipline to the study of mental illness, this book admirably meets that need. Spitzer and Denzin make clear their intent to utilize a sociological perspective, and they adhere consistently to this decision. Although selections include works by socially oriented psychiatrists and psychologists, there is little recourse to the formulations of other disciplines. The concepts, problems, and theoretical framework are all predominantly sociological.

The editors have developed a systematic



framework for organizing the major lines of sociological investigation that have emerged in studies of mental illness. Two major theoretical orientations are used. The first perspective is the deviancy approach, which views "mental illness" as forms of behavior that are so defined by certain audiences and that produce arbitrary labeling processes. The second is a symbolic interaction approach, emphasizing self-other systems and interpersonal processes.

The book consists of six parts, each divided into subsections. Part One, "Sociological Approaches toward Deviant Behavior and Mental Illness," investigates societal reaction to deviant behavior and interactionist theories of specific disorders. The first two papers by Scheff and Szasz question the disease or illness approach and present an alternative formulation of mental illness in terms of social evaluation, definition, and labeling. Part Two, "Social Epidemiology of Mental Illness," first examines the ecological and socioeconomic distribution of cases, including the differences between treated and untreated cases. It goes on to consider the relationships of personal and social characteristics (race, religion, marital status, migrancy and social mobility) to mental illness. The section concludes with three papers demonstrating the importance of cross-cultural studies that allow for epidemiological comparisons on a broader scope.

Parts Three, Four, and Five analyze the temporal sequence of experiences, or "career" phases, of the mental patient. The prepatient, inpatient, and postpatient phases are presented in order. In Part Three, emphasis is placed on the role of others—spouse, family, clergy, and medical and legal practitioners—in determining the accommodating, labeling, and hospitalizing processes. Discussions of the impact of the hospital structure and the staff on inpatients, as well as family responses to patients, constitute Part Four. Part Five, the post-hospitalization phase, examines stigma, the adjustment to others in various social networks, and the effects of emergent voluntary associations created specifically for former patients. Part Six is a concluding essay by the editors indicating some of the conceptual problems, theoretical issues, and needed lines of research.

Among the authors of the forty-five selections are many of the familiar contributors to the sociology of mental illness: Scheff, Szasz, Rose, Dunham, Hollingshead and Redlich, Eaton and Weil, Goffman, Freeman and Simmons and Dinitz, Lefton, Angrist and Pasamanick. There are also a number of other authors who may be less familiar to sociologists. Spitzer and Denzin point out that the relevant

literature is scattered in a multitude of journals serving many disciplines. This collection will make these studies more readily available.

The articles have been skillfully selected and ordered to illustrate the editors' theoretical perspective. No attempt was made to achieve a representative sampling of the field. Notably absent are selections representing psychiatric, psychological, or psychopharmaceutical approaches. There are no papers on community mental health and out-patient programs. These omissions may disturb some potential users of the book.

Of special merit are the editorial essays preceding each part. Spitzer and Denzin have done an outstanding job of systematically presenting their theoretical framework, identifying major issues, pointing out the significance of each article to the theory, and then indicating specific problems not yet analyzed or researched. Students and faculty should find these integrating essays extremely valuable.

The editors have realized their goals. The book is an excellent synthesis of recent developments in sociological thought applied to mental illness. It may be used effectively for advanced undergraduate or graduate courses in either the sociology of mental illness or the sociology of deviancy. It will be of value and interest to students, faculty, and researchers.

MILTON J. BRAWER

*Western Michigan University*

*Mental Retardation: Its Social Context and Social Consequences*, by BERNARD FARBER, Boston, Mass.: Houghton-Mifflin, 1968. 287 pp. \$5.50.

This book—the first major sociological treatment of mental retardation—is divided into two relatively autonomous parts. Part One focuses upon mental retardation as a social product. It includes an illuminating discussion of three conceptions of mental retardation, as well as an extensive examination of the empirical evidence of its prevalence, with structural and cultural variations, in Europe and the United States. Part Two provides a more encyclopedic coverage of the consequences and treatment of retardation. It synthesizes research findings from a variety of sources on (a) the mental retardation social reform movement, (b) the significance of the family for the retarded, (c) the social character of residential institutions, and (d) the relationship of the retarded to the larger community.

Following the effective analytical pattern established in his textbook on the family, Farber first presents his own conception of

retardation and then compares it to the two views currently sustaining modern educational and welfare programs for the retarded. Farber considers the mentally retarded to be a surplus population—the logical social product of the rational criteria used to select some people for total participation in a bureaucratically organized society and to reject others. This view is in sharp contrast to current theories that view retardation as either deviance from norms of conformity or incompetence due to mental deficiency. This stimulating comparison is the highlight of the book and gives the reader an understanding of sociological approaches to retardation.

As he has demonstrated in his other works, Farber has the uncanny ability to apply both old and new sociological ideas to relatively virgin territory, providing a dazzling illumination of the area while simultaneously contributing to the development of sociological theory. He accomplishes both these feats in his analyses of (a) the National Association for Mental Retardation as both a social reform movement and a complex formal organization, (b) the way intelligence tests measure the “public” and “private” selves which are internalizations of the private and public culture systems, (c) the social stratification of inmate and staff populations where the value systems represent “hip” and “square” cultures derived from the custodial and therapeutic functions of residential institutions, and (d) the use of social labeling to assign a special role to the retarded in a society where the major institutions are intertwined in a complex set of reinforcing relationships.

Farber presents excellent summaries of numerous research studies and, to his credit, neither pits study against study nor abuses his privilege as a critic. Rather, his purpose is to uncover consistencies in research findings and to suggest fertile areas for further research efforts. Of special interest is the way Farber uses research findings on other topics to bring light to neglected aspects of retardation, thus creating new areas for social research.

The major weakness of the book is its condensed formulation. Too many topics are treated too briefly to enable the average reader to fully comprehend the material. For example, Farber describes seven American studies of the prevalence of retardation without criticizing the obvious shortcomings or explaining why such studies are forced to utilize less than ideal research techniques. There is a clear danger that some readers will assume these are acceptable research techniques. In addition, one wishes that Farber had expanded the final sections of each

chapter, in which he uses his concept of surplus population to provide important insights into the topic discussed. It is also very unfortunate that this conception of retardation drops almost completely from sight in the second half of the book. If the mentally retarded are a surplus population, what implications does this have for the reform movement, the family, residential institutions, and the place of the retarded in the larger community?

A solution to the problem of mental retardation, Farber demonstrates, lies in the social structure. While he does not undermine the value of educational or welfare programs, he feels that bureaucratic surplus populations (including poverty-stricken ethnic minorities, untrained migrants, the indigent sick, and the aged) will continue to persist as long as organizational efficiency rather than personal growth remains the primary goal of our major social institutions.

This book is to be highly recommended to all sociologists, and also to non-sociologists interested in mental retardation. Most of all, one hopes it will find its way to the bookshelves of the influential leaders of our society, both in and out of government. Its larger message provides a more empirically based understanding of the growth of the welfare state than our wornout political philosophies, and clearly demonstrates the shortsightedness of such massive charity efforts as the “Great Society” programs that primarily treat the obvious symptoms of our unfortunate surplus populations while simultaneously nurturing the organizational philosophy which underlies the continued growth of the surplus population.

KENNETH J. DOWNEY

*State University College, Buffalo*

*Deviant Behavior and Social Process*, edited by WILLIAM A. RUSHING, Skokie, Ill.: Rand McNally and Co., 1968. 440 pp. Paperbound. \$4.50.

*Deviant Behavior and Social Process* is a book of readings organized into eight chapters covering juvenile delinquency, adult crime, prison subcultures, deviant sex roles, suicide and homicide, alcoholism, drug addiction, and mental illness. The 48 selections include reprinted articles, excerpts from books, and two research reports by the editor written for this volume. Theoretical continuity through the chapters has been enhanced by abridging many of the original articles. The book is intended for undergraduate deviant behavior courses; it does not include material on other areas of so-

cial problems, social disorganization, or the prevention and treatment of deviance.

Texts and books of readings on the subject of deviant behavior suffer from eclecticism and the absence of a conceptual basis for integrating the material. These problems have been reasonably well resolved in this collection. Excessive eclecticism is avoided by limiting the selections to the *sociology* of deviance. While the relevance of purely biological and psychological factors is not denied, they are not discussed. Integration is achieved by following a consistent format for each chapter, as follows: (1) antecedents and determinants, (2) social relations and processes, and (3) consequences of the particular form of deviance. The second of these topics refers to selections such as those dealing with gang leadership (Yablonsky, Short and Strodbeck), apprenticeships in prostitution (Hirschi), group processes among skid row winos (Rooney), and becoming a marijuana user (Becker). We are told in the introduction that these processes are noncausal or interactionist (p. 12). The consequences of deviance include references to societal reactions, reinforcement of deviant behavior, formation of subcultures, and secondary deviance. The editor explicitly avoids the extreme labeling theory of deviance (p. 13).

The theoretical organization of the substantive material is entirely successful, however. Part of the difficulty, of course, is that the selections were not originally written with this framework in mind. For instance, some articles describing the subculture of deviants (Leznoff and Westley on the homosexual community and Bryan on ideologies of call girls) are categorized as consequences, even though their contents are equally relevant to determinants and processes. The subcultures of the professional thief (Sutherland), cats (Finestone), and the inmate social system (Sykes and Messinger) are variously assigned to processes or determinants of deviance. Perhaps the major limitation of the book's conceptual framework is lack of clarity regarding what is meant by "determinants" and "processes" of deviance. Some determinants are apparently psychological (Bene's parental roles and homosexuality). But confusion between these two categories follows from the editor's statement that the entire framework is descriptive, not explanatory (p. 14). It seems to this reviewer that numerous assertions in the selections of this volume are intended as explanatory statements. In fairness, the editor insists that the three dimensions of deviance exists simultaneously, and are viewed as separate only to facilitate analysis

(p. 14). Still, the terms "antecedents and determinants" suggest a kind of explanation.

These comments are perhaps more a reflection of the state of knowledge in the area of deviance than an evaluation of this particular framework of organization. These readings will give the student exceptionally good examples of contemporary sociological analyses of deviance. The editor's introductions to the sections of the volume are quite short but will serve the student well as guides in a subject otherwise burdened by a diversity of conceptual orientations. The volume can supplement a text, or better still, can itself be supplemented by the wide selection of studies available in paperback editions to make a complete course in deviant behavior.

ARTHUR LEWIS WOOD

*University of Connecticut*

*Radical Perspectives on Social Problems: Readings in Critical Sociology*, edited by FRANK LINDENFELD. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1968. 402 pp. Paperbound. \$4.50.

Whether revolutionary as Marx or conservative as Comte, sociology had its principal origins among men who wanted radically to transform society. Weber and Durkheim, sometimes treated as patron saints of a dispassionate and abstract science, were themselves deeply disturbed by the social processes about them and tried, insofar as they could, to direct attention to the fundamental causes rather than the surface symptoms. Even Sumner, who told the social and sociological reformers not to meddle, was thereby proposing a reform (a sociological "*laissez faire*") more radical than anything they were advocating. It is therefore fitting that sociologists should prepare anthologies that will help to bring college students into touch with traditions of recent Western thought concerning social reform and revolution.

With much justice on their side, the elite of our college students feel betrayed by the universities. They have suffered through the boredom of classes and the anxieties of poor examinations only to discover that the nearer they approach to manhood, the more awesome appear the global catastrophes and the less relevant appears their classwork. That some of them should become radicals and should try actively to transform their social environment is no more than reasonable. Clearly, a national society that can squander its resources in East Asia in operations that serve to mobilize, finance, and arm groups in warfare against its own people and that can, meanwhile, allow the

ecological and social imbalance of its own continent to become ever more precarious is not acting reasonably or even sanely.

Despite their claim to being centers of intelligence and learning for the national society, the universities do not present a favorable image in these crises. Nevertheless, it does no more good to burn Columbia University than it does to incinerate a Vietnamese village, even if both parties of incendiaries think of themselves as liberating a witless and frightened folk. If both conflagrations are to be avoided, more wisdom from sources such as the sociological tradition must be introduced into the conduct of national affairs.

C. Wright Mills appears four times in this anthology, David Riesman twice, and all other authors once. Among the latter are such moderns as John R. Seeley, Edgar Z. Friedenberg, and Barrington Moore, Jr., as well as a few select forefathers, including Karl Marx, Peter Kropotkin, and Errico Malatesta. Those seeking additional clues to the content and bias of the book can find them in such names as Paul Sweezy, Dwight Macdonald, Herbert Marcuse, Andrew Hackler, Jules Henry, Margaret Mead, A. S. Neill, Stokely Carmichael, Percival and Paul Goodman. To me the ensemble is colorful yet deficient; I would have preferred a larger selection from those who think radically but are not popularly regarded as radicals. However, the editor might well retort that the field from which he chose was so vast that any process of selection was to some degree arbitrary. As he says, the anthology was not intended to be balanced; it was intended to focus on the U.S., covering the spectrum from piecemeal reform to wholesale radical change. It is also evident that Lindenfeld has himself used these selections in teaching a course for students who do not intend to specialize in the study of sociology. A critic such as myself must temper his comments with some awareness of the changes that accompany age. For an exegesis of Marx I now greatly prefer George Lichtheim over Dwight Macdonald, but when "The Root is Man" first appeared in *Politics*, I read it with considerable interest. Today I would also have appreciated a selection demonstrating how sharply the perspectives and ethos of lower class and ethnic groups differ from those of the students, reformers, and political leaders who seek to mobilize them. But it is Utopian to expect that a single book will provide all the training a student will need. Let us be thankful for readability and relevance.

MURRAY L. WAX

University of Kansas

*Delinquency and Crime: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, by RUTH SHONLE CAVAN and JORDAN T. CAVAN. Philadelphia, Pa.: J. B. Lippincott, 1968. 244 pp. Paperbound, \$2.30. Clothbound, \$5.95.

The Cavans have attempted to describe rather than analyze delinquency in several different cultural settings. They have intentionally written for the layman rather than the social scientist. Although the authors spoke with criminologists from other countries, attended international criminological conferences, and visited numerous correctional schools and prisons, the book is based primarily on published materials. These materials are not critically evaluated in terms of their research techniques, but rather are integrated with other information to present coherent pictures of various societies. Some would argue that this procedure gives an oversimplified and possibly incorrect view of crime in any particular culture. However, the goals of the book are admittedly modest. A highly critical attitude toward many of the studies used would probably have made it impossible to write a meaningful book for laymen.

The Eskimos provide an illustration of a primitive society that has recently come into contact with modern civilization. The discussion of the custom of "wife-lending" would be valuable to many lay readers who interpret such a practice as promiscuity, not realizing that explicit rules govern this behavior. The chapter on Mexico contrasts the Indian portion of a small village isolated from urban influences with the well-known village of Tepoztlan, a village in transition. The works of Robert Redfield and Oscar Lewis are the major sources of information on Tepoztlan and on slum areas of Mexico City.

The chapter on India also describes extreme cultural diversity within a single country. A history of criminal tribes which have specialized in crime as a way of life provides an excellent illustration of cultural conflict between indigenous peoples and a centralized government. Whether that centralized government represents the British Empire or modern India is immaterial to the fact that relatively large predatory groups exist in many societies. The role of these criminal tribes contrasts sharply with Mafia (a philosophy or pattern of behavior rather than *the* Mafia, an organization) in western Sicily. While Mafia enables rural villages to resist the power of landlords and provides social control mechanism necessary for achieving common goals, the criminal tribes of India have a long tradition of preying on the

rest of the society. While the Cavans do not develop a cross-cultural theory of crime that would incorporate both of these criminal patterns, India and Sicily provide excellent illustrations of the diversity of the problem. None of our theories of social change or cultural conflict seem to provide an adequate explanation of the criminal tribes in India nor of Mafia in Sicily.

Other chapters in this volume survey Russia, England, and Europe. Chapter Eight, in which the Cavans summarize materials from eight European countries, is in my opinion the weakest chapter in the book. For example, although Swedish writers have made many contributions to the literature on crime and delinquency, this society is given only a few pages. With all due sympathies for space limitations, some summaries are just too brief. Sex delinquency in Sweden is covered in five sentences, while Italy, France, and West Germany each receive just one sentence on this topic. The result is a piecemeal presentation that does not provide a coherent picture and is sometimes repetitious despite the extreme brevity.

Even though the authors have written primarily for the layman, it is appropriate here to assess the value of the book for sociologists. The references at the end of each chapter are almost entirely in English, with the exception of Chapter 8. For most laymen and many sociologists that is no great restriction, but for the cross-cultural specialist it is a severe limitation. For example, the chapter on Mexico has no reference to material in Spanish. References to the chapter on England do not contain some notable works such as Leslie Wilkins' article on "delinquent generations" which would have been particularly relevant to the discussion.

The Cavans have not made the mistake of comparing rates of crime for various countries. This could easily mislead the lay reader who is not aware of the serious deficiencies in such statistics. Delinquency rates for specific offenses are quoted for comparative purposes over time within specific countries. To do this, one must assume that the biases effecting such rates are similar from year to year and that major changes have not occurred in the data-gathering procedures. Of all the assumptions one must make in order to utilize crime statistics, this is one of the most reasonable.

A criminologist interested in cross-cultural research might ask the following questions: Can the concepts of "crime" or "delinquency" be used profitably in different cultures? Can one distinguish between torts (acts against individuals) and crimes (acts against the state) and make these meaningful in a cross-cultural

setting? Do we have any adequate explanation of the relationship between affluence and increased delinquency in contemporary western societies? Answers to, or even enlightening discussions of, these questions and others that plague the sociologist are not found in the book. However, the Cavans have provided a useful introduction to a complex problem and have taken an initial step in an area where there has been a great dearth of information. The criminologist with an interest in other cultures will consider it a convenient starting point.

JAMES C. HACKLER

*University of Alberta*

*White-Collar Criminal: The Offender in Business and the Professions*, edited by GILBERT GEIS.  
New York: Atherton Press, 1968. 448 pp.  
Paperbound. \$8.50.

The study of white-collar crime has been marked by controversy and debate since Edwin Sutherland introduced the concept in 1939. This book may not reduce the controversy nor temper the debate, but it does present the arguments, examine the issues involved, delimit the subject matter encompassed by white-collar crime, and bring together between two covers a variety of empirical, theoretical, and frankly speculative analyses of white-collar crime. It thus fills a gaping hole in the literature of criminology.

The thirty-two previously published articles that make up this volume are divided into six parts. Each part is preceded by an editorial introduction. Since the articles selected by Geis are drawn from a variety of sources (law journals, sociological journals, popular magazines) and since they are written by people who have disparate frames of reference, the editorial introductions are crucial for maximum understanding. Geis performs this task well. His introductions whet the reader's appetite for what is to come; they do an excellent job of interrelating the points raised by the different articles; and they sometimes make implicit suggestions for future research which, if followed, might fill the gaps of knowledge about white-collar crime revealed by the articles.

Another valuable feature is the list of "selected references" found at the end of the book.

Despite the fact that common themes are often difficult to discern in a book of readings, this one has them. Different authors persistently refer to such things as the white-collar violator's inability to see himself as a criminal, the apparent lack of public concern over white-collar crime, the relatively lenient treatment of white-collar offenders by legal and administrative agen-

cies, the apparent inability of previously developed theories of crime to account for white-collar offenses, the low recidivism rates of white-collar offenders, and the need for typological theory construction to account for the immense diversity of offenses and offenders found within the scope of white-collar crime. However, since students of white-collar crime have not yet satisfactorily delimited the boundaries of this field, and since disagreement still exists as to the important variables to be considered—in short, since controversy still reigns—one is not surprised to discover that each of these common themes is challenged or contradicted somewhere in the book.

Several minor deficiencies should be mentioned. First, while the articles written by authors with legal training are among the most challenging and rewarding in the book (particularly those by Alan Dershowitz, Sanford Kadish, and Harry Ball and Lawrence Friedman), some of these authors have the annoying habit of using Latin legal terms without bothering to define them. Thus, when the reader encounters such terms as "*scienter*" or "*tertium quid*" he is forced either to ignore them and risk loss of meaning or break off his concentration and seek out their definitions in another source. Secondly, while Geis' eclectic approach in selecting articles is laudable because of the interesting variety of materials provided, inclusion of articles from widely divergent sources also makes the range of intellectual challenge immense. Thus, while the classic debate between Edwin Sutherland and Paul Tappan as to the propriety of defining white-collar offenses as crime (pp. 353-375) is likely to stimulate the intellect, a few other articles fail to challenge it and even come dangerously close to insulting it. An example occurs in the article "What the Health Hucksters Are Up To." The reader is asked to accept, without any evidence whatsoever, a causal connection between a drug alleged to cure arthritis and the death of a seventy-one year old woman who died within four months after taking it (p. 276). This is pure muckraking and even those who enjoy it may be offended by this kind of weak allegation. Fortunately, such examples are rare. Finally, while it is true that the basic theme of this book is controversy, and while it is also true that one of the biggest areas of controversy is the attempt to define precisely what constitutes white-collar crime, even the most liberal investigator in this field is likely to recoil in amazement from the operational definition of white-collar crime given in the article "101 British White-Collar Criminals": white-collar crime is *any* crime committed by a middle-class person. As a result, the sample

of incarcerated respondents in this study—all of whom are called white-collar criminals—includes those sent to prison for bigamy, assault, simple larceny, and sexual offenses against children. Put simply, this is nonsense.

According to Professor Geis, the issues involved in white-collar crime have been marked by tentativeness and uncertainty. By and large, the articles in this book will not eliminate the tentativeness and uncertainty. They will lessen them, however.

ROBERT SHERWIN

*Miami University*

*Crime in a Free Society: Selections from the President's Commission on Law Enforcement & Administration of Justice*, by ROBERT W. WINSLOW. Belmont, Calif.: Dickenson Publishing Co., 1968. 378 pp. Paperbound. \$4.95.  
*Juvenile Delinquency in a Free Society: Selections from the President's Commission on Law Enforcement & Administration of Justice*, by ROBERT W. WINSLOW. Belmont, Calif.: Dickenson Publishing Co., 1968. 237 pp. Paperbound. \$4.95.

These two companion volumes are almost exclusively books of readings. Except for the prefaces and one paragraph in the volume on juvenile delinquency, all of the material is selectively reprinted from reports making up the seventeen-volume publication of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. The selections have been rearranged to parallel in a rough fashion standard chapters in a typical text on criminology and juvenile delinquency.

*Crime in a Free Society* is divided into fourteen chapters. The early ones deal with such topics as the amount and trends of crime, sources of criminal statistics, and the etiology and ecology of crime. Later chapters focus on more specific material, including professional, organized, and white collar crime; the police; the courts; and the American correctional system. This volume draws the bulk of its material from only five of the original government volumes and except for footnotes makes relatively little use of the more specialized material from such reports as those on narcotics, drunkenness, and organized crime.

The second volume, *Juvenile Delinquency in a Free Society*, is somewhat similarly divided into twelve chapters. The frequency of delinquency, its ecological or spatial patterning, and etiological factors in delinquency are the foci of the initial chapters. Later chapters—in fact,

half the volume—center on the juvenile justice system and include such matters as police treatment of juveniles, juvenile court, detention, probation, institutions, and aftercare. Most selections in this volume are drawn from two of the task force reports of the Presidential Commission and from the two-volume series of field surveys on the police and the community.

Any substantive critique of the two volumes would necessarily require analysis of the original governmental reports, which are a landmark in the history of criminology, but such a task is obviously beyond the scope of a short review. The criteria used for making the selections reproduced in the two volumes are not stated, and are difficult to determine even when the selections are matched paragraph for paragraph with the original governmental reports. However, another editor would probably select roughly the same material, if his objective were to compile a set of readings to supplement a text for a college criminology or delinquency course. Neither volume could be used by itself in a course unless the instructor himself provided an overall framework, including theoretical models and the more academic material typically presented in a classroom.

This last point suggests some problems which limit but certainly do not destroy the usefulness of the two volumes. No effort is made to provide additional material to compensate for some of the weaknesses in the original reports of the Presidential Commission (e.g., the limited and rather unsatisfactory discussion of the concept of "crime"). Neither is there any critique of the source material, a task that would have been much easier for the editor than for a reader exposed only to these volumes. The lack of subject and name indexes is also regrettable in view of the intended classroom use of these two volumes.

Finally, it is unfortunate that Professor Winslow is not more clearly designated as the editor or compiler of these volumes. He is not an author in the usual sense of the term. The use of his name on the side, front cover, and title page without any precise designation could mislead careless readers. Possibly this was a printer's error which will be corrected in later printings.

On balance, these readings are a worthwhile addition to the supplementary material available for criminology courses, and as such should enjoy substantial classroom adoptions. Specialists and advanced students in criminology will still have to go to the original sources, but this they should do in any case.

E. L. QUARANTELLI

*The Ohio State University*

*C-Unit: Search for Community In Prison*, by ELLIOTT STUDDT, SHELDON MESSINGER and THOMAS WILSON. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968. 354 pp. \$8.75.

This study of "C-Unit," part of the Deuel Vocational Institution in California, is one of the most important books on rehabilitation in prisons to appear in the last decade. It is essentially a case study of planned change in a subunit of a large maximum-security prison, but it is also relevant for students of formal organizations, deviance, social control, and corrections.

The authors deal in a most refreshing and stimulating fashion with a number of old but basic issues in organizational and social-psychological theory. For instance, the idea that transactions at organizational boundaries are critical for internal functioning will not be new to most students of formal organizations, but they will find it refreshing to read a documented case study of the ways in which a prison's location within a larger correctional system can undermine and subvert initially successful changes within the prison. Students of social control, meanwhile, will find an excellent illustration of social differentiation increasing the potential for conflict in the book's description of the manner in which the Honor Units undermined the attempts to establish a moral community within the prison. They will also benefit for the discussion of the ways in which an expanding hierarchy of status and interest groups can be used to create more responsible staff and inmate participation. The book's treatment of the ways in which inmates practice and administrators permit the use of violence in a maximum security prison will not be new to most students of deviance, but they will benefit from its description of the process whereby inmate welfare became the paramount concern of both inmates and staff in this special unit. Finally, although students of corrections may already understand that the "custodial-treatment" conflict is spurious, they will nevertheless appreciate a study that focuses on the question: "How do you organize people so that the outcome of their work is more adequate social beings?"

In short, Studt, Messinger, and Wilson present a most suggestive work on how some prisons and other resocialization organizations might be transformed and organized into "moral communities." The latter concept is crucial for the organization and planning of C-Unit. They use the term "morality" to indicate a reciprocal relationship characterized by an ascription of dignity to individuals, respect and concern for the welfare of others, and reliance on positive social controls as regulators of interaction. The

concept of "community" is not for these authors an extension of group therapy into all organizational functions, but rather a political association where rules, norms, and even laws are instruments for achieving individual and group welfare. "Community processes" are thus instruments for dealing with problems of individuals and groups, and all organizational functions are viewed as political in nature since they involve members of the community. Unfortunately, the book does not provide any data on how these moral relationships developed in C-Unit, on the ways in which rules and laws evolved over time, or on the salience and strength of the new code for the inmates.

Another key concept of this work is "problem solving," which is examined empirically in Chapter 8—the only chapter containing "hard" data. Differences between C-Unit and other units of the prison in the quality and quantity of contact between inmates and staff all supported the hypothesis that inmates in C-Unit had more formal and informal contacts with staff, were more involved with activities of the unit, and more frequently developed problem solving adaptations with staff and other inmates.

The book is organized into three major sections. The first section, which includes chapters 1 and 2, describes the planning of the project and the institutional conditions under which this housing unit functioned for two years. The second section, consisting of Chapters 3-9, describes the development of the moral community and its subsequent failure, or as the authors politely call it, the return to bureaucracy. Chapter 7 details the demise of C-Unit by documenting the pressures from the larger institution, the loss of key personnel, and the replacement of a supervisor by a recent MSW whose psychiatric and bureaucratic orientation were antithetical to the functioning of C-Unit. Chapter 9 documents the operation of the resocializing teams on different cases. The final section—Chapter 10—reflects on the experiences of the project and summarizes some important issues for resocialization organizations.

My major criticisms of the book pertain to its lack of supporting data on the development of moral codes and other normative arrangements. The argument that a moral community was established in C-Unit rests on case examples rather than systematic data. There is no time sampling of data and no evaluation of staff participation and changes. The only adequate empirical materials on inmates are those relating to problem solving adaptations. Nor does the book answer the question of how new staff personnel should be socialized into the "moral community" of C-Unit.

C-Unit was initially established on the basis

of experiences gained in other correctional programs, such as the Highfields and Provo Projects and Synanon, but it went far beyond them. Unlike Highfields and Provo, C-Unit had high interdependency between staff and inmates in problem solving, and used a variety of groups in working with individual problems and moral issues of group life. Unlike Synanon, C-Unit was concerned with maximizing choices both within the institution and in the outside community. Studt, Messinger, and Wilson are to be congratulated for making a major contribution to American correctional practices and knowledge. If "times are changing" for American prisons, this book has helped to clarify that process.

JEROME RABOW

*University of California, Los Angeles*

*The Hippie Trip: A Firsthand Account of the Beliefs and Behaviors of Hippies in America*, by LEWIS YABLONSKY. New York: Pegasus, 1968. 368 pp. \$6.95.

The hippie movement, like many other important social phenomena in American society, has produced little significant sociological commentary. Even though Haight-Ashbury and the East Village often seemed overrun with sociological tourists doing anything from term papers to monographs (an activity perhaps best described as doing other people's thing) little has appeared in print. This volume, perhaps the first of many, records first-hand the travels of Lewis Yablonsky, a professional sociologist, through the hippie scene, his reactions to it, and his reflections on its sociological significance. It is part of a growing body of tape recorder social science and, like many similar works, is valuable primarily because of the text of the transcribed interviews.

The book is divided into five parts, the first three of which are the most important. The first part gives an introduction to the hip scene through the presentation of both background information and the ideology of a hip "priest." A long second section deals with the author's travels through Big Sur, The East Village, Haight-Ashbury and the Northern California hippie communes. The third section is entitled "analysis." These first three sections are products of the three roles that the author sees himself playing when he does research: the sociologist, the "hip interviewer-reporter," and the involved person. The first two sections reflect mostly the second role, while in the third section the author reverts to being a sociologist. Two other sections, one dealing with unsystematically gathered questionnaire data (participant observers should stick to their lasts) and another



consisting of an incomplete "glossary" of hippie argot, do not add to the utility of the book.

The reporting and background in the first two sections are unfortunately less insightful and less informative than the mass media productions of conventional social journalists. One of the burdens and risks of personalistic sociology (i.e., sociology in which the sole research instrument is the sociologist himself) is that it must compete with the well-trained journalist whose business is the production of versions of *verstehen*. More crucially, however, the success of personalistic sociology resides in transcending journalism, not through creating superjournalism but rather by doing sociology.

It is in doing sociology that the book fails most significantly. The analysis section is an eclectic and inadequate hodgepodge. Nowhere in the work is there a systematic sociological perspective on either the participants of the hippie movement or on the relationship of the movement to the larger society. The sociological aspects of the work seem almost an afterthought. Such an ad hoc approach is especially damaging to participant observation research, for the success of this research method (whatever the particular style or role assumed in the research interaction) resides in the possession of a powerful analytical apparatus that is in constant operation. It is the existence of a double self, a presented self in interaction with others and a second self doing concurrent analysis of the self and others in interaction, that prevents the method from degenerating into either self-gratification or merely straight recording. Indeed, it seems impossible to do even "straight" or "sheer" description without a recognized set of rules which operate during the interaction.

Perhaps the most successful feature of the work is its personal viewpoint: the author in his role as a concerned person. He reports his ambivalences and fears in facing the environment of deviance with considerable clarity. This is especially true when he deals with the potentials for violence that seem more prominent at the margins of the social order. This kind of honesty, however, is not a substitute for either ethnography or sociology. This book is *not* the sociological log for the hippie voyage.

JOHN H. GAGNON

*State University of New York at Stony Brook*

*Social Nudism in America*, by FRED ILFELD, JR. and ROGER LAUER. New Haven, Conn.: College and University Press, 1964. 240 pp. \$5.00.

*Social Nudism in America* is the published version of a joint undergraduate honors thesis. This fact puts the reviewer in a somewhat difficult position: as an undergraduate thesis it is

commendable, but as a professional piece of work it is less than adequate, as might be expected. But because the book has been published, sold, and cited as a professional work, it must be reviewed on this level.

The book is based primarily on fieldwork impressions gained from weekend attendance at five nudist camps during one summer. The results of this experience are presented in two parts, Part I—Description and Part II—Analysis. Part I is the more successful of the two. In Chapter 1 the authors review the history of nudism in the United States. In Chapter 2 they describe the physical layout, activities, and atmosphere of nudist camps. Chapter 3 presents standard demographic data as well as such information as number of siblings and birth position, the relevance of which is questionable. The demographic data were obtained from 104 questionnaires completed by members from two camps, and wherever possible were compared with data from a book on nudists written by Donald Johnson and with distributions of the general population from the 1950 census. In Chapter 4 the authors discuss the "nudist life cycle" which includes, among other things, the character of initial contacts with nudism, decisions to join a camp, and decisions to leave nudism.

The journalistic description of nudists and nudism, which makes up the majority of Part I, is good. The difficulties arise when sociological and psychological analyses are attempted in Part II—the results of which are less than adequate. The authors attempt to analyze both individual motivations for participating in nudism and social characteristics of nudist camps. Refusing to take seriously the reasons which the nudists gave for their participation, the authors present their own potpourri of widely diverse and unconnected theoretical constructs to make sense of the phenomena being investigated. Reference is made to Freud's notion of regressive fixation, to Adler's concept of mastery, to the behavioristic language of secondary reward, to Merton's view of adaptations which are made to a blocked opportunity structure, and to the dissonance theory of Festinger. The authors state that these explanations

... are tentative. . . . In order to understand the individual nudist better, one must probe more deeply into his particular psychological processes. To this end, intensive interviewing, projective tests (such as Thematic Apperception Tests, Rorschach), and perhaps even psychoanalysis may be useful.

In this and other statements the authors' naivité becomes most evident. As they suggest, the naked truth has not been completely revealed by this book. In addition, the reviewer suspects

that a more modest title than *Social Nudism in America* would have been more appropriate.

MARTIN S. WEINBERG

*Indiana University*

*Introductory Readings: The Sociological Perspective*, edited by SCOTT G. McNALL. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Co., 1968. 576 pp. Paperbound. \$5.25.

This book of 49 selections is designed to supplement the textbook in an introductory sociology course. Four possible criteria for evaluating such a book are the following: (1) the heuristic value of the way in which the readings are organized; (2) the quality of the editor's written contribution (introductory and connecting statements); (3) the quality, range, interest, and comprehensibility of the selections; (4) the degree to which the selections complement existing introductory texts (assuming, as is the case here, that the reader cannot be used as a text by itself).

The readings are arranged under traditional topics. As a result, the organization of this volume (as is the case with most readers) does little to aid the student's understanding. The editor has contributed only a small amount of original writing, less than 25 pages altogether. I find this material over-simplified and judge that it will be of little value to students. A sample: "Science is composed of empirical statements. It deals with concrete phenomena, things that can be measured, touched, weighed, etc. The cause of any event is therefore located in the here and now, and cause is not attributed to any supernatural or spiritual phenomena" (pp. 1-2).

My evaluation also tends to be negative in regard to the third criterion. The book is crowded with too many loosely presented selections discussing conceptual points or "insightfully" describing empirical reality, apparently in deference to what will be "interesting" and "readable" for introductory students. This approach may help to develop appreciation for the sociological perspective, but it may also encourage sloppy thinking about social reality. As is so often true in sociological writing, the articles discussing concepts are imprecise and only cause the student to become confused and frustrated. There are too few articles reporting empirical results (only 11 articles have tables giving empirical data). I applaud the author's stated intention to include empirical studies that show how concepts are "operationally defined and researched." However, few of the articles included for this purpose accomplish it very elegantly, and more than half of them were published before 1960.

I also fault the book on the last criterion. Since introductory texts usually offer lengthy but frequently weak presentations of sociological concepts, this reader merely gives the student more of the same. I compared the assignments suggested in the reader with the text I am currently using. For most chapters the suggested selections from the reader would probably benefit the student very little. In short, if the instructor wants a reader with a selection of well-done, significant, and readable empirical studies of sociological relevance, he should look elsewhere. However, if he has other purposes in mind, this reader may serve some of them better than other readers now on the market.

HALLOWELL POPE

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*Sociology and Everyday Life*, edited by MARCELLO TRUZZI. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968. 371 pp. Paperbound. \$3.95.

Selling itself in psychedelic colors as "the first hip reader in sociology," this fascinating collection of essays is designed for the jaded eyes of those undergraduates who dig the concrete present as well as the off-beat, yet still retain some communication with the Guttenberg galaxy. Students have long been turned-off by pompous, premature professional irrelevancies. Here is one alternative: sociology made palatable to the everyday world of students. Marcello Truzzi may be wrong about what is in that world, but he has done a service in providing a text more interesting and readable than most, and a unique collection of essays from that intriguing limbo somewhere between ethnomethodology and esoterica.

What is hip sociology? Apparently it can be defined either as ethnomethodology or as the sociology of everyday life. Sociologists have often been accused of studying the obvious and then presenting in pseudo-scientific jargon what any informed layman takes for granted. The ethnomethodologist accepts this accusation. He would purge sociology of the unexamined common-sense world by making its categories and assumptions totally problematic. In a very broad sense, Truzzi's reader is dedicated to this orientation. The essays encompass selected aspects of everyday life (or more accurately "anyday" life), "those [phenomena] that a person can encounter at almost any time and any place within the normally expected boundaries of everyday discourse" (p. 1). Actually the selections offer a strange display of topics from the mundane (telephone conversations, tipping, talk about comic strips, playing it cool, playing cards, beatlemania, reading *Mad*, facing the draft, housewives, cab drivers, watchowners and re-

pairmen, Santa Claus, bicycles, circuses, sleep, and finally death) to the esoteric (rapists, hangmen, nudists, assorted cultists, dwarfs, and Zulu football players). These concretely mundane and off-beat selections are organized in general sections stressing aspects of both ethnomethodology (the dramaturgic approach to everyday life, "everyday interactions," etc.) and everyday sociology (social differentiation, occupations, youth, minority groups, religion, deviance and crime, and social change). Presumably the nimble teacher will leap from the microscopically concrete and intrinsically interesting essay to a wide discussion of more abstract sociological processes, approaches, and methods. Thus, an article on *Mad* magazine could demonstrate content analysis; the disappearing bicycle and the shrinking circus dramatize social change; while a discussion of social status symbols illustrates the dramaturgic approach as well as social differentiation. Running throughout the diverse contents, however, is the editor's unifying orientation: the importance of *verstehen*, or understanding from the viewpoint of the actor, and of description from its own sake, as opposed to the usual preoccupation in sociology with prediction and control.

Committed to exploring the oddments of sociological analysis, this reader is as significant for what it leaves out as for what it includes. The theme is largely social irrelevance, not the big issues of everyday life such as central social problems, power, control, inequality. It is curious that a student-oriented book of readings should fail to recognize that its audience has grown a bit restless of late, and not merely because the professors are not properly entertaining. Not content with digging the present, some students have even questioned and attempted to change everyday life. They will find little illumination in hip sociology, unless they can discover the structure of control in the way mental patients and professors manage their identities and can understand the history of racism by peeking into the survival kit of a dwarf. My only point of criticism is this: The Truzzi reader is amusing, important, controversial, but peculiarly limited. Too much of crucial relevance has been left out of its everyday world. Perhaps the glaring omissions are generally characteristic of ethnomethodology. By emphasizing description of the present and suspending conventional relevance, it has by default become one of the most politically uncritical, if not reactionary, branches of American sociology. The hip attitude outside of sociology is not so different; there are strange and unexplored connections between "pot-heads" and "eth-heads." The hipster and sociologist of everyday life are either irreverent and irrespon-

sible symptoms of some contemporary psychopathology or they are oracles of a cool future, finding the apodictic structures of the universe in their tea pots. One thing is certain: many more members of the *Lebenswelt* are going to be seduced by the distinctively sweet and pleasant stink of hip sociology.

JOHN HORTON

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*Theory in Anthropology: A Sourcebook*, edited by ROBERT O. MANNERS and DAVID KAPLAN. Chicago, Ill.: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968. 578 pp. \$13.75.

The editors of *Theory in Anthropology* have attempted to compile a reader that reflects the current theoretical interests of anthropology. They have therefore excluded all material relevant primarily to the past history of anthropological thought. Probably no anthropologist represented was born before 1900. There is a brief introduction outlining the plan of the book and an interesting short essay by the editors entitled "Notes on Theory and Non-Theory in Anthropology" (pp. 1-11). The remainder of this bulky, double-columned volume is devoted to a variety of selections dealing with different issues, most of which are presented without abridgement. The text concludes with a valuable "Selected Bibliography."

The text as a whole is divided into eight parts. Part One, "Overview," contains five essays dealing with the concept of culture (White and Kaplan) and social anthropology (Gluckman, Evans-Pritchard, and Eggan). Part Two contains essays dealing with "Explanation in Social Science" written for the most part by philosophers of science. Part Three on "Methodology" brings together some interesting papers by Steward, Maurice Freedman, Goodenough and others. Part Four is devoted to papers on "Functionalism, Evolution, and History," with some twelve papers by well-known writers. Then come sections on "Culture and Personality" (four papers), "Ecology" (four papers), and "Ideology, Language and Values" (six papers). The volume concludes with Part Eight on "Structuralism and Formal Analysis." Taken as a whole, the papers are interesting and relevant and should prove useful to students of contemporary theoretical anthropology.

The introductory essay, "Notes on Theory and Non-Theory in Anthropology" by Manners and Kaplan, presents the keynote theme of the text. Twentieth-century anthropology, they maintain, has over-reacted to the evolutionary theories and speculations of nineteenth-century anthropologists and has made a mystique of field work, using the latter as an end rather

than as a means. Extreme emphasis on field work has led to a focus on the uniqueness of each culture to the exclusion, for the most part, of generalizations based on cross-cultural regularities. Current interest in generalization and in scientific social and cultural anthropology has finally set a new trend which is superseding the particularism and extreme relativism that has hitherto prevailed.

In discussing the nature of theoretical knowledge, the editors stress that theory in science does not emerge through a process of synthesizing induction. Theories are said to be symbolic and abstract and generalizing constructions based on imagination and intuition rather than summaries of factual data obtained by direct observation. "Much of what purports to be theory in anthropology tends to be circular, tautological, *ad hoc* in nature, or phrased in such a way as to be perfectly compatible with any possible contingent event in the empirical world; we can think of nothing which would count as evidence against it" (pp. 7-8). An example of an explanatory tautology (cited from Beattie) is functionalism, which purports to explain particular social institutions by reference to the maintenance of "functional unity" and the solidarity of whole societies (p. 8). In agreement with contemporary philosophy of science, the authors take the position that factual statements are explained "when it is shown that they can be subsumed under a set of theoretical statements, either by being derived from such statements in formal deductive fashion, or when the connection between the theoretical statements and the generalizations and facts is a probabilistic one" (p. 8). The authors are supporting a

highly controversial and dubious thesis, however, when they state that: "Theories, if they are any good, should tell us *why* certain empirical generalizations or regularities of nature obtain. Thus all theories are framed to answer a 'why' question" (p. 7). From the time of Francis Bacon and Galileo, natural scientists have been concerned to answer the question of "how" natural phenomena are connected, rather than "why" in the sense of final causation. Darwin's theory of natural selection in evolution does not explain the "why" of evolution, but instead the "how" of it.

While the selection of the particular papers that comprise this volume necessarily reflects the interests of the editors, it should in principle be possible to avoid special biases in culture theory, especially in a reader specifically designed to present conflicting and divergent points of view. Regrettably, the editors have presented only White's concept of culture and culturology and have omitted all others as if they belonged only to the historic past. The dividing line between what is of current interest and what pertains to history appears to be rather arbitrary. Students using this text are thus bound to obtain a rather distorted view of what is significant in contemporary culture theory.

Taken as a whole, the volume contains some interesting and significant papers in a form convenient for reference. The selected bibliography is useful. But the price is way out of line. Published in a paperback edition at a moderate price, it would provide a useful reference for students of theory in anthropology.

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# RECENT FOREIGN-LANGUAGE SOCIOLOGY BOOKS

## GERMAN

- Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung*, by PETER ATTESLANDER. Berlin, Germany: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1969. 313 pp. Paperbound. DM 5,80.
- Kriminalsoziologie*, by FRITZ SACK and RENÉ KÖNIG. Frankfurt a. M., Germany: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1968, 528 pp. DM 25,80.
- Teorien der sozialen Schichtung: Eine Kritische Diskussion*, by ERHARD WIEHN. Munich, Germany: R. Piper and Co. Verlag, 1968. 181 pp. Paperbound. No price indicated.
- Industrialisierung in Schwarzafrika: Eine soziologische Lotstudie zweier Grossbetriebe in Sambia*, by LARS CLAUSEN. Bielefeld, Germany: Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag, 1968. 221 pp. Paperbound. DM 35.
- Studenten-Sexualität: Verhalten und Einstellung*, by HANS GIESE and GUNTER SCHMIDT. Hamburg, Germany: Rowohlt, 1968. 415 pp. Paperbound. No price indicated.
- Politikbegriffe der modernen Soziologie: Eine Kritik der Systemtheorie und Konflikttheorie—begründet aus ihren Implikationen für die gesellschaftliche Praxis*, by KARLHEINZ MESSLKEN. Köln, Germany: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1968. 223 pp. Paperbound. DM 15.
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- Zeichen der Unfreiheit: Zur Theorie und Messung sozialer Sanktionen*, by KARL F. SCHUMANN. Freiburg, West Germany: Verlag Rombach and Co., 1968. 181 pp. DM 20.
- Die gesellschaftlichen Leiden und das Leiden an der Gesellschaft: Vorstudien zu einer Pathologie des Rollenverhaltens*, by HANS PETER DREITZEL. Stuttgart, Germany: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1968. 418 pp. Paperbound. DM 36.
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- Kirche auf Distanz*, by ADOLF HOLL and GERHARD H. FISCHER. Wein, Austria: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1968. 114 pp. Paperbound. No price indicated.
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- L'uomo e la rivoluzione*, by FABRIZIO ONOFRI. Bologna, Italy: il Mulino, 1968. 242 pp. Paperbound. No price indicated.
- Partiti politici e strutture sociali in Italia*, by MATTEI DOGAN and ORAZIO MARIA PETRACCA. Milano, Italy: Edizioni di Comunità, 1968. 660 pp. Paperbound. L. 5.800.
- Dal paesaggio al territorio: Esercizi di pianificazione territoriale*, by CARLO DOGLIO. Bologna, Italy: il Mulino, 1968. 492 pp. Paperbound. L. 5.000.
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## ERRATA

(1) In Winch, Mueller and Godiksen (ASR, April, 1969, p. 249b), the third sentence should read "If we construct a ratio with the subject-mean coder reliability as the numerator and the intercoder reliability as the denominator (or base), we can estimate the average subject's coding efficiency relative to the experienced coders as .85/.88 or .95%

(2) In Samuel W. Kaplan's review of

Albert H. Rosenthal's *The Social Programs of Sweden: A Search for Security in a Free Society* (ASR, February, 1969, p. 142), line 35 the word "preparing" should have been "proposing."

(3) Co-author of *Inducing Social Change in Developing Communities* is Charles R. Wright not Charles R. White as was mistakenly given in Irwin T. Sanders' review of the above named book (ASR, April, 1969, p. 260).

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